GUIDE TO THE AD4 FORMOSAN ABORIGINES FILE

[The AD4 file, a subfile of the AD1 Formosa file, is concerned with the native peoples of the island of Formosa. Although all of these people belong to the Indonesian or Proto-Malayan physical and linguistic type, they immigrated to different areas of the island at different times. Consequently they differ culturally, linguistically and to the extent of acculturation. The native people have been divided for a long time into two groups on the basis of the degree of acculturation. The Pepo-huan (also known as Jukuban, Kibalan, Lek-huan, or Sek-huan) have been almost completely absorbed by the Chinese. In 1953 they numbered about 50,000 and lived on the western plains. The Che-huan (or Seiban), who numbered 150,000 in 1953, live in the central mountains, eastern coast and Botel Tobago Island. They are considerably less acculturated than the Pepo-huan and according to old reports had the reputation of being war-like headhunters. The Che-huan are divided into a number of different tribes, the largest of which is the Atayal. The Atayal are further subdivided into smaller groups. Groups for which there is some specific information in this subfile are the Atayal, Paiwan, Tsou, Ami, and Yami. In 1953 the Ami were described as having "... intensive agriculture and some fishing; pile dwellings; paddle and anvil pottery; long wooden shields; feather headdresses; clans; matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence; classificatory or Malayan kinship terminology; parent-child nymic linkage; and age grades." (51: Chen and Coe, p. 250.)

There are nine sources which have been marked specifically for the AD4 subfile, and miscellaneous pages from the AD1 file. Most of these sources are short articles with only miscellaneous bits of information written by travelers,

newspapermen, etc. The primary value of a number of them seems to be that they are very early reports. Sources on the aborigines in general are 14: Tamai, 16: Müller, 20: Alvarez, 21: Asai, and 24: Anonymous. 17: Norbeck is a comparison of Atayal and Philippine folklore. 19: Guérin and Bernard is a discussion of the Atayal. 34: Del Re concerns myths and legends of the Yami. 51: Chen and Coe contains brief data on Ami religion. Other sources in the AD1 Formosa file contain considerable information on the aborigines. Complete bibliographic references and texts will be found in the AD1 file. These sources are 7: Joest, 11: Haguenauer, 18: Kakyo, 22: Wiedfeldt, 25: Plaut, 26: Honda, 31: Hofmann, 35: Collingwood--which seems to contain the only data on the Pepo-huan in the file and was written in 1868-- 36: Dodd, 37: Steere, 39: Wiedfeldt, 46: Ruey, 49: Wei, and 50: Ruey. This file was processed in 1951-56. Most of the file is in the typed format and lacks the standardized OWC designations.]

6: Kirchhoff--31 U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
101, 177 Pepo-hoan

The Pepo-huan are those Formosan Malays who accepted the fate of dependence on the Chinese intruders and gradually became Chinese in customs and outlook, without there being any mixture of blood. Yet they are distinguished physically as well as culturally from free natives living in the mountains.

6: Kirchhoff--31 [5] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 563, 177.72 China
636.72

The geographical distribution of Chinese, Pepo-huan and Tsche-huan is not so simple as often described: in the plain, the hilly country and the mountains, respectively. The only thing right about this is the fact that the free savages live alone in the mountains, protected by the forests. The Chinese push on step by step even into the mountains of the interior and fell the forests.

6: Kirchhoff--31 [6] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
117, 101, 177 Pepo-hoan

We hear tell of a Chinese farm on the island in the Dragon Lake, and of the apparently near-by plain of Polesia, surrounded by mountains, that is said to be inhabited entirely by Pepo-huan who not only speak Chinese, but who have completely forgotten their own tongue (Imbault-Huart, p. 286).

4:Grajdanzev--35 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 162, 177

"The Japanese took over from the Chinese the word 'savages' for the aboriginal tribes. At the end of 1938 the total number of aborigines was 155,900. However, only 95,400 of them are classified as 'savages' and are under the special, indefatigable supervision of Japanese police, the remaining 60,500 being 'civilized', that is, they are 'sinified', and in their outlook, customs, and occupation do not differ from the Chinese. The whole group of aborigines is divided into many tribes, among which the most important are:

Tribe	Population (in thousands) 1938
Taiyal	37.1
Saiset	1.6
Bunun	17.6
Tsuwo	2.3
Ami	50.9
Yami	1.8
Paiwan	44.5
Others	.1
Total	155.9

Many of these tribes show an increase in numbers, although much smaller than that of the Chinese on the island, but some are dying out."

7: Joest--56-57 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101

The natives live in tribal communities; [57] each tribe has a different name, and most of them have their own language. There is no common name for all of them, although they consider themselves autochtonous. I have...adopted Dr. Schetelig's method of dividing the natives into Shekwan and Chinwan (pronounced uan).

7: Joest--57 [2] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 144

Schetelig believes that the Chinwan and Shekwan may be divided into two distinct racial groups according to the formation of their skull; according to his theory, the former are related to the Polynesians, the latter to the Malayan group. The two groups do not seem to be related linguistically.

7: Joest--57 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 177, 721

The term Shekwan means half raw or half cooked. The Chinese apply this term to those aborigines who settled in the coastal regions or near the boundary. The Chinese trade with these people, among whom the custom of headhunting is practiced rarely or not at all.

The term Chinwan means raw. The Chinese apply this term to the aborigines who live in the forests and mountains of the interior.

10: Schumacher--224 [5] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 144 Chin-hoan

So far it has not been undisputably established to which population group the Tschin-Huan belong; they live in the almost inaccessible mountains of Formosa.

10: Schumacher--225 [2] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101 Chin-hoan

Many scholars, and especially members of the Academy of Science of San Francisco which had sent a fieldworker to Formosa, hold the opinion that the Tschin-Huan comprise various tribes.

11: Haguenauer--29 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 161, 657

The seiban [MC: completely unacculturated natives] are divided into eight large tribes: the Tayal, Saisat, Tchou, Bunun, Paiwan, Puyuma, Amis and the Yami. The total population is only 134,000, and that is very small for such a large territory.*

* The map [MC: see category 102 page:facing 25] shows the location of these eight tribes. The Tayal are divided into the Tayal and the Sedjiek. The Tsarisen speak a language which is similar to that of the Paiwan.

The tribes that I have just named are distinguished by somatological characteristics, language, social organization and customs. They have nothing in common except the system of administration, to which they were subjected by the Japanese.

15: U.S. Navy --23 [4] (no date) 1944 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 162

Table 19: Aboriginal Population by Tribes, 1935 and 1938

Tribe	No. of settlements	Dec. 1935 Population	1938 Population
Taiyal	181	35,639	37,100
Saiset	12	1,482	1,600
Tsou	20	2,167	2,300
Bunun	185	17,757	17,600
Ami	83	48,237	50,900
Paiwan	172	43,460	44,500
Yami	7	1,695	1,800
	561	150,438	155,800 "

16: Müller--228 [3] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101

When we sum up the common and the individual characteristics of all the aborigines of Formosa we find that they are divided into nine groups:

1. Ataiyal Group
2. Vonum Group
3. Tso'o Group
4. Tsarisen Group
5. Paiwan Group
6. Pyuma Group
7. Amis Group
8. Pepo Group
9. Yami Group (Botel Tobago)

It must be remembered, however, that there are subdivisions within each group, in accordance with differences in families, tribes, and combinations of tribes.

16: Müller--229 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
101,177 Saisett

Only a small part of the Pepo, the Saisiett tribe, has retained their original characteristics to this day.

16: Müller--229 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 177, 609 Pepo-hoan

Among the groups listed...[MC: see previous paragraphs in 101 for the author's group division of the aborigines.] the Pepo no longer have the external characteristics of the aborigines; in their manner and customs they have become culturally assimilated by the Chinese to such an extent that today it is hardly possible to distinguish between the two. They live in the eastern and central districts of the island, and a large number of them also inhabit the western plains. They are on friendly terms with the Chinese, although on the whole the two groups do not actually intermingle. This explains the name given to them by the Chinese, Pepo-hoan, that is, natives of the plain. Only a small part of the Pepo, the Saisiett tribe, has retained their original characteristics to this day.

16: Müller--229 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 177

Another distinction made by the Chinese between groups of natives is that of Seiban and Jukuban; the first refers to those natives who remained independent, the second to those who had become subjugated. The latter includes, besides the Pepohoan, the Pyuma and Amis groups; although these have not been assimilated entirely by the Chinese, they nevertheless show a certain degree of civilization.

16: Müller--238 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 197

[MC: A comparative table of numbers from 1 to 10 in the various Formosan Aboriginal dialects has been omitted from the files. However, the tribal classification system on which this table was based has been included below. This table was obtained by Müller from a Japanese who lived in the interior of Formosa and is not the result of Müller's own research.]

Ataiyal.....	A)	Ataiyal	(W)
	B)	"	(O)
	C)	"	(Taroko)
Vonum.....	D)	Vonum	
	E)	"	
	F)	"	
Tso'o.....	G)	Tso'o	(N)
	H)	"	(S)
	I)	"	
Tsarisen.....	J)	Tsarisen	
Paiwan.....	K)	Paiwan	
Pyuma.....	L)	Pyuma	
Tsarisen.....	M)	Taroma	
Amis.....	N)	Amis	
Pepo.....	O)	Saisiett	
Yami.....	P)	Yami	

Pepo.....	Q)	Makattao
	R)	Siraiya
	S)	Loa
	T)	Poavosa
	U)	Arikun
	V)	Vupuran
	W)	Pazzehe
	X)	Taokas
	Y)	Ketanganan (1)
	Z)	Kareowan
	A)	Kuvarawan
	B)	Pepo

(1) Ketangapan?

17: Norbeck--3 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
101

"The Seiban are usually classified into nine tribal groups, with a large number of subtribes, often with little or no political unity."

17: Norbeck--3 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 175, 177

"The Japanese classify the Formosan aborigines into two groups, representing neither ethnic nor tribal divisions: the Seiban ('wild' or 'raw' aborigines) and the Jukuban ('civilized' or 'ripe' aborigines). These terms are taken over from the earlier Chinese Sek-huan and Chin-huan. Both groups originally fell under the classification of 'wild aborigines,' but with acculturation through the centuries from China, Holland, and Japan a number of the tribes or members of tribes (the present Jukuban) largely abandoned their native cultures and languages, and, adopting principally Formosan Chinese culture, lived in amity with the Chinese, Hakkas, Japanese, and other nonnative residents of lowland and coastal Formosa. The Seiban, however, persistently resisted the advance of the more highly developed cultures and continued their life essentially unchanged in the security of the mountainous area of the interior. They remained fierce and unyielding, making frequent head-hunting forays, so that the Chinese, as a protective measure, were obliged to establish guard lines in various places. After Japanese occupation these guarded areas were elaborated, strengthened, and enlarged into one line encompassing most of interior Formosa. No real conciliatory progress was made by the Japanese until the late nineteen twenties. From Japanese material at hand it appears that the practice of head-hunting has almost, if not entirely, been abandoned, but that complete acculturation has not been achieved so that the Seiban remain at a primitive cultural level. Information on the post-war situation is lacking."

17: Norbeck--3 [2] (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 131 Atayal

"The Seiban are usually classified into nine tribal groups, with a large number of subtribes, often with little or no political unity. One of the largest units is the Atayal, composed of a considerable number of more or less independent and sometimes feuding subgroups which inhabit the extremely mountainous area of the north interior, an area comprising approximately one-sixth of the total island."

18: Kakyo--64 E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101

When the question is raised whether the aboriginal inhabitants living in the mountains of Central Formosa and on the eastern and western plains, in scattered groups, and called Dojin by the Chinese, are the descendants of one ethnic family or of several, we do indeed find that the Chinese for a long time past have distinguished Seiban and Jukuban; but this grouping is political, being a distinction between independent and subject tribes, and does not signify a difference of origin.

To determine this origin, one must not limit oneself to treating the origin of the Formosa savage alone. All the tribes and peoples living in the less immediate surroundings of the island must be examined, their distinctive features recorded and the common points of accord investigated. But we will postpone these considerations for a later occasion and limit ourselves today to throwing some light on the peculiarities of bodily structure, the customs and the intelligence of the savages living on Formosa and, on this basis, undertake their grouping. When we seek, in this way, the features common to all and, on the other hand, examine the special features of individual groups, a division into tribes and families does not prove difficult. Although this does not prove that they had a common origin, the division I have made may nevertheless correspond to the facts.

18: Kakyo--64-65 E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 174

If we start with the assumption that the Formosa savages do not all descend from the same ancestors, that they have not all resided in the same place, that they also have branched off at different times and have changed their places of residence, that in the course of time they have then mixed with each other and, in separate groups, have adopted the same customs and usages, and that as a result new [65] tribes have been formed, then it would appear that to investigate the features common to all and to trace the origin of the individual tribes is the best ground work for an investigation of a possible common origin.

If one proceeds according to these principles, one arrives at a division into four main groups with eight tribes, and 24 subsidiary divisions. To make this clearer I append a table.

First Group: Altdaiyar

First Tribe: Altdaiyar

First Division Tagare Aldaiyar

Second Division Daiya Aldaiyar

Second Group:
Nakuijo

First Tribe: Vonum (Nuwannwan)

First Division Matsuwa Vonum

Second " Rakubishan Vonum
Third " Sekukun

Second Tribe: Tsono

First Division Tsono Omiya

Second Division Tsono Oiye

Third Group: Kadas

First Tribe: Tsalisen

Second " : Paiwan

First Division Palisalisao

Second " Tepomaku

Third " Pakulkal

Third Tribe; Puguma

Fourth Group: Tanas

First Tribe: Amis

First Division Kawanan Amis

SecondDivision Kaele Amis

Second Tribe: Behpo

First Division Tatsuo

Second Division Shiraiya

Third Division Roa

Fourth " Pazchhe

[66] Fifth " Hinapabosa

Sixth " Taokasu

18: Kakyo--65-66 E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines-4
116, 101

Seventh Division Ketaganan

Eighth " Kubawaran

Ninth " Amtonra

All these names are those applied to the individual tribes, etc., by themselves in part, and in part by others. The terms have in part a direct, and in part an indirect significance. "

18: Kakyo--73 E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 161, 177

The Pepohan of Formosa are dying out. The Besha, who live in the plains of Polisia, in a district cut off by natural boundaries, numbered 120 fifty-one years ago, according to the account of a Chinese official. Gradually their community dissolved, and at the present time only 11 Besha are living, scattered among various tribes.

The Matoska savages living in the surroundings of Kagi, in whose district the Dutch formerly had set up a school, at the time of the Tei dynasty formed one of the largest native communities of Formosa. According to an original document of 1639 they numbered 3,000. But since they have lived together with the Chinese, their number has been sinking steadily. According to their traditions, they numbered between 800 and 1,000 one hundred years ago. Now only 200 of them are known.

19: Guérin and Bernard--549 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 197

One important point is the localization of the tribes on the soil to which they retreated. With the exception of slopes which are used for cultivation, and the thickets which are in the immediate vicinity of the villages and hamlets, the territories of the aborigines are very confused. Several clans use them for hunting; those in the east have a right of passage, which enables them to approach the Chinese frontier. And yet there are certain boundaries, which are rarely crossed. These barriers are essentially of a moral nature, and they are due to the linguistic differences existing between neighboring tribes. Let us add that there are always water-courses which form a corresponding frontier. However, these were purely a nominal obstacle at the beginning ....

The distinctive characteristic of the savage state is a wide diversity of language in a small area, and we find this on Formosa. But in spite of this diversity, and a few differences in costumes and customs which are really due to typography or surroundings, the family characteristics stand out in relief.

19: Guérin and Bernard--550 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 197

In general each tribe has its dialect on Taïwan which is often incomprehensible to the neighboring clan; but there is one notable exception. [MC: see succeeding notes in 101 for discussion of Tayal.]

19: Guérin and Bernard--550 [3] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101 Atayal

There are sixteen or seventeen Tayal tribes. They are: on the east and adjoining the sea, south of Sau-o-bay, the Tapéhan, then the Katasiek. Parallel to them but farther west are the Menibo, the Mouïaou, the Sélamaou, the Kaïaou, and the Kouan. As we approach the Chinese frontier we find the Takassan, the Kakaougan, the Kéouï, the Lahaou, and the Tétounan. And finally along this frontier are the Tangav, the Takoham, the Malipa and the Malikouan. This circle is limited by Chinese on the western and northern sides; by the Taoussaï and Taïoukou on the east, and by the Kalapaï on the southwest.

19: Guérin and Bernard--551 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101

From the geographical point of view, the Taoussaï and the Taïoukou complete the Morrisonien [MC: i.e. the area around Mt. Sylvia or the northern mountain area. The authors have here confused Mt. Morrison with Mt. Sylvia.] center, but they have a different language;[MC: from that of the Tayal] they fight each other, the Kaiaou, the Sélamaou and the Mouiaou.

19: Guérin and Bernard--551-552 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 197, 304

The Bouiok are in the interior, and they only have some frontier camps. Their dialect is a peculiar one, so they use the Tayal idiom when they want to talk with the Chinese. Their women only have their foreheads tattooed, while the men are the first ones that we have seen with a supplementary tattooing pattern on each side of the chest. [552] We had been told that the Bouiok were a scaly people, and it is true that a great many of them have skin diseases.

19: Guérin and Bernard--552 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101

There are six tribes between the territory of the Bouïok and the windings of the river whose mouth is at Héoulang; they are the Meïanhan, the Kabouron, the Baoukéton, the Makama, the Kaou-lo and the Shabagala. They still speak a language which is derived from the Tayal, but they use a number of words which are foreign to this idiom.

19: Guérin and Bernard--552 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
101 Tsuo

Between the rivière Noire and the Pakan are the Tsoo, who are also called the Tibou-la, as that is the name of their largest village.

19: Guérin and Bernard--552 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 304, 609

There are two rivers which empty into the sea near Taika and at Lokan; they serve as barriers to the powerful Ata-bou tribe, which has its own language. It is feared by the Chinese and by the aborigines in the south. The men of this tribe have their faces tattooed with the same designs that we have already seen, and then they also use horizontal arabesques on it.

19: Guérin and Bernard--553 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 304, 609

Still within the limits of the two water-courses, [VMM: the rivière Noire and the Pakan] we find the aborigines of Sibou-koun and those of Kanagou. Each of these tribes has its own dialect. Tattooing and the hatred of the Chinese are characteristic of them. The territory of these two tribes extends to the eastern slope.

19: Guérin and Bernard--564 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 619

There has never been any federation of tribes, and the only link is the language.

Formosan Aborigines-1

19: Guérin and Bernard--facing 632 (ca. 1866) 1868
116, 101, 102

EXPLANATION FOR MAP BY GUÉRIN AND BERNARD

[MC: The purpose of this map by Guerin and Bernard was to indicate the locations of the various aboriginal tribes mentioned in the text. The map is apparently taken from English Admiralty charts and appears to be inaccurate as to the longitude of the island and its coastal configuration. The chief defect however, is the apparent confusion of Mt. Morrison with Mt. Sylvia, the latter being entitled Mt. Morrison on the map whereas the real Mt. Morrison is located in the south. This adaptation of the author's map is reduced somewhat in size and includes only the main features and locations of the tribal groups, omitting the names of most towns and bodies of water. The line of dashes indicates the approximate limits of the territories of the aborigines and Chinese. The dotted line divides the region of the plains from that of the mountains. The altitudes are in English feet.]

19: Guérin and Bernard--550 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 171 Atayal

In the northern third of the island there is a group of aborigines which belong to various denominations, obey independent chiefs and are not jointly liable, although they live peacefully and share their hunting territories and frontiers. The whole agglomeration speaks the same language, although a few idioms reveal that there are different tribes. We shall call this group the Morrisonien, for the peoples composing it live on the slopes of this alpine region. [VMM: The authors seem to have mistaken Mt. Sylvia for Morrison] A simpler term would by the Tayal, and we are glad to borrow it from their idiom. Although this idiom does not resemble that of the island of Luzon, the analogy of the words Tayal and Tagal is worthy of note; the latter is the generic name of the inhabitants of the Philippines.

20: Alvarez--250 [2] (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 144

"The aborigines of Formosa are, we think,of Malayan origin. They constitute seven groups, with the following names: Atayal, Bunum, Tsu-u, Tsalisen, Pyuma, Amis and Paiwan. [MC: see map, category 102, p. 247] They represent a racial unity from the anthropological and ethnological as well as linguistic points of view. Physical differences exist only between the Atayal and the Bunum, and between these and the Paiwan."

20: Alvarez--253 (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101

"The tribes of the northern section of the island [MC: call] themselves Atayal. In the centre, the east, the west and far into the south there are found the groups named Amis, Pyuma, Bunum, Tsu-u, Tsalisen and Paiwan. Of course, the branches are divided into several tribes, subtribes, clans, and so on, and each one has a distinguishing title of its own. The northern tribes bear the name Atayal, while those living in the south, yet belonging to the same group, call themselves Tayal. And the inhabitants of nine Atayal villages situated at a short distance from the Chinese villages of the Prefectura Shinchiku call themselves Saisset."

20: Alvarez--253 [2] (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101

"Many savage tribes are found in the neighbourhood of the vast and rich plain of Central Formosa, situated between the mountains called Posia or Polisia by the Chinese. Those who occupy the east and the south call themselves Bunum. Some of them also call themselves Buhuan, or Kantaban. The Chinese apply the name of Chui-huan, viz., savages of the water, to the inhabitants of four villages situated on the borders of the lake called Candidius by the Europeans, and jitsu getsutan, viz., lake of the floating sun and moon, by the Japanese. Other neighbouring settlements are named Siek-huan, viz., mature, or civilized savages. Of course, this appellation is given indiscriminately to all the tribes which have been influenced by the intercourse with their higher civilized Chinese neighbours."

"The Chinese call Alisan-ban, viz., savages of Mount Alisan, the Tsu-u, who live in the surroundings of this mountain, in front of the District of Kagi. The Tsalisen of the mountains in front of the Port of Takao are styled ka-lé-lang by the Chinese (4). This

4. According to the highly authorized Chinese dictionary (Kang-hi), the two signs... mean 'ugly wooden figures used to make dollies'. They are called Kalé-hi in Formosa. Such Kalé-hi are made for the purpose of exorcising the devils, when somebody suddenly dies. This name 'ugly figures' seems to have been applied by the first Chinese invaders to the savage tribes of Formosa.

word signifies a mountain situated in Asia, inhabited by uncivilized races of non-Chinese origin. The word is doubtless synony-[254]mous with Che-huan, viz., barbarous, uncivilized, not yet mature, a term too very often used to designate the Igorrotos of Formosa.

Ka-lé is, therefore, not of Formosan origin, as has been asserted by some students. No relation seems to exist between this name and the mountain of the same name worshipped by the Malayans.

The next to be mentioned are the Amis of the vast eastern plain, who are subdivided into Amis of the North and Amis of the South. Their neighbours are the Pyuma, who do not differ widely from them.

20: Alvarez--253-254 (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines-2
116, 101

The southernmost section of the island is occupied by the Paiwan. They are subdivided into the following great branches: Chakuvukubum, Pakurukul and Parizarizao. Several tribes of the stock have reached a relatively higher degree of civilization, due to the permanent contact with the Chinese."

20: Alvarez--254 (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 609

"The Atayal of the villages Linmongan, Urai, Pesia, and others, situated in the neighbourhood of the capital of the island, apply the nickname Bunbukan to the Chinese. This word probably signifies 'foreigner' 'inhabitant of the plains', in opposition to Atayal or 'mountaineer'. The Tsalisen of Kapiangan, Tukubul, Kananigan, Kulalut, in front of the port of Takao, surely express analogous ideas by giving the name Pairan (5) to the Chinese."

5. Or Paragas, as the Chinese are termed by the Paiwan.

116, 101

Groups	Sub-groups	Some Tribes
Atayal.....	N. Atayal	Gaogan
		Marikouan
		Keito
	S. Tayal	Taruko
		Nansei
		Musia
C. Bunum.....		Tandai
		Sibukun
		Gundai
W. Tsu-u.....		Alisan
		Kanabu
Amis.....	N. Amis del	Mokkui
	S. Amis del	Siukoran
		Pilam
SE. Pyuma.....		Pilam
		Chipon

20: Alvarez--254 [2] (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines-2
116, 101

Groups	Sub-groups	Some Tribes
W. Tsalisen.....		Simosan
		Kali
S. Paiwan.....	Chakubukubun	Botan
	Pakarukal	Kosun
	Parizarizao	Subon "

20: Alvarez--254 [3] (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 131

"The territory occupied by the seven tribes, or branches mentioned above [MC: see preceding paragraphs in categories 116 or 101] embraces nearly seven thousand two hundred square miles, viz., the half of the total area of the island."

20: Alvarez--254-255
116, 131, 101

(no date) 1927

Formosan Aborigines
Tayal

"The Atayal have a much greater extent of territory (about 3000 square miles) than any other distinct branch of the Formosan [255] aborigines. They are most ferocious and dreadful head-hunters. They use also the art of tattooing in great scale. The Ocean constitutes the eastern border of their home. In the north, they are neighbours of the Chinese. The capital Taihaku, or Taipeh is about four leagues distant from the first villages of the Atayal. Their western neighbours are likewise Chinese. In the south they live adjacent to the Bunum. And in the south east, they are neighbours of the northern Amis."

20: Alvarez--255 (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 131 Bunun

The Bunum are hill tribes of the centre. They occupy a strip of 25 leagues of the central range, especially north of Mount Morrison (4290 m.). The territory west of them belongs to the Tsu-u, whose western neighbours are also Chinese."

20: Alvarez--255 [2] (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 131, 181, 101 Ami

"The fertile eastern sea-shores, about forty leagues in extent, form the home of the Amis. The latter generally are of friendly manners and peaceful customs. This section of the island is still to be invaded by the Chinese and Japanese."

20: Alvarez--255 [3] (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101

"To the south, [MC: of the Amis] also close to the sea-shores, are found the Pyuma. Their home is a very small territory. To the north, they reach the Bunum and Tsalisen. The northern neighbours of the latter are the Bunum. To the west of the Tsalisen are found colonies and villages of the so-called Pepo-huan. And to the south live the Paiwan. This branch reaches the southernmost section of the island. Their eastern neighbours are named Koalut and Botan. Both are extremely warlike and notorious, for they are regarded as the murderers of the ill-fated shipwrecked crew of the North American bark Rover, in 1867; and in 1871 they murdered part of the shipwrecked crew of the Miyako. To the west are found the Siek-huan, viz., civilized savages, a plain and most sociable people."

21: Asai--1 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 144

"There is sometimes misunderstanding and confusion in the terminology of Formosans and Formosan tribes. Most of the present day inhabitants of Formosa are of Chinese stock from Fukien and Kwantung provinces, many of them Hakka Chinese. The original inhabitants, the aboriginal groups of Formosa, are of Indonesian stock. They belong to the Indonesian stock both physically and culturally. They number about 140,000 and this figure is relatively stable. They are generally divided into 13 tribes: Atayal, Saisiyat, Sedeq, Bunun, Tsou, Kamakanabu, Saaru, Ruka, Paiwan, Puyuma, Ami, Yami, and Siroiya."

21: Asai--1 [2] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 174, 197

"Each of these tribes [MC: 13 Formosan aborigine tribes. See preceding paragraph in category 116] uses a different dialect, but the dialects belong, of course, to the common Indonesian language. The dialectical differences are great enough, however, so that the individuals of different tribes cannot understand one another. This indicates that since they immigrated into the Island, they have lived in separate communities and there has not been much communication between the groups. There are also divergent cultures in the different tribes."

21: Asai--9 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 144

" 'It is a well known fact that there lives an Indonesian race on Formosa, and it is called by the Japanese Ban-zoku or Takasago-zoku, which includes Indonesian aboriginal tribes not only on Formosa, but also on this small island Botel Tobago. According to the classification of the Aboriginal Department of the Formosan Government General they are divided into 7 tribes (or divisions), namely, Taiyal, Tsou, Saiset, Bunun, Paiwan, Ami and Yami, but linguistically we must expect more divisions. [MC: see category 197]"

21: Asai--9-10 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 101, 197

"[MC: linguistic subdivisions of Formosan Aborigines]
a. Living Languages:

1.	Ataiyal	Northern
2.	Sedeq	Northern
3.	Saisiyat (or Saiset, Saisirat)	Northern
4.	Bunun	Central
5.	Tsou	Central
6.	Kanakanavu	Central
7.	Saaroa	Central
8.	Rukai	Southern
9.	Paiwan	Southern
10.	Puyuma	East coast
11.	Ami	East Coast
12.	Yami	Botel Tobago Is.

'b. Half-dead Languages: These people are bi-lingual: speaking Chinese and their proper Indonesian languages. They speak their proper Indonesian languages among the tribesmen to a limited extent and it is feared their languages will disappear in the near future.

1.	Kavalan	Northern
2.	Pazeh	Central west coast

3. Thao	Central [10]

'c. Dead Languages:

1. Ketagalan	Northern
2. Taokas	Northern west coast
3. Papora	Northern west coast
4. Babuza	West coast. It is called Favorlang by the Dutch missionaries.
5. Siraya	Central west coast. It is the language of the Bible translation of Gravius and the vocabulary of Utrecht MS Makatao and Taivoan belong to this group."

22: Wiedfeldt--7 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 161 Atayal

Yielding to the pressure exerted by Chinese immigrants, the "savages" of Formosa have evacuated the western plain, and have withdrawn to the mountainous country of the interior and the eastern coast, with the result that they occupy about 17,000 of the 34,700 square kilometers of the island's area. At present, their number is estimated at 120,000, and they are said to be divided into nine tribes, which vary as to composition, language, and customs.

22: Wiedfeldt--7 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 161, 177 Atayal

The largest and most vigorous of these [MC: Formosan Aborigine] tribes is that of the Atayals. This tribe is estimated as consisting of 30,000 persons occupying 7,700 square kilometers, and has deliberately remained aloof from foreign influence. They call themselves Atayals, which in their language means persons of the same kind, presumably in the anthropological sense.

22: Wiedfeldt--7-8 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 177 Atayal

The Atayals are said to consist of 24 tribes. I became better acquainted with the two tribes living along the frontier: the western [8] Schimptonoff, or Bedonoff, and the eastern Taroku, or Toroku. The former are called by the Chinese Sensanban, or Kappansan, which means in German the fore mountain savages; the latter are called Bokkui. I have not been able to find out anything about the meaning of the other names. Both tribes have stubbornly resisted all cultural influences coming from the Chinese, the Japanese, and the other savages, and they have vigorously opposed the advance of the Japanese. After a violent struggle, the Schimptonoff have for four years been kept within the Aiyu line. This is the fate that lies ahead for the Toroku in the struggles now threatening.

22: Wiedfeldt--8 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 161 Atayal

The Schimptonoff, [MC: also called the Bedonoff tribe of the Tayals] whom I investigated more thoroughly, because my work kept me in their district a longer time, are about 1800 strong. Some almost extinct neighboring tribes have fused with them, so that they now number about 3,000 individuals. Including their hunting grounds, they have an area of around 80 square kilometers. They are composed of 52 clans. Every clan has an average of 12 to 15 families, and every family consists of 4 to 5 persons. It is calculated that there are 2500 individuals of the Taroku.

22: Wiedfeldt--26-27 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 641, 619 Atayal

If the judicial function holds second place in the clan, in the tribe it holds first place in scope, although in importance it is inferior to the political activity of the tribe. Among the Schimptonoff, the members of the tribe are called koto-ro-ryong, [27] people living along the same great river. Among the Taroku, they are called koga-ru-gaya, people with the same customs. As the names indicate, the common bond of the tribe is not blood relationship, but the fact of occupancy of the same territory, or the fact that they have the same political and judicial customs.

24: Anonymous--92 [2] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101

Far in the interior of the mountains lives a people who resemble monkeys; they are not quite three feet tall, that is four English feet. If they see someone coming they climb to the top of the highest trees. If one tries to catch them they hide behind the leaves and draw their cross-bow, aiming it at the enemy.

31: Hofmann--618-619 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 177, 291, 721 Tsou

During our expedition through the forests we occasionally saw some of the natives who had come here to hunt or merely from curiosity. [619] They are a shy people, short, with beautiful bright eyes; they are clothed in deerskins, leaving their arms and legs bare. These are members of the Tsou tribe. The word tsou is equivalent to human being, but they do not apply this term to any other people, neither the Malayans nor the Chinese and Japanese. They are, comparatively speaking, quite civilized; I was told that they had given up headhunting several centuries ago, but this is probably due to the influence of a foreign culture more than moral conviction. There has been no perceptible progress in their culture. Since they are numerically inferior to the other tribes and since they are constantly at war with the neighboring tribe, the Hosha, they are probably forced to accept the rule of the Japanese.

34: Del Re--7-8 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 101

"It is now generally accepted by ethnologists that the savage tribes of Formosa (Taiwan) belong, racially, to the Indonesian race while linguistically they are a group of the Austronesian family. Among the Japanese they are known by the generic name of Banzoku or Takasago-zoku. Literally, the first means alien (ban) tribes (zoku), the second, tribes of Takasago (the ancient name given to Taiwan). These have further been divided (by the Japanese) into two categories; Seiban ('raw' savages) and Jikuban ('ripe' savages). The former live for the most part among the mountains of the interior or along the East coast of the island, generally in reservations, and have largely preserved their ancient languages and customs: the latter are sinicized and frequently indistinguishable except to the expert, from the Hakkas, Cantonese and Amoy Chinese who at various periods emigrated to Formosa. The noticeable linguistic, cultural and ethnic differences between many of the tribes have led to the surmise that, in general, the inland island tribes had their original homes somewhere on the South-Eastern Asiatic continent, while the [8] Yami of Botel-Tobago and, possibly some of those inhabiting the Eastern coast, came from Austronesia. Whatever the true facts may be, it is certain that they represent various strata of Indonesian peoples having different levels of culture, who in remote times settled in Taiwan, which lies at the Northern end of the Indonesian territory."

34: Del Re--8 [1] U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 103

"The Aboriginal Department of the Japanese Government General of Taiwan divided the Seiban into seven groups viz: (i) Tayal, (ii) Saisyat or Saiset (North), (iii) Bunum, (iv) Tsou (Centre), (v) Paiwan (South-East), (vi) Ami (East), (vii) Yami (Botal-Tobago island, Jap. Kô-tô-sho). To these should be added the following sub-groups: (Ia) Sedeq, (IV a) Kanakanavu, (IV b) Saaroa, (V a) Rukai, (V b) Puyuma. (1)"

1. See map.

34: Del Re--11-12 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosans-Aborigines-1-2
116, 101, 131, 103 Yami

"The small coral island of Kô-tô-sho (island of the red heads), exclusively inhabited by Yami, has an area of about 45 square miles and lies between Formosa and the Philippines at a distance of 45 miles and lies between Formosa and the Philippines at a distance of 45 miles from the S.E. coast of Formosa. According to the census of 1934 it had a population of 1682 including a few Japanese policemen and their families. The name of Yami appears to have been due to Dr. R. Torii who, on visiting the island in 1897, reported that, when asked the name of their tribe, the savages replied; 'Yami Kami' (Yami we), kami being the personal pronoun used exclusively to denote the first person plural. Later investigations have shown, however, that the Yami have merely accepted the name given them by the Japanese. It should be added that the Western name for the island (Botal-Tobago) first appeared in Robert Broughton's map of the N. E. coast of Asia and the Japanese Islands (Weimar, 1805). Sanson d'Abbeville's map of the Philippines (1654), gives Tabaco Xima, the latter word being obviously the transcription of shima, (island), which also appears on an old Japanese chart of (?) 1607-08. In Chinese maps of the Sung Dynasty it is called Tabako or Tambako but later, in the Ching Dynasty, it appears as An-tau-su, pronounced by the Japanese Kô-tô-sho. XVIIIth [12] century maps give its name as Botrol (1720) and Bottol (1792), the latter names being derived from Botol and Buturu, by which it is known to the Puyuma and the Ami tribes of the East coast of Formosa, geographically nearest to it. From the evidence

34: Del Re--11-12 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosans-Aborigines-2
116, 101, 131, 103 Yami

available Dr. Asai concludes that 'Tobago' comes from the Chinese via Japan, and 'Botal' direct from the aborigenes, and that the two names were subsequently combined by Western cartographers, possibly to avoid confusion with the other island called Tobago in the British West Indies."

34: Del Re--12 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 171 Yami

"Compared with other Formosan tribes, the Yami occupy numerically, a somewhat insignificant place more than compensated, however, by the fact that they constitute a remarkably interesting and original ethnographic unit divorced linguistically and culturally from those found on the main island, and revealing considerably developed cultural patterns."

35: Collingwood--138 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 177 Sek-hoan

"These people [MLB: occupants of a village on the southern side of Sano Bay] are called by themselves Kibalan, and are, I believe, known by the Chinese as the tame aborigines, in contradistinction to the raw savages which dwell on the mountains, and on the east coast more particularly. These latter are at deadly enmity with the Chinese; while the Kibalan live in close proximity, though isolated from them. An officious half-caste among them informed us that there was another village close by; so, guided by him, we proceeded about a furlong along the beach, but were rather disgusted to find it a Chinese village, differing in no respect from other dirty Chinese villages."

36: Dodd--69 U-2 1865 (1885) Formosan Aborigines
116, 101

"It is my present object to give a description of the aboriginal tribes living in the hills in rear of Banca extending in various directions towards Sû-oh Bay on the East coast, and more especially of those tribes living nearest to the western borderland in the neighbourhood of Kŏt Chiu formerly a Chinese border outpost, as well as of those residing in the mountains at the back of San Ko Yeng and to the East also of To Ko Ham extending down to the 'Sylvian and Dodd' ranges in the vicinity of the 'Petroleum Wells' discovered by myself in the spring of the year 1865."

37: Steere--302 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 162

"The aborigines of Formosa naturally fall under two divisions: First, the ancient inhabitants of the great plains to the west, who possessed some of the elements of civilization, and who, from their exposed situtation, soon fell under the dominion of the Chinese, when they entered the island, over two hundred years ago. They are now found scattered nearly the whole length of the island, and generally driven back from the rich lands that were their ancient inheritance, to the sterile and hilly lands near the foot of the mountains, where they are subject to continual attacks from the savages. They have frequently migrated to rid themselves of unpleasant neighbors, both Chinese and savages, and there are known to be large colonies of them who have penetrated the mountains, and have settled in unknown valleys on the east coast. They are generally known by the name of Pepo-whan, which, literally translated from the Chinese, means barbarians of the plain, and demonstrates the fact that the Chinese found them inhabiting the plains on their arrival. A large division of the Pepo-whan, near the center of the island, who still speak their native language, are called Lek-whan--ripe or cultivated barbarians. At the time of the Dutch occupation there were several tribes or nations of this people, each speaking its own language."

37: Steere--302-303 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan: Aborigines
116, 162, 101, 177 Chin-hoan

"The second great division of the aborigines of Formosa is of those who are still wild and savage, and who inhabit the steep and rocky mountains running through the east part of the island. They occupy about half of the island, but their territory, where it has been visited, is steep and rocky. They are probably but little changed by [303] their intercourse with the Chinese, and there may be tribes who have not yet heard of the Chinese. The gradual advance of the Chinese in their search after timber and cultivable lands has no doubt caused wars among the different tribes, by crowding the more exposed tribes back upon those behind. They are divided up into many small tribes and nations, but their languages, as well as the general customs of tattooing and of cutting off and preserving the heads of their enemies, point to their descent from a common stock. They live much by hunting, but cultivate their steep hill-sides in millet, sweet potatoes, tobacco, etc. They are known by the general name of Che-whan--raw or unripe barbarians. Of those visited, I have called those living east of the Lek-whan settlement of Polisia, by the common name Che-whan, while the others are designated by their tribal names of Tsui-whan and Kale-whan."

37: Steere--305 [I] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 131, 162, 578, 721 Sek-hoan

"The Lek-whan, a large division of the Pepo-whan, living near the center of the island, seem to have originally come from near Chang-wha. A few miles to the north of this city there are still toward two thousand living in the towns of Loisia and Toasia, though, like the Pepo-whan near Taiwanfu, badly in debt to the Chinese. There is a large settlement of them in a mountain valley, two days' journey to the east of Changwha, called Posia or Polisia, to which, according to their own account, they began migrating forty or fifty years ago, and they are still going, there now being some four or five thousand there. This valley is entirely surrounded by mountains and forests inhabited by savages. They are nominally at peace with these, and pay them a yearly tribute of rice and cattle, but in spite of this they are continually losing their lives from attacks by the savages, some twelve or fourteen persons from the valley being killed annually, while at work in their fields or fishing or hunting. The only news of the manner or cause of the loss the friends and relatives receive, being often the headless trunk lying where it fell."

37: Steere--307 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 131, 142, 621, 291 Chin-hoan

"The savages that I visited east of the Lek-whan settlement of Posia, I have left with the general designation of Che-whan. The Chinese and Pepo-whans often call them Bon-whan. They occupy a part of the water shed of the island about the head-waters of the river that flows through the valley of Posia and into the Formosan channel near Changwha, and of other streams that flow into the Pacific. They are said to belong to a nation or confederacy, of over thirty villages, under one chief. They are very small and inferior looking, hardly averaging five feet in height, but very muscular from their life spent in climbing up and down their steep mountains. Their dress is made of a species of nettle, perhaps the ramil plant, which they cultivate, and which the women weave into narrow strips of very strong and durable, but somewhat coarse cloth, which is generally ornamented with red and blue stripes woven in. The only clothing of the men is a coarse sleeveless shirt of this cloth, which comes down to the middle of the thigh. I saw a couple of men among them wearing nothing but narrow (tapa rabos), not so wide as the hand, made apparently from the hair of some animal, woven, and colored red. They were said to belong to another, but friendly tribe. The women wear a sort of short tunic or kilt."

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

INVESTIGATION OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CHALA'ABUS PAIWAN, PINGTUNG HSIEN

WEI HWEI-LIN
Translated by CHEN CHI-LU

This is a preliminary report of the field-works among the Chala'abus Paiwan of Pingtung Hsien. Members who participated were Messrs. Ho Ting-jui, Tang Mei-chun, Huang Hsün-ch'eng and the present writer.

Chala'abus village was chosen because: it is one of the important and old tribes of the Central Paiwan, and, is the center of the Chimo racial group of the Paiwan. We have noted after the field-session that the village had other significances: (1) The village consisted of twelve aristocratic households whether of the Chimo or of the Paiwan groups. The village organization was thus rather complicated in structure. (2) The dwelling houses and their arrangement had been well preserved in their original form. (3) Old traits in material culture, such as stone-engraving, wood-carving, designed weaving, and embroidery, had been also well kept. (4) The ethnic character is rather conservative. They have been comparatively less influenced by the Japanese and the Chinese as compared to the other groups of the tribe.

Because of the limitation of time and investigators, we emphasized tribal organization and chieftanship of the village. Our field-work was undertaken from Feb. 1 to 15. Because of the complexity of the culture, the investigation is by no means a complete one.

SETTLEMENT TYPE AND DUAL ORGANIZATION

Chala'abus village is situated on the south-eastern slope of Mt. Nan-ta-wu and stands on the northern bank of the Lai-i River or the Upper Lin-pien River. The population of Chala'abus village was 158 households and 948 persons at the time of our investigation. With the Exception of 12 households who had moved to Chinasan which lies between the village site and the plain below it and formed a separate hamlet by themselves, all the other 146 households were concentrated on the two adjacent fan-shaped slopes which in the present report are referred to as the village site. The village of Chala'abus hence consisted of two parts: the south and the north-parts. Each of them occupied a fan-shaped slope. The south-part was called Chinimoan or "the living land of the Chimo", and the north-part Pinaiwanan or "the living land of the Paiwan". The village site was on a slope of 30 degree to 45 degree inclination, with the width north to south 80 M., and length east to west 100 M. Dwelling houses, including floors and roofs, were built of slate. All these houses had small front yards paved with slate. A continuous row of houses of the same level had their yards adjacent on the same level; but communication between two rows of houses was by means of narrow stair-ways, because the front yards of houses in the rear row were always on a level with the roofs of the front houses. The village is thus in a terrace form. Chinimoan consisted of eight terraces, and Pinaiwanan ten. Each terrace had a row

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955

AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
AD4
Atayal

ETHNOGRAPHICAL INVESTIGATION OF SOME ASPECTS OF THE ATAYAL, CHIN-SHUI TS'UN, MIAOLI HSIEN

RUEY YIH-FU, HO TING-JUI,
T'AO SHU-HSÜEH, HSÜ SHIH-CHEN and
CH'IU CH'I-CH'IEN
Translated by CHEN CHI-LU

I. THE ATAYAL OF CHIN-SHUI TS'UN

Chin-shui Ts'un is situated on the banks of both the Wen-shui River [*lali²oŋ lilax*] or the Upper Hou-lung River and its tributary the Pa-kua-li River [*ya²oŋ toanoq*], while Tung-hsi-shui Mountain rises to the south and Heng-lung Mountain to the north of it. The Chin-shui Atayal was originally a branch of the *Tseo²le²* Tribe, and was formerly called the Wen-shui Fan or Wen-shui Tribe. According to Y. Sayama, the Wen-shui Fan originally included eight villages, but at the time of his investigation, there were only four villages: *paqali* (included a part of *xalo*), *tapilas* (included a part of *seqa²on*, or *taojan*), *ma²ao*, and *saxe²an* (included *saβulok*, *sayata*, and a part of *seqa²an*). Approximately at the same time, U. Mori also recorded only four village-names of the "six-villages of Ta-hu Fan, which were *paqali*, *tapilas*, *taojan* (*seqa²an*) and *saxe²an*. Later on, at the time of N. Utsurikawa's investigation (about 25 years ago) it was reported that there were only *paqali* and *tapilas*, and *saxe²an* known merely by name. The *Takasagozoku-chosasho* (*The Investigation Report on Formosan Aborigines*) published in 1937 by the Japanese Government accorded with Utsurikawa's statement and stated that *paqali* had a population of 29 households, 133 persons, and *tapilas* 41 households, 217 persons. In the present investigation, we discovered that besides *tapilas* which is situated on the southern bank of the Wen-shui River, and *paqali* on both banks of the Pa-kua-li River, there is Ho-ti Village which is situated on the northern bank of the Wen-shui River. This Ho-ti Village is also called *saxe²an* by the Atayal, but the dwellers are no longer the *Tseo²le²*, they are mostly the *ʃiaqalo* of the *Seqoleq* Tribe, or the people of the *loxkax* Village. A part of them are the *pasqalan*, or the people of *məʃiŋo* Village. *qaino-βotox*, one of our informants, related that: "The *ʃiaqalo* originated in the place called *xabun-totonan*. In time of the Chief *βota-momots*, they had moved to *jaβayan* and *loxqax*, and settled there for about three or four generations. They moved again to *wanpala* in 1925, because they had found that the lands of *jaβayan* and *loxqax* were not arable. In 1936, those who lived in *loxqax* had been coerced by the Japanese government to move to the northern bank of the Wen-shui River and there they formed the present Ho-ti Village; and those who lived in *jaβayan* to *laqus* of Nan-chuang Hsiang. The latter had moved again (between 1947-1949) to Heng-lung-shan and formed the present *jaβayan* or

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Atayal

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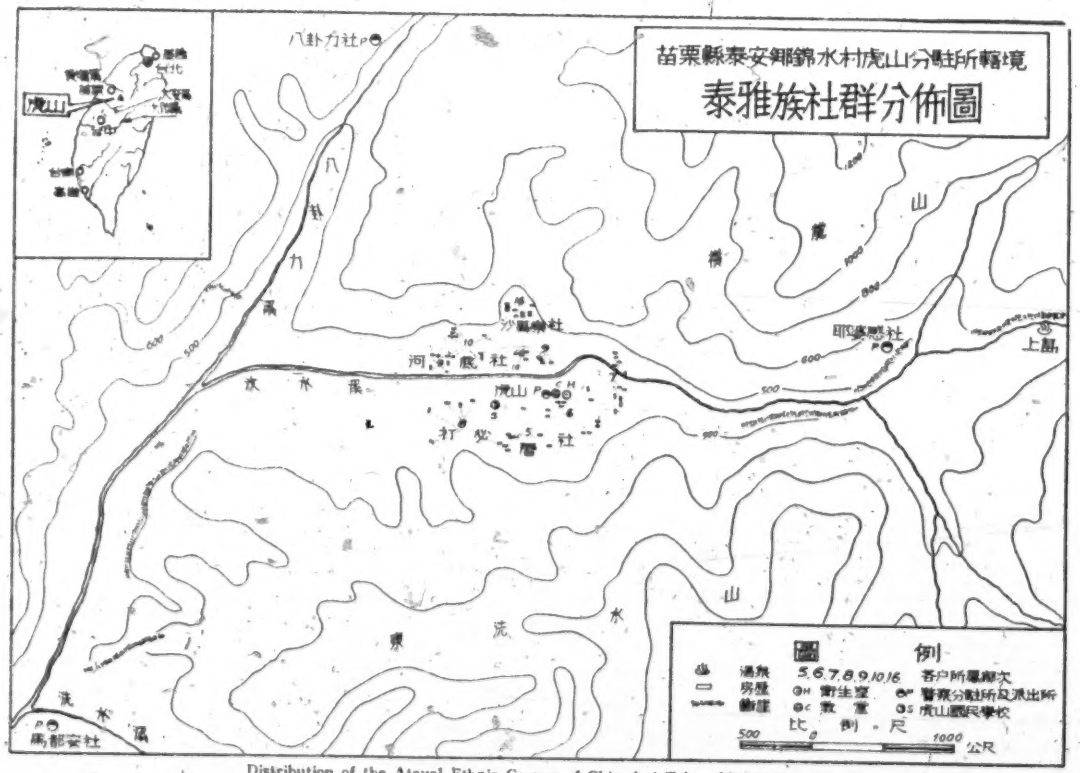

Distribution of the Atayal Ethnic Groups of Chin-shui Ta'un, Miaoli Hsien

/P. 127 b (facing p. 30, Chinese text)/

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 ADl Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
Atayal AD4

mɔqalaqa Village." On the slope north of Ho-ti Village there is a village of 10 households, 62 persons, which is generally referred to as *saβulok* or *tsaβulok*. According to Y. Sayama, *saβulok* was originally one of the "eight villages of the Wen-shui Fan", and was formed by joining the village of *sayata*, later on it was annexed by *saxe²an*; but we found that the inhabitants of *saβulok* today belong to the village of *paqali*. On the slope east of Ho-ti Village there are 5 households, generally called *taojan*, this name has been found in Mori's book, and today, the people form a part of *tapilas*. Sayama stated that *taojan* was originally one of the "eight-villages of the Wen-shui Fan" but was annexed early by *tapilas*. Mori stated that *tapilas* had subordinated *maqao*, which Sayama called *ma²ao*, another one of the "eight villages of the Wen-shui Fan". *The Investigation Report on Formosan Aborigines* records that *ma²oa* was annexed by *tapilas* in 1928. In the present investigation, the following account had been given by the vice-chief of *tapilas*: The people of *maqao* originally lived around *ulai*, but now none of them can be found there." The present *tapilas* consists of two *camil* (the term *camil* will be explained later). One is *tapilas*, its meaning is not known; the other is *meililax*, it is the native name of the Wen-shui River. The *tapilas* originally lived in the valley 10 km. west to Hu-shan. In time when the informant's grandfather *taimo-la²on* was the chief, the Japanese government had coerced the *tapilas* to move to Hu-shan which is situated on the bank of the Wen-shui River, and appointed *qaino-βawan*, the grandfather of Chief *βujoŋ-tolai*, to be the chief, and *taimɔ-la²oŋ* to be the vice-chief." So, the present Chin-shui Ts'un consists of the people from *tapilas*, *paqali*, *loxqax* or *saxe²an*, as well as *jaβaŋan* or *mɔqalaqa*.

II. KIN GROUPS

The Kin group forms the nucleus of all kinds of Atayal social organization. The *tapilas* Atayal have four kinds of kin groups. The following description is summarized from the information which was given by *joqex-etex* and *βujoŋ-tolai*:

1. *βaβu²an*

It is the fundamental unit to found an *alaŋ* or a *qalaŋ* (village). *βaβu²an* may be defined as family. A "family" comes into being with the marriage of a mating pair. Atayal marriage is strictly monogamous. One always leaves one's "family of orientation" and erects a new house and forms one's "family of procreation" which is called *otox* or *qotox βaβu²an* by the Atayal, after he is married. Therefore, a "family" generally includes a married couple and their offsprings. But Atayal *βaβu²an* is different from that of the so called nuclear family of the western civilization which consists of only kins of two generations. In the Atayal, the only son or the youngest son of the family always remains in his parent's family even after he is married. So, it may consist of kins of three generations, and may be an extended family. In some occasions, if the condition of the house is favourable, the eldest or second son may also remain in the house after he is married. If the only son or the youngest son is disliked by

51: Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

different localities, so that their cultures, though similar, are not uniform. The native tribes also differ considerably in the degree to which they have been acculturated and in the type of culture change that has taken place.

The Ami

The Ami live in the Taitung Rift Valley, which runs in approximately a north-south direction for 150 kilometres along the east coast of Formosa. Some Ami live on the east coast proper. The Ami tribe is the largest on Formosa. They are divided into five groups by dialect and cultural differences. The number of households and population of each group, based on the census of 1937, are as follows:

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The chief traits of the Ami are intensive agriculture and fishing; pile dwellings; paddle-and-anvil pottery; long wooden shields; feather headdresses; clans[1]; matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence; classificatory or Malayan kinship terminology; parent-child nymic linkage; and age-grades.

Tavarong is a town of 5,000 population situated in the central part of the Taitung Rift Valley, in Hualien Hsien. It belongs to the Hsiu-ku-luan group and is regarded by the Ami themselves as the oldest settlement in the whole Ami area. About one per cent of the Tavarong townsmen are Christians; the rest hold to their native religion.

Gods, spirits, and souls

The Ami term for gods, which include also spirits and souls, is *kawas*. The Tavarong Ami believe in two kinds of *kawas*. The first kind, which may be considered natural gods, include *maratau*, *tšidar*, *borar*], and others. *maratau* is a male tutolary deity who resides in heaven. According to informant Maran-Namo?, *maratau* is the god of "politics and strength". In former days, when the Ami were at war with their neighbors, the Atayal, they prayed to *maratau* for protection[2]. *tšidar* is the female sun goddess, and *borar*] the male moon god. The sun goddess is held to be more powerful than the moon god. Maran-Namo? while explaining the designs on the houseposts of the house of the *kakita:n* (priest), stated that *tšidar* is the almighty deity and holds the supreme position over

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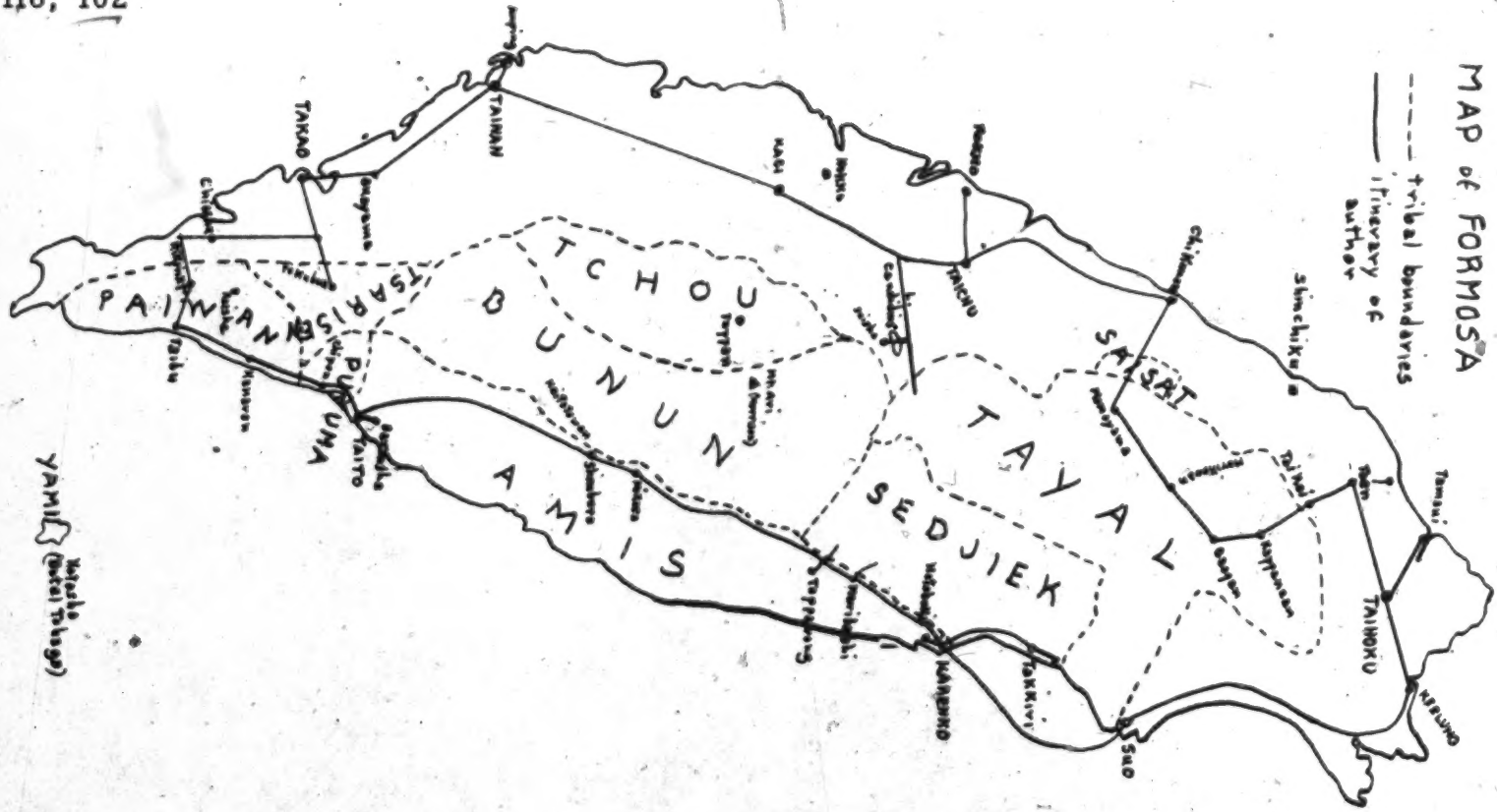
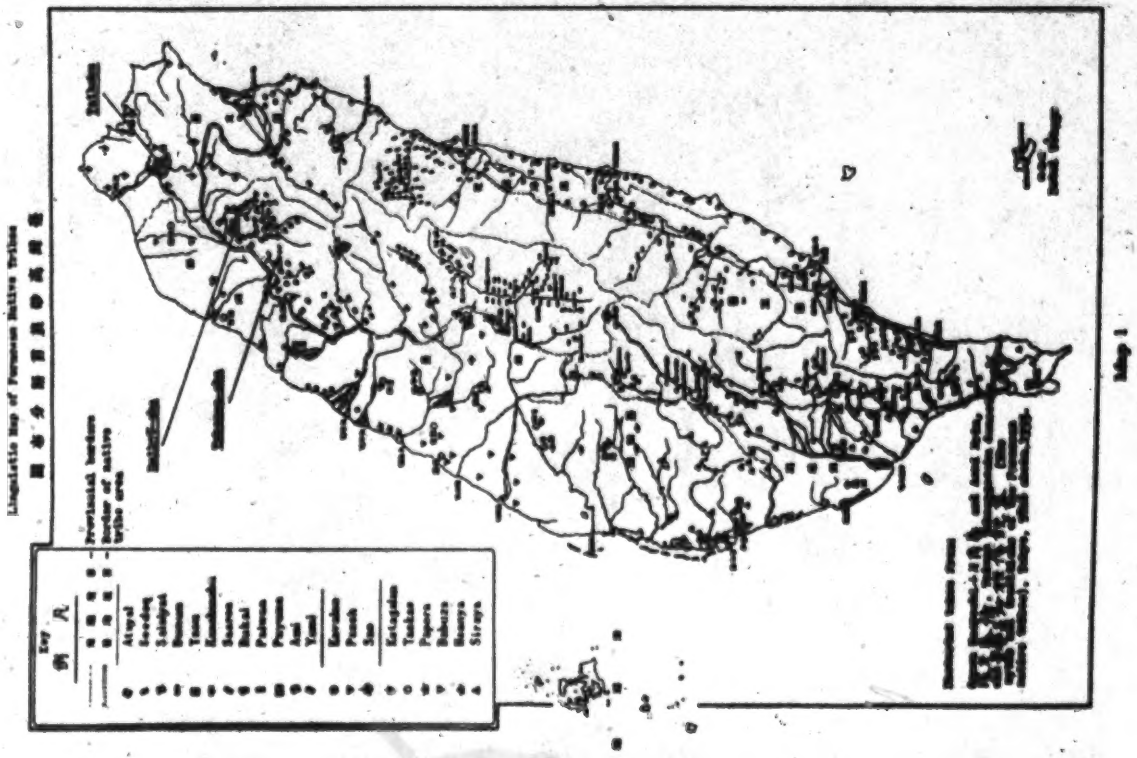
11: Haguenauer--facing 25 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 102



17: Norbeck--facing 12 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 102, 198



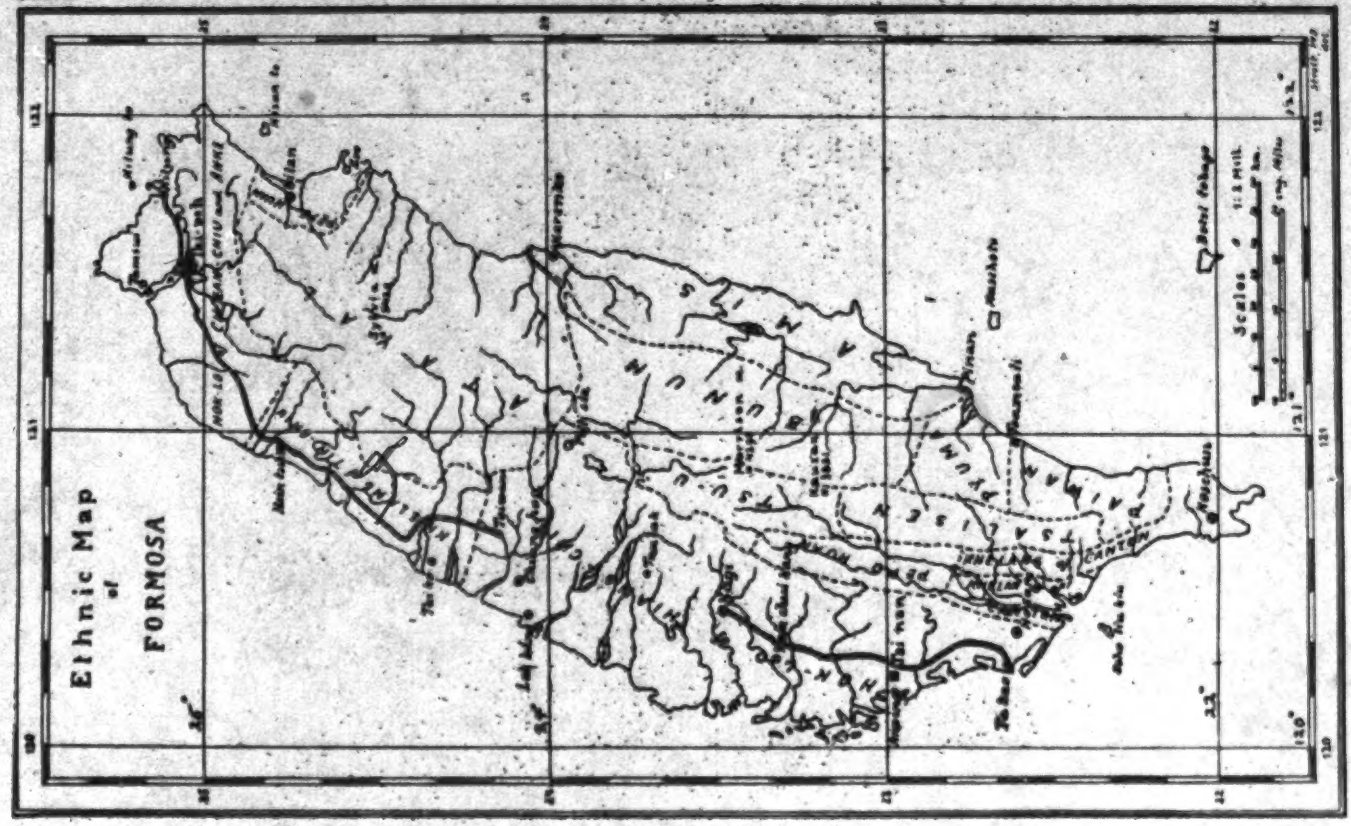
EXPLANATION FOR MAP BY GUÉRIN AND BERNARD

[MC: The purpose of this map by Guerin and Bernard was to indicate the locations of the various aboriginal tribes mentioned in the text. The map is apparently taken from English Admiralty charts and appears to be inaccurate as to the longitude of the island and its coastal configuration. The chief defect however, is the apparent confusion of Mt. Morrison with Mt. Sylvia, the latter being entitled Mt. Morrison on the map whereas the real Mt. Morrison is located in the south. This adaptation of the author's map is reduced somewhat in size and includes only the main features and locations of the tribal groups, omitting the names of most towns and bodies of water. The line of dashes indicates the approximate limits of the territories of the aborigines and Chinese. The dotted line divides the region of the plains from that of the mountains. The altitudes are in English feet.]

Formosan Aborigines-1

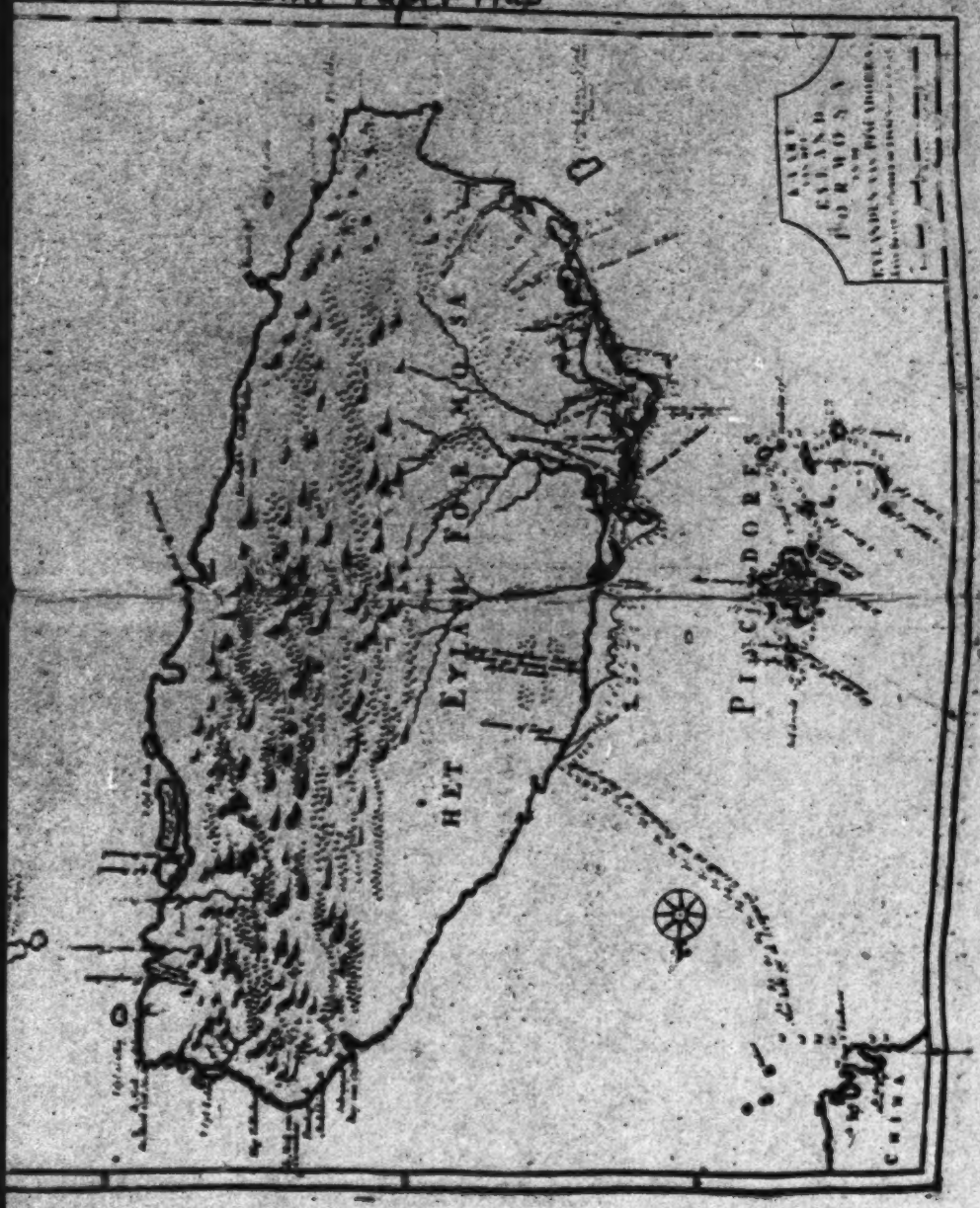
19: Guérin and Bernard--facing 632 (ca. 1866) 1868
116, 101, 102

20: Alvarez--247 (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 102



34; Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines

End Paper Map



102

14: Tamai--95 [5] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 175, 103 Chin-hoan

When, in 1886, the Chinese Governor-General of Formosa, Lin-Ming-Tschiang (Chief of the Black Flags) sent his son Rinchoko with 3,000 soldiers, to conquer the Tschinwans the chiefs of the eight villages in Togasha offered to surrender immediately. Rinchoko had guard houses set up throughout the eight villages at intervals of 1 1/2 kilometers and stationed his soldiers there. He made the chief of Togasha, Marai, the head chief of all the villages; since that time the eight villages have been called Maraisha. In 1889 Rinchoko and his soldiers left Maraisha. During the same year Marai, the chieftain, died; he was succeeded by his son, who, however, did not show the same administrative ability as his father.

19: Guérin and Bernard--553 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 103

Several times we shall mention the aborigines of the north, as a contrast to the southern ones. Then the Lokan river will serve as a frontier between the two groups, in other words, we shall consider that the Ata-bou are the last of the northern tribes.

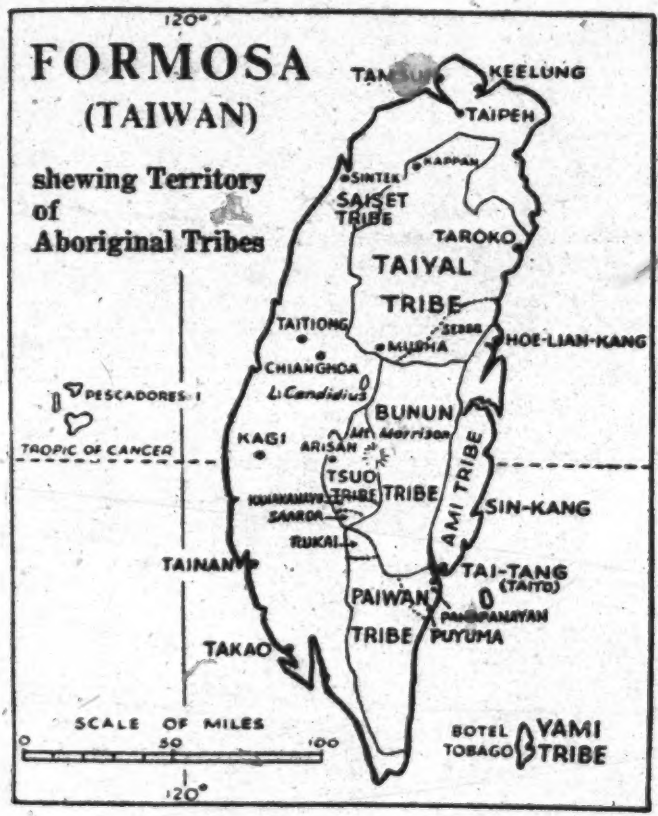
34: Del Re--8 [1] U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 103

"The Aboriginal Department of the Japanese Government General of Taiwan divided the Seiban into seven groups viz: (i) Tayal, (ii) Saisyat or Saiset (North), (iii) Bunum, (iv) Tsou (Centre), (v) Paiwan (South-East), (vi) Ami (East), (vii) Yami (Botal-Tobago island, Jap. Kô-tô-sho). To these should be added the following sub-groups: (Ia) Sedeq, (IV a) Kanakanavu, (IV b) Saaroa, (V a) Rukai, (V b) Puyuma. (1)"

1. See map.

34:Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami

162



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MOUNTAIN TRIBES AND SUB-GROUPS

TRIBE	SUB-GROUP	POPULATION IN 1935
TAIYAL	Sedeq	34,957
SAISET	—	1,461
BUNUN	—	18,048
TSUO	Kanakanavu	2,191
	Saaroa	
PAIWAN	Rukai	42,614
	Puyuma	
AMI	—	47,064
YAMI	—	1,682
	Total	148,017

9

34: Del Re--11-12 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan--Aborigines-1-2
116, 101, 131, 103 Yami

"The small coral island of Kô-tô-sho (island of the red heads), exclusively inhabited by Yami, has an area of about 45 square miles and lies between Formosa and the Philippines at a distance of 45 miles and lies between Formosa and the Philippines at a distance of 45 miles from the S.E. coast of Formosa. According to the census of 1934 it had a population of 1682 including a few Japanese policemen and their families. The name of Yami appears to have been due to Dr. R. Torii who, on visiting the island in 1897, reported that, when asked the name of their tribe, the savages replied; 'Yami Kami' (Yami we), kami being the personal pronoun used exclusively to denote the first person plural. Later investigations have shown, however, that the Yami have merely accepted the name given them by the Japanese. It should be added that the Western name for the island (Botal-Tobago) first appeared in Robert Broughton's map of the N. E. coast of Asia and the Japanese Islands (Weimar, 1805). Sanson d'Abbeville's map of the Philippines (1654), gives Tabaco Xima, the latter word being obviously the transcription of shima, (island), which also appears on an old Japanese chart of (?) 1607-08. In Chinese maps of the Sung Dynasty it is called Tabako or Tambako but later, in the Ching Dynasty, it appears as An-tau-su, pronounced by the Japanese Kô-tô-sho. XVIIIth [12] century maps give its name as Botrol (1720) and Bottol (1792), the latter names being derived from Botol and Buturu, by which it is known to the Puyuma and the Ami tribes of the East coast of Formosa, geographically nearest to it. From the evidence

34: Del Re--11-12 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosans--Aborigines-2
116, 101, 131, 103 Yami

available Dr. Asai concludes that 'Tobago' comes from the Chinese via Japan, and 'Botal' direct from the aborigenes, and that the two names were subsequently combined by Western cartographers, possibly to avoid confusion with the other island called Tobago in the British West Indies."

6: Kirchhoff--31 [2] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
116, 105, 177 Pepo-hoan

The Pepo-huan are big, bronze-colored men with shining eyes and bold looks who, like their women, of delicate build and a lighter skin color, have taken over much in clothing and dwellings from the Chinese, and who use the Chinese language, at least when dealing with the Chinese, although among themselves they usually talk their own Malayan dialect. Those of them living along the coast are fishermen; their women prepare salt from the sea water which they let run through sand and evaporate. The Pepo-huan of the interior are still fond of hunting, their hereditary occupation, but for the most part they are peasants. As though in imitation of the Dutch, the Chinese allow the peasants of each Pepo-huan village subject to them to choose a chief to settle quarrels among themselves, and appeal may be made from his decisions to the Chinese administration of the district. At his side the Chinese "interpreter" acts in the main as gatherer of the taxes imposed by the Imperial Government. The Pepo-huan are still distinguished by their bravery, dependability and hospitality, but they have been sadly reduced, economically, by the sly Chinese.

17: Norbeck--4 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 105, 177 Atayal

"The Atayal have long been known as one of the most fierce tribal groups and the most aggressive in head-hunting. They depend for subsistence upon hoe agriculture, principally of millet, dry-land rice and sweet potatoes, and to some extent upon the hunting of wild pigs and deer. Metal working is not practiced, but metal implements and guns are secured by barter. Atayal women are skilled in loom weaving, and proficiency in weaving is considered the highest feminine attainment. Religious practices, largely concerned with ancestor worship, are open to women as well as men, and women have been reported to serve occasionally as chiefs. Much importance is attached by the Atayal to their own history and genealogy, and traditions are transmitted orally by hereditary officials.

Considerable change in culture has come about from Chinese and particularly Japanese contact, and the Atayal have long possessed rifles. Both official and scholarly Japanese sources state that many Atayal customs have been abandoned or greatly changed in the last few decades, as is also indicated in some of the appended folk tales."

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

An Investigation of Ami Religion

by

Chi-lu Chen and Michael D. Coe

Introduction

In the outskirts of the aborigine town of Tavarong on the east coast of Formosa is the last surviving ceremonial house of the Ami tribe, a representative of the type of religious edifice that once pervaded the Ami culture area. This building was well-known to Japanese ethnographers and was a cultural anachronism even in their day. The present writers undertook a four-day field trip in late November 1953 for the purpose of examining this house and its relation to the Ami life of the past. For this investigation into Ami religion we relied on the memory of these informants, whose early manhood was spent in Tavarong before the Japanese authorities brought pressure to bear on some of the more important Ami institutions: Maran-Namo? [54], Vudai-Katt [49], Ra:a-Namo? [53], and Vuei-Mayau [56]. All informants reported directly in Japanese except Vuei-Mayau, whose information was translated from Ami into Japanese by Vudai-Kate. We sincerely thank these informants for the help which they rendered.

For readers unfamiliar with the background and present distribution of the Formosan aborigines, a few paragraphs will deal with this subject and the place of the Ami in Formosan ethnography, before Ami religion is treated in detail.

The Formosan Native Tribes

The aboriginal inhabitants of Formosa number over 200,000. This is in contrast with the descendents of the Fukien and Kwangtung Chinese who immigrated as early as the 16th century; these, together with more recent arrivals from the mainland, total over 8,000,000. One fourth of the aborigines live in the western plains and have been absorbed by the Chinese; they have in many cases lost their original customs and languages. The rest of the native tribes occupy the great central mountains, the Taitung Rift Valley and coastal area on the east, and Botel Tobago Island, to the southeast of Formosa. The relatively unacculturated Formosan aborigines are grouped under the following nine tribal names: Atayal, Saisiat, Bunun, Tsou, Rukai, Paiwan, Puyuma [or Panapanayan], Ami [or Pangtsah], and Yami. All these tribes are physically, linguistically, and culturally Indonesian or Proto-Malayan. They immigrated into the island at different times and into

51: Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
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105 different localities, so that their cultures, though similar, are not uniform. The native tribes also differ considerably in the degree to which they have been acculturated and in the type of culture change that has taken place.

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[24] [22] [34] [61] [59] The chief traits of the Ami are intensive agriculture and fishing; pile dwellings; paddle-and-anvil pottery; long wooden shields; feather headdresses; clans[1]; matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence; classificatory or Malayan kinship terminology; parent-child nymic linkage; and age-grades.

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21: Asai--8 [4] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 113

"Japanese periodicals. Minzoki Kenkyu, Tokyo (The Study of Ethnology); now called Minzokugaku Kenkyu.

Nampo Dozoku (Southern Ethnology). Many articles on Formosa have appeared here."

17: Norbeck--1 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 114

"A search for anthropological material in western languages on the aborigines of Formosa discloses very little. Such writings as exist are for the most part old and have been executed by untrained observers. Formosan folklore in European languages, as far as has been determined by a fairly extensive search, is extremely limited. (1) To

1. Except for brief references in general works, only the following articles on Formosan folklore have been found: Asai Erin, A Study of the Yami Language (Leiden: Universiteits-boekhandel en antiquariaat, J. Ginsberg, 1936); G. Taylor, 'Folklore of Aboriginal Formosa,' Folklore Journ., V (1887): 130-53; Otto Scheerer, 'Sagen der Atayalen auf Formosa,' Zeitschr. f. eingebor. Sprach., XXII, Hft. 2, 3 (1932). (Six folk-tales.)

my knowledge virtually no attempt has been made to correlate Formosan folklore with that of other areas of the world. (2)

2. An unavailable article in English by Arundel Del Re in Il Marco Polo (Shanghai, ca. 1939) is reported to deal with the religious concepts of the Formosan aborigines and other peoples of Southeast Asia as expressed in their mythology."

116, 114, 127

"It may be well to note that interior Formosa, still little known to the western world, is in actuality one of the better-known areas of the world in Japanese administrative and scholarly circles. After the acquisition of Formosa by Japan in 1895 foreign researchers were discouraged from study [2] there. The languages barrier, extremely rough terrain, prevalence of tropical diseases, and the existence of the custom of head-hunting also effectively barred Japanese ethnologists until about 1930, although various Japanese governmental agencies concerned with the aborigines had produced a substantial number of works since shortly after the turn of the century. With the gradual acculturation of the wild tribes, extensive field work was begun in 1930 under the direction of the late Professor Utsurikawa Nenozō of Taihoku University.

As a result of this field work a considerable number of works were published in journal and book form in Japanese, among them a work covering the mythology of all of the interior tribes by Ogawa Naoyoshi and Asai Erin. (3) The translations given here

3. Ogawa Naoyoshi and Asai Erin, Taiwan Takasagozoku Densetsu Shū ('Myths and Traditions of the Formosan Native Tribes') (Tokyo Tokō Shoin, 1935).

are all from the part of this work executed by Ogawa, former head of the Linguistic Institute of Taihoku University, Taihoku, Formosa. Other available Japanese works on

Formosan mythology (4) are essentially free paraphrases of the tales collected by

4. See Bibliography.

Ogawa and Asai."

17: Norbeck--2 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 114, 121, 127

"Professor Ogawa's work, [MC: on the mythology of the interior tribes, translations of which have been used by Norbeck in the present study] prepared from material gathered directly in the field, appears to be meticulously executed and contains considerable linguistic data. Unfortunately, all of the tales are removed from ethnographic context. Professor Ogawa, in fact, states that he considers his work to be primarily of linguistic value. For an analytic study of primitive folklore, an ethnological knowledge of the people concerned is of course imperative. The meager information gained from the available works in European languages and from a cursory examination of Japanese sources at hand is inadequate for such a study and, therefore, this paper is devoted principally to the comparison of tale motifs with those of other areas."

17: Norbeck--4-5 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 114, 128 Atayal

"Ogawa's work, (6) from which the present translations were made, consists of texts in

6. Ogawa and Asai, op. cit.

the native language by International Phonetic Alphabet representation, with Japanese characters inserted below each native word, and is accompanied by what is obviously a literal translation into Japanese. My translations are also fairly literal throughout and are based upon the Japanese text. (7) Little attempt has been made to put them into

7. Recourse has been made to the native text for a number of obscure place names appearing in the Japanese text under names given by the Japanese which, for lack of adequate reference material, are difficult to [4] identify or even to read. In such cases an approximation of the native name has been utilized.

[4] fluent English. What may have been lost from, or added to, these folk tales in this process of double translation is impossible to estimate. I am, however, satisfied that the general content and motifs are faithfully reflected."

22: Wiedfeldt--29-30 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 721, 114, 881, 695 Atayal

Although Bullock and many others after him write that "the wild savages of Formosa seem to carry on the practice of man hunting out of mere devilry," a somewhat more thorough investigation shows that the hunting of skulls has a very definite legal significance, and hence springs from other grounds than mere devilry. [30] Successful skull hunting is taken as a sign that one has come of age, and is accepted as evidence in penal and civil law.

34: Del Re-5-6 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
110, 114

"The present essay written some years ago when Formosa was still a Japanese colony, appeared in the review 'Marco Polo'. As a result of the war and the loss or dispersal of much valuable source material, I have unfortunately been unable to pursue, as I should have wished my researches in this interesting field. I have however, re-arranged the content and made other necessary changes in the text, adding a number of new photographs.

This brief preliminary account of some of the Formosan creation-myths is mainly concerned with those found in the Yami tribe on the island of Botal-Tobago (Kô-tô-sho). It makes no claim to be a contribution to cultural anthropology; I hope, however, that it may serve to draw the attention of foreign specialists to this too-long neglected field, before it is too late. This is my only justification for republishing this essay.

I wish to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the memory of my friend, the late Dr. N. Utsurikawa, founder of the Ethnological Institute of the ex-Taihoku Imperial University. In the space of a few years, he built up a unique if small museum mainly devoted to the [6] savage tribes of Formosa, and trained a team of able researchers. It is thanks to their labours that the customs, traditions, arts and music of the Formosan natives were preserved and systematically studied. Without his encouragement and help and that of Dr. Erin Asai, himself a brilliant ethnologist and linguistician to whom I am also indebted for many of the photographs which illustrate it, this essay would never have

been written. Sincere thanks are also due to Mr. K. Matsuyama who has kindly placed his fine collection of photographs of the savage districts of Formosa, at my disposal."

34: Del Re--38 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosans Aborigines
116, 114, 127

"The island has been occasionally visited by Japanese scientific expeditions which have collected much valuable data that still remain to be fully studied. In 1937, Dr. Stewart of Columbia University (New York), accompanied by two other foreigners, made a stay there of about two months studying the life of the islanders from the point of view of analytical psychology. To him I am indebted for the account of the Yami cosmos, as well as for a number of native drawings and photographs."

34: Del Re--72-75 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 114

"Reference has been made in the preceding pages to those Yami myths and tales which have analogues among other Formosan tribes, particularly the Puyuma subtribe whose relationship with the Puyuma still remains to be studied. In the field of comparative anthropological research, the University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology has recently issued a useful monograph by Mr. Edward Norbeck on the Folklore of the Atayal of Formosa and the Mountain Tribes of Luzon. (32) Availing

32. Anthropological Papers, No. 5, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1950.

himself of the materials published by Ogawa, Asai and Utsurikawa, the author has grouped the Atayal folktales under motifs and compared them with those of similar type found in Luzon. A few of these have characteristics in common with those referred to in the present study, such as the transformation of children into crows. (33)

33. q.v. above p. 26, and Norbeck, loc. cit. p. 9 ff. 36.

It is interesting to note among the motifs listed by Norbeck, the absence of any developed cosmological or anthropological creation myth and, on the other hand, the

constant recurrence, among most main-island Formosan tribes, including the Atayal, of the flood motif. It is to be hoped that Mr. Norbeck and others will continue and extend their researches and systematize, collate and critically examine the available native texts collected by Japanese scholars in order to determine the interdependence of Formosan native folk-[pages 73 and 74 contain illustrations] [75]lore and its eventual transoceanic origins and parallels Such studies, apart from their intrinsic interest, would undoubtedly be of great value and shed new light upon the northern migrations of the Indonesian tribes."

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
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17: Norbeck--1 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 121, 144, 171

"The similarity of the Formosan aborigines to various other Indonesian or southeast Asian peoples in physical type, culture, and language has been frequently noted, but no thorough study of the Formosan groups has as yet been made by a westerner. This paper presents translations from Japanese of folk tales of the Atayal tribe of north Formosa. The tales reveal an affinity with the mythology of other Indonesian and southeast Asian groups; the most noteworthy resemblance, which is close to the point of identity in some instances, is with the folklore of the mountain tribes of northern Luzon."

17: Norbeck--2 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 114, 121, 127

"Professor Ogawa's work, [MC: on the mythology of the interior tribes, translations of which have been used by Norbeck in the present study] prepared from material gathered directly in the field, appears to be meticulously executed and contains considerable linguistic data. Unfortunately, all of the tales are removed from ethnographic context. Professor Ogawa, in fact, states that he considers his work to be primarily of linguistic value. For an analytic study of primitive folklore, an ethnological knowledge of the people concerned is of course imperative. The meager information gained from the available works in European languages and from a cursory examination of Japanese sources at hand is inadequate for such a study and, therefore, this paper is devoted principally to the comparison of tale motifs with those of other areas."

18: Kakyo--63 E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 121

In May, 1898, a learned society with the name Banjokenkyukwai ("Society for the Investigation of Savages") was founded in Tamsui, on Formosa. Its task is to investigate thoroughly the life of the savage and half-savage tribes of Formosa, their physical peculiarities, their language, their customs and religion, the geography of the regions they inhabit, etc., and to make the results of these investigations, as far as possible, available for practical use. At the same time the wild tribes of other countries are to be drawn into the circle of comparative study. The society to which the Japanese Government has granted its support, and at whose disposal it also places the official material available, tries to accomplish its task by journeys of its members into the interior, and by lectures and publication of every kind. Recently a member of the Banjokenkyukwai, the Japanese Ino Kakyo, has published several longer articles dealing with the savages of Formosa, one of which has kindly been placed at the disposition of this periodical in a German translation.

39: Wiedfeldt--23 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 121, 173 Atayal

Whether the Atayals of the west coast, where navigation is easier, have ever settled close to the sea, does not seem probable to me. Their traditions speak of their mountains and also of the plain which lies before the mountains, but they do not mention the sea. They would not have been able to plant the swampy plains near the sea, which today yield a rich crop of rice under Chinese hands, just as they even now do not make use of places in their territory which are very fertile, but which require a great deal of work. If they had gone to sea, they would have had to know a few constellations, whereas they are unacquainted with stars and points of the compass...

As inhabitants of an island, they have been spared the fate of being overrun and annihilated by a foreign culture...

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

INVESTIGATION OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CHALA'ABUS PAIWAN, PINGTUNG HSIEN

WEI HWEI-LIN
Translated by CHEN CHI-LU

This is a preliminary report of the field-works among the Chala'abus Paiwan of Pingtung Hsien. Members who participated were Messrs. Ho Ting-jui, Tang Mei-chun, Huang Hsün-ch'eng and the present writer.

Chala'abus village was chosen because: it is one of the important and old tribes of the Central Paiwan, and, is the center of the Chimo racial group of the Paiwan. We have noted after the field-session that the village had other significances: (1) The village consisted of twelve aristocratic households whether of the Chimo or of the Paiwan groups. The village organization was thus rather complicated in structure. (2) The dwelling houses and their arrangement had been well preserved in their original form. (3) Old traits in material culture, such as stone-engraving, wood-carving, designed weaving, and embroidery, had been also well kept. (4) The ethnic character is rather conservative. They have been comparatively less influenced by the Japanese and the Chinese as compared to the other groups of the tribe.

Because of the limitation of time and investigators, we emphasized tribal organization and chieftanship of the village. Our field-work was undertaken from Feb. 1 to 15. Because of the complexity of the culture, the investigation is by no means a complete one.

SETTLEMENT TYPE AND DUAL ORGANIZATION

Chala'abus village is situated on the south-eastern slope of Mt. Nan-ta-wu and stands on the northern bank of the Lai-i River or the Upper Lin-pien River. The population of Chala'abus village was 158 households and 948 persons at the time of our investigation. With the Exception of 12 households who had moved to Chipasan which lies between the village site and the plain below it and formed a separate hamlet by themselves, all the other 146 households were concentrated on the two adjacent fan-shaped slopes which in the present report are referred to as the village site. The village of Chala'abus hence consisted of two parts: the south and the north-parts. Each of them occupied a fan-shaped slope. The south-part was called Chinimoan or "the living land of the Chimo", and the north-part Pinaiwanan or "the living land of the Paiwan". The village site was on a slope of 30 degree to 45 degree inclination, with the width north to south 80 M., and length east to west 100 M. Dwelling houses, including floors and roofs, were built of slate. All these houses had small front yards paved with slate. A continuous row of houses of the same level had their yards adjacent on the same level; but communication between two rows of houses was by means of narrow stair-ways, because the front yards of houses in the rear row were always on a level with the roofs of the front houses. The village is thus in a terrace form. Chinimoan consisted of eight terraces, and Pinaiwanan ten. Each terrace had a row

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

An Investigation of Ami Religion

by

Chi-lu Chan and Michael D. Coe

Introduction

In the outskirts of the aborigine town of Tavarong on the east coast of Formosa is the last surviving ceremonial house of the Ami tribe, a representative of the type of religious edifice that once pervaded the Ami culture area. This building was well-known to Japanese ethnographers and was a cultural anachronism even in their day. The present writers undertook a four-day field trip in late November 1953 for the purpose of examining this house and its relation to the Ami life of the past. For this investigation into Ami religion we relied on the memory of these informants, whose early manhood was spent in Tavarong before the Japanese authorities brought pressure to bear on some of the more important Ami institutions: Maran-Namo? [54], Vudai-Kate [49], Ra:a-Namo? [53], and Vuei-Mayau [56]. All informants reported directly in Japanese except Vuei-Mayau, whose information was translated from Ami into Japanese by Vudai-Kate. We sincerely thank these informants for the help which they rendered.

For readers unfamiliar with the background and present distribution of the Formosan aborigines, a few paragraphs will deal with this subject and the place of the Ami in Formosan ethnography, before Ami religion is treated in detail.

The Formosan Native Tribes

The aboriginal inhabitants of Formosa number over 200,000. This is in contrast with the descendents of the Fukien and Kwangtung Chinese who immigrated as early as the 16th century; these, together with more recent arrivals from the mainland, total over 8,000,000. One fourth of the aborigines live in the western plains and have been absorbed by the Chinese; they have in many cases lost their original customs and languages. The rest of the native tribes occupy the great central mountains, the Taitung Rift Valley and coastal area on the east, and Botel Tobago Island, to the southeast of Formosa. The relatively unacculturated Formosan aborigines are grouped under the following nine tribal names: Atayal, Saisiat, Bunun, Tsou, Rukai, Paiwan, Puyuma [or Panapanayan], Ami [or Pangtsah], and Yami. All these tribes are physically, linguistically, and culturally Indonesian or Proto-Malayan. They immigrated into the island at different times and into

7: Joest--61 [3] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 123, 273, 572, 609 Chin-hoan

I gained the confidence and friendship of the Chinwans through this brandy [MC: Chinese samshu] which they consumed in pailfulls until men, women, and children were lying unconscious on the ground; it was, however, considerably diluted. The Chinwan natives also have the custom of establishing the bond of friendship by drinking. They squat on the ground in the usual manner and put their arms around each other's shoulders; they make a short speech, vowing eternal friendship, and then drink together from the pumpkin shell which holds the brandy until it is empty. I drank in this way with both men and women.

19: Guérin and Bernard--551 [3] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 123

We have had frequent and intimate relations with the Tayal; since we knew their dialect, it was possible to learn their habits and customs. Our visits to the other tribes were shorter, and they were made for the purpose of drawing comparisons.

31: Hofmann--619 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 123, 482 Tsou

They may be hired as carriers; they carried our baggage quickly and efficiently through the chasms and over the mountains when we continue our expedition on the following day. I visited two villages inhabited by this tribe; I went inside some of their huts and stayed overnight in one of the villages, so that I have some first-hand information about this tribe.

35: Collingwood--139 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 123, 157, 609 Sek-hoan

"We unpacked our basket of provisions in the middle of the village, and were soon surrounded by the entire population, who pressed curiously about us, but withal civilly; and seemed to think our eatables not bad, particularly the loaf sugar, which young and old appeared to appreciate. Captain Bullock had brought with him some old numbers of the Illustrated London News, which he distributed among them; but I remarked that though all seemed anxious to get a leaf, they did not look at the woodcuts, but immediately folded it up and put it in some part of their dress--nor could I interest them by pointing out to them the most striking illustrations, which they did not appear to comprehend. They did not, however, show any lack of interest and curiosity in most things, and the men particularly most inquisitively examined every part of our dress, feeling its texture, looking into our pockets, and shewing by signs that they wished to see the interior of any box or bag we happened to carry. Nor were they content with looking once, but the same objects must be inspected again and again. The women more particularly exhibited a great anxiety to obtain as presents anything we could give them, particularly anything ornamental. The naval buttons were a great temptation, and over and over again they pointed to them, and intimated their desire to be the fortunate possessors of them. When denied, they would point to a young child and ask it for him, as though we could not refuse it. Darwin, I may observe, makes the same remark when speaking of the Fuegians. If the button was given under these circumstances, it was immediately fastened on a string and tied round the child's forehead. But so importunate were they, that I might have

completely stripped myself and found candidates for every article I possessed. Notwithstanding this, however, and that they repeatedly put their hands into our pockets, not a single article was lost, and no attempt was made to steal, but upon its being re-demanded they never offered to retain any object whatever. After our meal was over, the empty bottles were eagerly sought after, and we soon learned that no more acceptable present than a bottle could be made to them. This, which they called brasco, and tobacco, (1)

1. Both words, no doubt, from the Spanish or Portuguese, frasco and tobaco. —Editor.

were the only two things which they specially applied for."

35: Collingwood--140 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 123, 461, 512 Sek-hoan

"It will not be supposed, however, that they were without occupation. In many huts the men were asleep, but towards evening they might be seen with their nets wending their way to the beach. Others I observed engaged over some seething vessels, in which I found they were extracting oil from the bones of turtle. The women had, several of them, naked babies hanging to their bare breasts; others came in from the country with pruning-knives, and laden with large bundles of grass and lily straw, which they laid down to dry in the sun, and which it appeared was ultimately intended for the repair of the thatch. These women had cloths wound round their legs, as a protection while in the field, and broad bamboo hats hanging by their side for wear in the hot sun. Others were spinning thread or weaving cloth, while some were engaged in beating rice out of the husks, which they did by placing it in a hollow stone vessel, under which they put a mat, and then two of them beating it alternately with the end of a heavy bamboo. While some were thus engaged, the idlers allowed themselves to be amused by some of our party, who showed them little tricks, which caused hearty laughter, and which they tried their best to imitate."

35: Collingwood--141 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 123, 156, 526, 562 Sek-hoan

"The following morning a number of natives visited the ship in their boats, and, on bottles being shown to them, they eagerly demanded them. When thrown into the water, half-a-dozen men leaped after them, and vigorous swimming-matches took place for the prizes. They would also dive for buttons of any kind that were thrown in. Soon afterwards several boats, full of people of all ages and both sexes, came alongside and readily ventured on board. Indeed, one great distinction between these people and the Chinese was the entire absence of timidity on the part of the females, who, instead of running away and hiding themselves as soon as they are even looked at, showed the most perfect confidence and freedom from mauvaise honte. They immediately commenced eagerly inquiring for brascos (bottles), and as our supply of these desirable articles was limited (owing to the custom of throwing empty bottles overboard), considerable jealousy was excited among the unsuccessful competitors. There was no idea of barter, and perhaps it was our own fault that we obtained nothing in return for our valuable presents. A number of our visitors were induced to descend to the captain's cabin, where, as lunch was going on, they readily partook of the edibles, and made themselves quite at home. Captain Bullock good naturedly cut off the tassels from his cushions, which were immediately transferred to the hair of the native beauties. After going about the ship, and conducting themselves with the greatest propriety, they returned to the village."

35: Collingwood--142 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 123, 157 Sek-hoan

"The people readily acceded to the desire that they should sit, and several picturesque groups were formed, some of which were successfully fixed by the camera: of course it was very difficult to keep them all quiet, and impossible to make them comprehend the necessity of absolute stillness during the critical moments. The result, however, was in several instances very satisfactory."

35: Collingwood--142 [2] D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 123, 194, 562 Sek-hoan

"The attempt to learn some of their words, and to form as good a vocabulary of their language as the time would permit, was met by perfect good will on their part; and many words, as well as their mode of counting, were obtained, chiefly from the women, who appeared to take considerable interest in imparting the information. Considerable amusement, too, was excited by our mistakes in pronunciation, etc., and our efforts elicited a considerable show of intelligence on their part. We found the women much more serviceable than the men for this purpose, chiefly on account of their clear pronunciation, which was much more distinct than that of the men. Thus, for example, the attempt of the women to pronounce English words was much more successful than that of the men. The word 'flint,' for instance, being given them, a man would not approach it nearer than plin-iss, while the women at once said fil-lint. The voice of the women was remarkably agreeable, having a plaintiveness and softness which were really striking, and sometimes sounded more like a gentle singing than speaking."

35: Collingwood--138-139 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 124, 133, 487 Sek-hoan

"Returning to the Kibalan village, the name of which I believe is Shek-fan, we made known to them by signs that we were anxious to visit the mountains, and to meet with the savages. They, however, did their best to persuade us not to go, assuring us that we should be shot. On shewing them our revolvers, however, they seemed to think we should be safer; but, when we inquired for a guide, one and all declared that their throats would be cut if they ventured among the hills. After considerable parley, the sight of a dollar induced one to accompany us, and, having armed himself with his matchlock, we set out; our guide, however, taking good care to keep in the rear of the party. Crossing some paddy fields, and proceeding along a sandy bay to the southward, our path was arrested by rocks, while on our right was a range of hills covered with a seemingly impenetrable forest. On closer examination, however, we discovered a beaten track, and up it we climbed, through a dense vegetation of tree ferns, camphor trees, etc., among which were some beautiful flowers, and many gaudy butterflies, although the overarching trees shut out most of the light. We ascended a considerable distance, tracing the path, which, although faint, was evident, and marking the trees as we ascended; but no trace could we find of the savages of whom we were in search. At length, finding the path less and less distinct, and time failing, we gave up the chase, and descended to the Kibalan village. The track which we had followed, however, was so evidently a more or less frequented one, that, considering the dread professed by the inhabitants of the village of their savage neighbours, it is difficult to understand by whom

it could have been used, unless by the mountain aborigines descending to the plain in search of supplies. Subsequent inquires at Sano, as well as some [139] signs made by the Kibalans, elicited the information (whether true or false) that the aborigines of the mountains could not be reached under two days' journey from Sano Bay."

7: Joest--57 [5] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 127, 162 Chin-hoan

We have no information about the size of the Chinwan group; the estimates which have been made by the Chinese are not reliable.

14: Tamai--94 J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 175, 127 Chin-hoan

On February 3, 1896, Governor-general Kabayama sent an expedition from Kelung to the Mareisha villages, the villages of Tschinwan. The conquered Chinese had sought refuge in those villages and had made efforts to induce the Tschinwans to rebel against the Japanese rule.

Reporters from the most important Japanese newspapers accompanied the expeditionary forces. The reports of Mr. Michio Kurosaki, a correspondent of the Osaka-Asaki-Shinbun, a daily with a circulation of over 100,000, offer the most detailed account of this expedition. The following is my own translation of this article, to which I have added pertinent facts from other newspapers and periodicals.

"It may be well to note that interior Formosa, still little known to the western world, is in actuality one of the better-known areas of the world in Japanese administrative and scholarly circles. After the acquisition of Formosa by Japan in 1895 foreign researchers were discouraged from study [2] there. The languages barrier, extremely rough terrain, prevalence of tropical diseases, and the existence of the custom of head-hunting also effectively barred Japanese ethnologists until about 1930, although various Japanese governmental agencies concerned with the aborigines had produced a substantial number of works since shortly after the turn of the century. With the gradual acculturation of the wild tribes, extensive field work was begun in 1930 under the direction of the late Professor Utsurikawa Nenozō of Taihoku University.

As a result of this field work a considerable number of works were published in journal and book form in Japanese, among them a work covering the mythology of all of the interior tribes by Ogawa Naoyoshi and Asai Erin. (3) The translations given here

3. Ogawa Naoyoshi and Asai Erin, Taiwan Takasagozoku Densetsu Shū ('Myths and Traditions of the Formosan Native Tribes') (Tokyo Tokō Shoin, 1935).

are all from the part of this work executed by Ogawa, former head of the Linguistic Institute of Taihoku University, Taihoku, Formosa. Other available Japanese works on

Formosan mythology (4) are essentially free paraphrases of the tales collected by

4. See Bibliography.

Ogawa and Asai."

17: Norbeck--2 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 114, 121, 127

"Professor Ogawa's work, [MC: on the mythology of the interior tribes, translations of which have been used by Norbeck in the present study] prepared from material gathered directly in the field, appears to be meticulously executed and contains considerable linguistic data. Unfortunately, all of the tales are removed from ethnographic context. Professor Ogawa, in fact, states that he considers his work to be primarily of linguistic value. For an analytic study of primitive folklore, an ethnological knowledge of the people concerned is of course imperative. The meager information gained from the available works in European languages and from a cursory examination of Japanese sources at hand is inadequate for such a study and, therefore, this paper is devoted principally to the comparison of tale motifs with those of other areas."

34: Del Re--38 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosans Aborigines
116, 114, 127

"The island has been occasionally visited by Japanese scientific expeditions which have collected much valuable data that still remain to be fully studied. In 1937, Dr. Stewart of Columbia University (New York), accompanied by two other foreigners, made a stay there of about two months studying the life of the islanders from the point of view of analytical psychology. To him I am indebted for the account of the Yami cosmos, as well as for a number of native drawings and photographs."

17: Norbeck--4-5 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 114, 128 Atayal

"Ogawa's work, (6) from which the present translations were made, consists of texts in

6. Ogawa and Asai, op. cit.

the native language by International Phonetic Alphabet representation, with Japanese characters inserted below each native word, and is accompanied by what is obviously a literal translation into Japanese. My translations are also fairly literal throughout and are based upon the Japanese text. (7) Little attempt has been made to put them into

7. Recourse has been made to the native text for a number of obscure place names appearing in the Japanese text under names given by the Japanese which, for lack of adequate reference material, are difficult to [4] identify or even to read. In such cases an approximation of the native name has been utilized.

[4] fluent English. What may have been lost from, or added to, these folk tales in this process of double translation is impossible to estimate. I am, however, satisfied that the general content and motifs are faithfully reflected."

17: Norbeck--5 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 128, 539 Atayal

"These tales are mostly stories of mythical times and etiological stories. The tales of mythical times are concerned with the origin and ancient life of the present human beings, and stories of the creation of the universe do not occur. The etiological or explanatory stories, comprising the majority of the tales, tell of magical transformation into birds, insects, and animals as the result either of misconduct by the persons transformed or of injustices against those who transform themselves. For ease in handling, the motifs are here subdivided into the following groups: (1) Tales of Magic Appearance of Food and Requisites for Living, (2) Flood Tales, (3) Tales of the Mythical Period, (4) Tales of Transformation, and (5) Miscellaneous Tales. Some duplication of tale elements occurs since the twenty-eight tales were gathered from two different villages or communities, Daihyō-sha and Takonan-sha (see Map 1 [MC: facing page 12]. (8)

8. Tales 1 to 17 are from Daihyō-sha; the remainder from Takonan-sha."

17: Norbeck--3 [2] (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 131 Atayal

"The Seiban are usually classified into nine tribal groups, with a large number of subtribes, often with little or no political unity. One of the largest units is the Atayal, composed of a considerable number of more or less independent and sometimes feuding subgroups which inhabit the extremely mountainous area of the north interior, an area comprising approximately one-sixth of the total island."

19: Guérin and Bernard--545 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 131

Formosa is an island which extends along the Chinese continent from lat. 22° to 25° 20" N. When you measure it on the map, its greatest length equals 4 degrees from north to south. The book by the American writer William gives its surface as 14, 000 English squares (36, 000 kilometers). It is volcanic in nature, and its distinguishing feature is the chains of parallel mountains, which traverse it from north to south.

20: Alvarez--251 [3] (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 144, 131, 173 Paiwan

"The Paiwan seem to be of Malayan extraction. At present they live in the southernmost part of the island. It is said that four centuries ago they were lords of a flourishing kingdom, then comprising the whole south and a part of the centre, where they afterwards were met with by the Dutch and subsequently reduced to submission by the invaders.

As to their antiquity and origin, there is nothing left but some oral traditions and the notices, most of them obscure and extremely vague, given by several ancient Chinese historians. It is needless to say, that such material can cast but a slight light upon the past history of these tribes."

20: Alvarez--251 (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 131 Tayal

"The Atayal, an amalgam of Chinese and Pre-Chinese elements, occupied in the XVIth century the whole northern part, that is to say, not only the mountains they inhabit today but also the plains where now is situated the capital Taihoku. Under the name of Southern Atayal, they still live in the plains of Polisia."

20: Alvarez--254 [3] (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 131

"The territory occupied by the seven tribes, or branches mentioned above [MC: see preceding paragraphs in categories 116 or 101] embraces nearly seven thousand two hundred square miles, viz., the half of the total area of the island."

20: Alvarez--254-255 (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 131, 101 Tayal

"The Atayal have a much greater extent of territory (about 3000 square miles) than any other distinct branch of the Formosan [255] aborigines. They are most ferocious and dreadful head-hunters. They use also the art of tattooing in great scale. The Ocean constitutes the eastern border of their home. In the north, they are neighbours of the Chinese. The capital Taihaku, or Taipeh is about four leagues distant from the first villages of the Atayal. Their western neighbours are likewise Chinese. In the south they live adjacent to the Bunum. And in the south east, they are neighbours of the northern Amis."

20: Alvarez--255 (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 131 Bunun

The Bunum are hill tribes of the centre. They occupy a strip of 25 leagues of the central range, especially north of Mount Morrison (4290 m.). The territory west of them belongs to the Tsu-u, whose western neighbours are also Chinese."

20: Alvarez--255 [2] (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 131, 181, 101 Ami

"The fertile eastern sea-shores, about forty leagues in extent, form the home of the Amis. The latter generally are of friendly manners and peaceful customs. This section of the island is still to be invaded by the Chinese and Japanese."

31; Hofmann--606-607 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 131, 554, 721 Atayal

Beyond Taikokan, to the east, the mountains ascend steeply. During the bloody battles in 1907, the foothills were wrested from the Malayans. The tribe which lives here, the Atayal, belongs to the Seiban group (the "red savages"); this is a tribe of headhunters which is feared greatly. The practice of headhunting is or was characteristic of most of the Malayan tribes. [607] The natives decapitate their enemies, among whom they include neighboring tribes as well as Chinese, Japanese, and Europeans. The headhunters are not, however, a courageous people. They lie in ambush and take the enemy by surprise, usually while he is at work; then they cut off his head which they preserve as a trophy at home. If a native has taken the head of an enemy, this is his badge of courage. This cruel custom is so deeply rooted in the beliefs and traditions of the Malayans that all attempts to combat it so far have proved unsuccessful.

31: Hofmann--607-608 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 131, 437, 712

The border between the cultivated land and that belonging to the aborigines is protected by a method protected by a method which had been perfected by the Chinese settlers and which the Japanese have taken over and modernized. The pioneers had set up a wall, like a small wall of China, along the extreme boundary of the conquered territory; guards were stationed at regular intervals to resist all attempts of the aborigines to break through the wall. The Chinese had trained some troops especially for this purpose. The Japanese restored these Ayu Lines; they stationed guards at intervals of 300 meters and set up fortresses at longer intervals. Thus the boundary is protected by an organized military police who must live in this dangerous region with their families throughout the entire year. There is a permanent state of war. The soldiers shoot all Malayans at sight, while the Japanese and Chinese in this region are never safe. I walked along this line for several kilometers. The Japanese have taken [608] advantage of all the natural fortifications; the wall is set up along the crest of the hills. In the section I visited the line had been moved further up the mountains recently to include the newly conquered territory. The innovation consists in the barbed wire which is strung along the entire line, 170 kilometers long in all; this serves to conduct an electric current with high voltage. To touch the wire would therefore be fatal. The guards make use of the electric current only in times of great danger, especially at night. By thus isolating the aborigines entirely, and preventing the greedy Chinese from smuggling, an occupation in which they are always engaged in spite of the hazards which attend it, the Japanese

hope eventually to wear down the resistance of the Seiban. It is through the smugglers that the aborigines obtain their powder and ammunition as well as salt; without these they cannot wage the battle for their existence for very long. They are still able to obtain these necessities, however, and it is characteristic of the greed of the Chinese that more of them are killed by the electric wire than by the aborigines themselves; I learned this fact from the district officer in Banshoryo, the main locality of that district. So far, eleven Chinese and only two natives had been killed by the electric wire. For barter between the aborigines and the Chinese, the antlers of deer killed by the latter are an important article of exchange. The Chinese pulverize these and use them for medicinal purposes; they pay a high price for them. The natives avoid the dangerous electrical wire by passing through the raging torrents in the valleys; the Japanese call the river which cuts through the boundary at the point where we passed it Kubitorigawa, that is, the river of headhunting.

34: Del Re--11-12 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosans-Aborigines 1-2
116, 101, 131, 103 Yami

"The small coral island of Kô-tô-sho (island of the red heads), exclusively inhabited by Yami, has an area of about 45 square miles and lies between Formosa and the Philippines at a distance of 45 miles and lies between Formosa and the Philippines at a distance of 45 miles from the S.E. coast of Formosa. According to the census of 1934 it had a population of 1682 including a few Japanese policemen and their families. The name of Yami appears to have been due to Dr. R. Torii who, on visiting the island in 1897, reported that, when asked the name of their tribe, the savages replied; 'Yami Kami' (Yami we), kami being the personal pronoun used exclusively to denote the first person plural. Later investigations have shown, however, that the Yami have merely accepted the name given them by the Japanese. It should be added that the Western name for the island (Botal-Tobago) first appeared in Robert Broughton's map of the N. E. coast of Asia and the Japanese Islands (Weimar, 1805). Sanson d'Abbeville's map of the Philippines (1654), gives Tabaco Xima, the latter word being obviously the transcription of shima, (island), which also appears on an old Japanese chart of (?) 1607-08. In Chinese maps of the Sung Dynasty it is called Tabako or Tambako but later, in the Ching Dynasty, it appears as An-tau-su, pronounced by the Japanese Kô-tô-sho. XVIIIth [12] century maps give its name as Botrol (1720) and Bottol (1792), the latter names being derived from Botol and Buturu, by which it is known to the Puyuma and the Ami tribes of the East coast of Formosa, geographically nearest to it. From the evidence

available Dr. Asai concludes that 'Tobago' comes from the Chinese via Japan, and 'Botal' direct from the aborigenes, and that the two names were subsequently combined by Western cartographers, possibly to avoid confusion with the other island called Tobago in the British West Indies."

37: Steere--305 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 131, 162, 578, 721 Sek-hoan

"The Lek-whan, a large division of the Pepo-whan, living near the center of the island, seem to have originally come from near Chang-wha. A few miles to the north of this city there are still toward two thousand living in the towns of Loisia and Toasia, though, like the Pepo-whan near Taiwanfu, badly in debt to the Chinese. There is a large settlement of them in a mountain valley, two days' journey to the east of Changwha, called Posia or Polisia, to which, according to their own account, they began migrating forty or fifty years ago, and they are still going, there now being some four or five thousand there. This valley is entirely surrounded by mountains and forests inhabited by savages. They are nominally at peace with these, and pay them a yearly tribute of rice and cattle, but in spite of this they are continually losing their lives from attacks by the savages, some twelve or fourteen persons from the valley being killed annually, while at work in their fields or fishing or hunting. The only news of the manner or cause of the loss the friends and relatives receive, being often the headless trunk lying where it fell."

37: Steere--307 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 131, 142, 621, 291 Chin-hoan

"The savages that I visited east of the Lek-whan settlement of Posia, I have left with the general designation of Che-whan. The Chinese and Pepo-whans often call them Bon-whan. They occupy a part of the water shed of the island about the head-waters of the river that flows through the valley of Posia and into the Formosan channel near Changwha, and of other streams that flow into the Pacific. They are said to belong to a nation or confederacy, of over thirty villages, under one chief. They are very small and inferior looking, hardly averaging five feet in height, but very muscular from their life spent in climbing up and down their steep mountains. Their dress is made of a species of nettle, perhaps the ramil plant, which they cultivate, and which the women weave into narrow strips of very strong and durable, but somewhat coarse cloth, which is generally ornamented with red and blue stripes woven in. The only clothing of the men is a coarse sleeveless shirt of this cloth, which comes down to the middle of the thigh. I saw a couple of men among them wearing nothing but narrow (tapa rabos), not so wide as the hand, made apparently from the hair of some animal, woven, and colored red. They were said to belong to another, but friendly tribe. The women wear a sort of short tunic or kilt."

37: Steere--310 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 131, 621, 142 Chin-hoan

"The Tsui-whan--Chinese Tsui, water, and whan, savage--are so called from living about a small lake, which is situated about ten or fifteen miles to the south of Posia, from which they get a great part of their living by fishing. This lake, with the flat, cultivable lands about it, is entirely shut in by wooded mountains, those to the east rising to great height. The lake is over two miles in length, and contains a number of species of fish and eels. There are three villages of Tsui-whan about the lake, containing perhaps in all a thousand people, under one chief, and apparently entirely separate and independent of any other tribes of savages. They are a small but well-formed race, with regular and rather pleasing features."

37: Steere--311 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 131, 162, 621 Chin-hoan

"The Kale-whan are a tribe of Che-whan inhabiting the mountains east of Takou. The territory they occupy is not extensive, not reaching over the dividing line of mountains, but all lying toward the west. They live in two villages, which are called by the Chinese Toasia and Taosia--large and small towns. The first and lowest contains perhaps two hundred inhabitants, while Taosia is properly a collection of villages, with toward a thousand inhabitants. They can look down from these villages, which must be at a height of four or five thousand feet, upon the great plain below, thickly dotted with Chinese villages and covered with rice fields, and they can even see the sea in the distance."

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

INVESTIGATION OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CHALA'ABUS PAIWAN, PINGTUNG HSIEN

WEI HWEI-LIN
Translated by CHEN CHI-LU

This is a preliminary report of the field-works among the Chala'abus Paiwan of Pingtung Hsien. Members who participated were Messrs. Ho Ting-jui, Tang Mei-chun, Huang Hsün-ch'eng and the present writer.

Chala'abus village was chosen because: it is one of the important and old tribes of the Central Paiwan, and, is the center of the Chimo racial group of the Paiwan. We have noted after the field-session that the village had other significances: (1) The village consisted of twelve aristocratic households whether of the Chimo or of the Paiwan groups. The village organization was thus rather complicated in structure. (2) The dwelling houses and their arrangement had been well preserved in their original form. (3) Old traits in material culture, such as stone-engraving, wood-carving, designed weaving, and embroidery, had been also well kept. (4) The ethnic character is rather conservative. They have been comparatively less influenced by the Japanese and the Chinese as compared to the other groups of the tribe.

Because of the limitation of time and investigators, we emphasized tribal organization and chieftanship of the village. Our field-work was undertaken from Feb. 1 to 15. Because of the complexity of the culture, the investigation is by no means a complete one.

SETTLEMENT TYPE AND DUAL ORGANIZATION

Chala'abus village is situated on the south-eastern slope of Mt. Nan-ta-wu and stands on the northern bank of the Lai-i River or the Upper Lin-pien River. The population of Chala'abus village was 158 households and 948 persons at the time of our investigation. With the Exception of 12 households who had moved to Chiqasan which lies between the village site and the plain below it and formed a separate hamlet by themselves, all the other 146 households were concentrated on the two adjacent fan-shaped slopes which in the present report are referred to as the village site. The village of Chala'abus hence consisted of two parts: the south and the north-parts. Each of them occupied a fan-shaped slope. The south-part was called Chinimoan or "the living land of the Chimo", and the north-part Pinaiwanan or "the living land of the Paiwan". The village site was on a slope of 30 degree to 45 degree inclination, with the width north to south 80 M., and length east to west 100 M. Dwelling houses, including floors and roofs, were built of slate. All these houses had small front yards paved with slate. A continuous row of houses of the same level had their yards adjacent on the same level; but communication between two rows of houses was by means of narrow stair-ways, because the front yards of houses in the rear row were always on a level with the roofs of the front houses. The village is thus in a terrace form. Chinimoan consisted of eight terraces, and Pinaiwanan ten. Each terrace had a row

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

different localities, so that their cultures, though similar, are not uniform. The native tribes also differ considerably in the degree to which they have been acculturated and in the type of culture change that has taken place.

The Ami

The Ami live in the Taitung Rift Valley, which runs in approximately a north-south direction for 150 kilometres along the east coast of Formosa. Some Ami live on the east coast proper. The Ami tribe is the largest on Formosa. They are divided into five groups by dialect and cultural differences. The number of households and population of each group, based on the census of 1937, are as follows:

Group	No. of households	Population
Pei-nan	859	9546
Heng-ch'un	461	4403
Hai-an	1159	11760
Hsiu-ku-luan	2008	15861
Nan-shih	1713	8436
Total	6200	50006

The chief traits of the Ami are intensive agriculture and fishing; pile dwellings; paddle-and-anvil pottery; long wooden shields; feather headdresses; clans[1]; matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence; classificatory or Malayan kinship terminology; parent-child nymic linkage; and age-grades.

Tavarong is a town of 5,000 population situated in the central part of the Taitung Rift Valley, in Hualien Hsien. It belongs to the Hsiu-ku-luan group and is regarded by the Ami themselves as the oldest settlement in the whole Ami area. About one per cent of the Tavarong townsmen are Christians; the rest hold to their native religion.

Gods, spirits, and souls

The Ami term for gods, which include also spirits and souls, is *kawas*. The Tavarong Ami believe in two kinds of *kawas*. The first kind, which may be considered natural gods, include *maratau*, *tšidar*, *borar*], and others. *maratau* is a male tutolary deity who resides in heaven. According to informant Maran-Namo?, *maratau* is the god of "politics and strength". In former days, when the Ami were at war with their neighbors, the Atayal, they prayed to *maratau* for protection[2]. *tšidar* is the female sun goddess, and *borar*] the male moon god. The sun goddess is held to be more powerful than the moon god. Maran-Namo? while explaining the designs on the houseposts of the house of the *kakita:n* (priest), stated that *tšidar* is the almighty deity and holds the supreme position over

1. Utsurikawa [1935] reported about 55 clan names for the Ami, but he gave no clan names north of the Vataan, Tavarong, and Karuran areas.
2. According to Furuno [1954:3-42], *maratau* is connected with headhunting and is the god of crops and game, as well as being the war god.

10: Schumacher--225 [7] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 133, 311

Hitherto scholars have started with the assumption that the entire eastern coast of Formosa was occupied by a single mountain chain. This is by no means the case, but a large and fertile plain stretches between the two parallel mountain ranges in the east of the island, and sugar-cane and rice are grown on the inner one of the two chains which has been cleared for this purpose.

19: Guérin and Bernard--545-546 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines 116, 133

There are masses of mountains in the east, where their perpendicular slopes drop down to the level of the ocean; they cover the southern tip of the island, then on their western slopes they make a fairly regular curve, which forms an uninterrupted plain between the mountains and the sea; it extends from Takao to Taika. It is narrow at first, then it widens until in some spots it is 20 kilometers wide. Between these two points there is a series of peaks which rise perpendicularly from the chain. From Taika on, the mountain system is more highly developed, and the northern quarter of the island is an enormous mountainous area. As you go from east toward the sea on the west, you constantly see some isolated peaks, but they are not so regular. [546] Large and fertile valleys extend along the water courses. The same arrangement is found in the N. N. E. extremities, as far as Sau-o-bay.

The center of this radiation is the peaks of Mount Morrison, [VMM: Guérin and Bernard seem to have mistaken Mt. Sylvia for Morrison] which rise in this section of the island; they are probably the original mountains of Formosa. The summit towers to a height of 12 to 13,000 feet, and it is covered with eternal snows. These peaks include more than one mass of mountains which have an elevation of between 5 and 6,000 feet. While the eastern slope of the chain is covered with virgin forests, on the west, and in all the points where the Chinese have settled, you find that the trees have been replaced by cultivated fields, tall grasses, and occasional groves.

19: Guérin and Bernard--546 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 133

The long slope of the mountains is on the western side whereas the eastern slope has brooks or torrents, although no real rivers. The western part of the island, however, is furrowed with water courses which empty into the sea after they have been swollen by several tributaries. The main ones, going south to north are: the Taiwan-fou and Pakan rivers; the Black River (rivière Noire), the Lokan, Taïka, Héou-lang, Tion-Kan, Touk-Shan, Tam-sui and finally the Sau-o-bay river. They have a number of arms at the time when they reach the plain, but they soon meet, and each river has just one mouth when it empties into the sea.

The water-courses in the plain have a broad bed with a sandy bottom which is formed by the piles of sand that the winds of the S. W. monsoon accumulate on one of their banks. The rivière Noire, which is the broadest one on the island, is peculiar in that its water is as black as the sand in its bottom. Starting with the Taïka river, the waters are confined, and they roll on a pebble bottom.

19: Guérin and Bernard--547 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 133

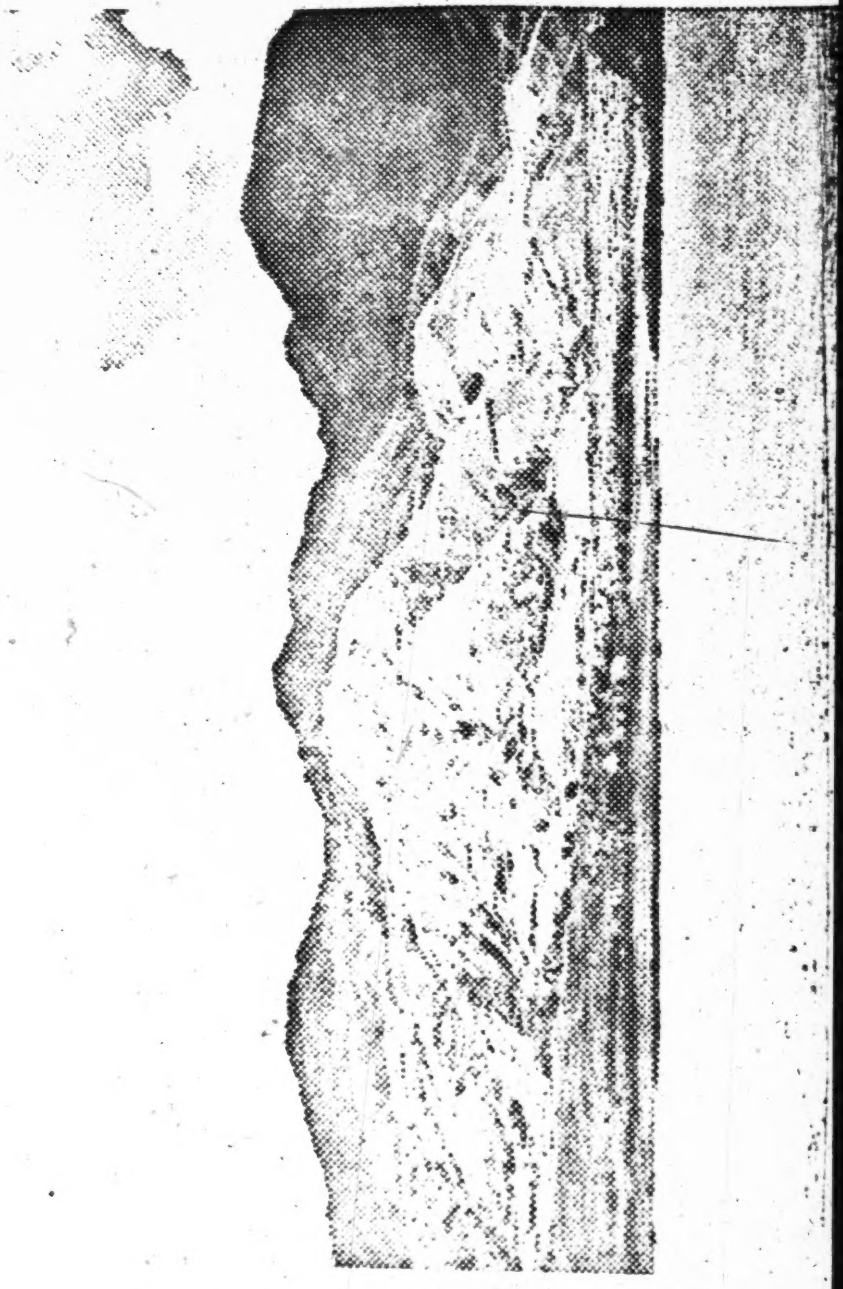
The Tam-sui river is the only one that is navigable; ships can anchor [547] three miles up stream while fairly good-sized junks can go 10 miles farther up; then its tributaries are such that light boats can go into the heart of the mountains.

Formosa has one serious fault: there are no good anchorages, and the coasts are inhospitable. On the east the waters are deep and the mountains practically vertical. Sau-o-bay could only be a place of refuge, for the commerce is on the western side. It is true that the harbor of Ki-long is vast and easy to reach; but most of it is filled with coral shallows, and the surrounding hills are not a sufficient protection, so vessels anchoring there are frequently thrown on to the coast during a typhoon. Then even if the weather is not really bad, the sand-bar defending the entrance to the Tam-sui river becomes impassible. Taïwan-fou is only an anchorage on the open sea, and ships do not dare stop there except during the northeastern monsoon. The Takao sand-bar makes it impossible for any save small vessels to enter it. And the other points on this coast are only anchorages which are several miles from shore; they have no protection, and are treacherous because of their bars of quick-sand.

34:Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines

[Frontispiece]

133



Kôtôsho From the Sea (Northwest Side)

34: Del Re--24-27 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 133, 361, 504, 342, 491 Yami

"A small steamship calls at the island once every ten days, weather permitting. As the sea is frequently rough and Botel-Tobago is surrounded by dangerous breakers, the ship anchors some distance out and passengers and cargo are transferred to land on a catamaran made out of heavy bamboo trunks lashed together. Apart from a small rest-house, police headquarters and the policemen's houses, all the rest are native buildings. The walls of these houses are built of large pebbles piled upon each other without mortar and covered with thatched roofs held down by large stones to prevent them being torn off by the wind. As this blows strongly practically all the year round, the houses are mainly constructed well below the level of the ground and protected by high stone walls over which only the roofs can be seen. The villages are scattered over the island, generally on the foreshore, but a few shacks and storehouses--covered with bamboo and branches of several varieties of trees--are found on the cultivated uplands and in the hills which rise steeply from the shore except where the coast forms a few open bays. During the twenties a good road was built round the island making it possible for the villagers to communicate with each other by cart or bycicle [sic]--a recent and much [pages 25 and 26 contain illustrations] [27] appreciated novelty."

34:Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami

501
733

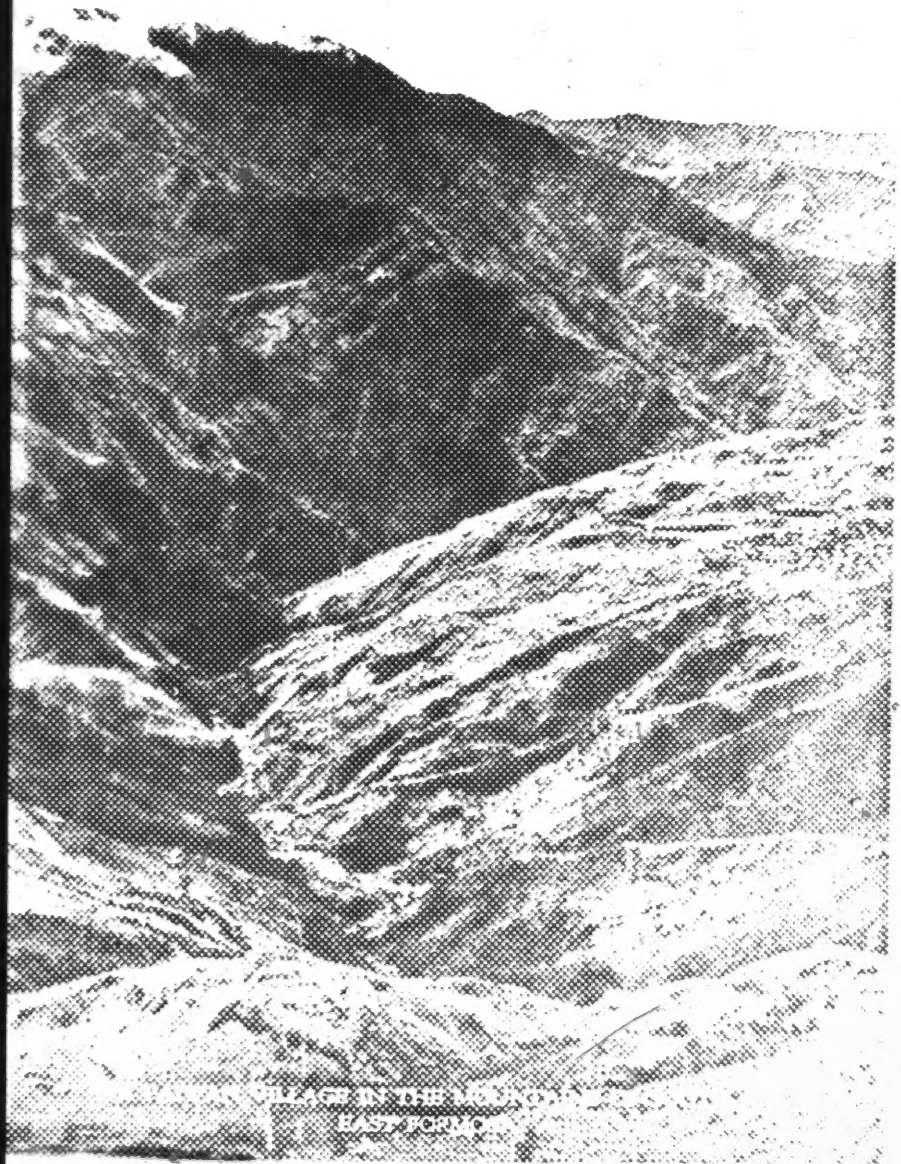
A 'Ten-Men Fishing Boat' (Chinusikran) Setting Out Between the Coral Reefs

44

34: Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines

Paiwan

133
361



A Paiwan village in the mountains of Southeast Formosa

51

"Returning to the Kibalan village, the name of which I believe is Shek-fan, we made known to them by signs that we were anxious to visit the mountains, and to meet with the savages. They, however, did their best to persuade us not to go, assuring us that we should be shot. On shewing them our revolvers, however, they seemed to think we should be safer; but, when we inquired for a guide, one and all declared that their throats would be cut if they ventured among the hills. After considerable parley, the sight of a dollar induced one to accompany us, and, having armed himself with his matchlock, we set out; our guide, however, taking good care to keep in the rear of the party. Crossing some paddy fields, and proceeding along a sandy bay to the southward, our path was arrested by rocks, while on our right was a range of hills covered with a seemingly impenetrable forest. On closer examination, however, we discovered a beaten track, and up it we climbed, through a dense vegetation of tree ferns, camphor trees, etc., among which were some beautiful flowers, and many gaudy butterflies, although the overarching trees shut out most of the light. We ascended a considerable distance, tracing the path, which, although faint, was evident, and marking the trees as we ascended; but no trace could we find of the savages of whom we were in search. At length, finding the path less and less distinct, and time failing, we gave up the chase, and descended to the Kibalan village. The track which we had followed, however, was so evidently a more or less frequented one, that, considering the dread professed by the inhabitants of the village of their savage neighbours, it is difficult to understand by whom

it could have been used, unless by the mountain aborigines descending to the plain in search of supplies. Subsequent inquires at Sano, as well as some [139] signs made by the Kibalans, elicited the information (whether true or false) that the aborigines of the mountains could not be reached under two days' journey from Sano Bay."

39: Wiedfeldt--22-23 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 133, 181, 501 Atayal

The Atayals live on an island but they are not a seafaring people. On the eastern coast of Formosa, where they have settled right down to the shore, navigation is so difficult, even for modern coastal steamers, as a result of an exceptionally strong current, [23] that getting from a boat to a ship even in good weather is sure to mean a ducking, as I know from experience. In bad weather it is impossible to get from a boat to a ship, or vice versa...For the Atayals, who could make only the simplest kind of boats with their few tools, such as hollowed-out tree trunks, or rafts, no navigation is possible here.

19: Guérin and Bernard--546 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868
116, 134

The soil is usually sandy in the plain; the valleys are fo
layers, which are covered with vegetable earth.

35: Collingwood--141 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
135 Sek-hoan

"The rocks of Sano Bay are of a slaty character, with very distinct cleavage; and, close by the village, slates might have been obtained by a little trouble and intelligence..."

35: Collingwood--141 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
136 Sek-hoan

"Besides buffalos, they have pigs (always black), Chinese dogs, Japanese cats with short twisted tails, and fowls."

20: Alvarez--255 [4] (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 137

"Virgin forests and impenetrable thickets with secular trees of most precious wood cover the whole territory which is occupied by the aboriginal tribes."

22: Wiedfeldt--7 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 137 Atayal

The tangible wealth of their land consists of the forests, which are worthless at present because of the lack of roads, and of the very desirable camphor trees, because of which the Japanese have pushed the Aiyu line forward by about 800 square kilometers annually during the last few years.

31: Hofmann--609 [2] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 137, 361

From the boundary, [EJ: separating the territory held by the aborigines from that held by the Japanese.] a fairly safe point of observation, I had a view of the mountains and the many deep chasms where the aborigines had their dwellings. There the inclines are covered with dense forests consisting almost altogether of leafy trees... Here and there the silvery leaves of the large camphor trees could be clearly distinguished among the green of the rest of the forest. A few of the houses of the natives could also be seen in the distance...

36: Dodd--74-75 U-2 1865 (1885) Formosan Aborigines
116, 137, 249, 276

"Tobacco grows wild in many parts of the country inhabited by the savages, and in Chinese territory it is cultivated to a large extent in certain districts. The savages simply sun-dry it, then rub it in their hands and place it in their pipes. In this form it is very mild. Foreigners make it into blocks by placing the leaves one above the other; a little water is then sprinkled over them, sometimes a dash of rum, the leaves are then pressed into a compact block, or are compressed into a circular shape about the size of the wrist and tapering to a point at both ends. Tobacco made in this form is tied round tightly together with rope, and is a very good substitute for what is called ship's tobacco. Native-grown tobacco, has been often prepared in this way by sailors on board [75] British gunboats visiting Tamsui, and has been much appreciated by every one fond of a pipe.

Chinese cultivate the tobacco plant, and large quantities are exported in junks to the mainland, where it is 'cured' according to Chinese taste, and in this form is re-imported for the use of Chinese only. The plant seems to thrive in Formosa luxuriantly, and it is a wonder that no attempt has been made here to manufacture cigars and cheroots for foreign exportation. Judging from the quality and size of the leaf, there ought to be no difficulty in producing cigars equal to those made in Manila."

37: Steere--312-313 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116. 137, 313, 311, 241 Chin-hoan

"The mountains all about the villages of the Kale-whan are almost entirely free from timber, there being only a little in the deep ravines, where it is almost inaccessible. The timber has probably been [313] cut off and sold by the savages to the Pepo-whans. Coarse grass and reeds have spring up, and this, by giving food for annual fires during the dry season, keeps a new growth of timber from springing up. The only timber that we could see, of any extent, was upon a high ridge that showed a few miles to the east and which we supposed must be the water-shed of the island. This timber appeared to be pine, and probably the common Chinese pine which we saw growing farther north. The Kale-whan were cultivating the steep hill-sides, much as the Che-whan of the north, by drawing weeds and bits of slate stone together into little ridges to keep the soil and crops from going down hill with the first rain. Their principal crops were millet and sweet potatoes. They also raised a small species of taro that grows without irrigation, though the large plant cultivated by the Chinese must be continually covered with water. While we were among them, toward the end of February, they were planting their millet. Their agricultural implements are sharpened sticks, some of them two or three pronged, like pitch forks, and some of them shod with iron. Many mango trees just in blossom were scattered over the hills among their little plantations, and had apparently been planted or at least protected by the savages. Their villages were nearly hidden in trees, among them oranges and plantains and betel nut palms, for which latter the savages have a great liking."

7: Joest--57 [6] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 141, 826 Chin-hoan

Since the natives will not allow anyone to touch their head, I found it impossible to take any measurements. I should say that most of the men are from 5'2" to 5'4", while the women are considerably smaller.

10: Schumacher--224 [6] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 141 Chin-hoan

The Tschin-Huan are tall people with good physiques. Their skin is not so dark as that of the Hacca [MC: Formosans of Chinese origin, originally from Kwangtung province] or the Peyo-Huan who live at the foot of the mountains.

10: Schumacher--224 [8] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 141 Chin-hoan

The facial expression of the men of the Tschin-Huan resembles that of the coarser types of the Indians of Arizona...

10: Schumacher--224-225 T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 141, 171, 562 Chin-hoan

The women can hardly be distinguished from the Chinese owing to the similarity of the shape of their faces, their delicate build, and their lighter skin. [225] In married life they claim a privileged position exactly like the Chinese women.

16: Müller--229 [3] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 141, 142, 164

The physical characteristics which all the aborigines of Formosa have in common are stiff black hair, prominent cheekbones, black iris, eyes of the Malayan type, a snub nose with wide nostrils, yellowish complexion, sparse beard, and medium height. The size of the skull (cephalic index) is between 79 and 83; they are brachycephalic. Although their build is not especially strong, they are agile and have a great deal of endurance. They are, however, subject to climatic diseases such as malaria.

19: Guérin and Bernard--552-553 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 141, 224, 341, 576 Tsou

Between the rivière Noire and the Pakan are the Tsoo, who are also called the Tibou-la, as that is the name of their largest village. The Tsoo are the unique example of a tribe of savages that are allied with the Chinese, and they are not tattooed at all. But they have little pity for their Ata-bou neighbors, and those of Sibou-koun. There is another language here, and we find that the race has become smaller, more thick-set, more southern, in a word. The house is round with a conical roof, instead of being square. The native no longer bids you welcome by laying his hand flat on your chest; he presses your forearm instead. (These observations apply to all the southern tribes). The Tsoo have replaced the Chinese head trophies by [553] enormous piles of wild-boar skulls.

19: Guérin and Bernard--553 [3] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 141, 142, 481

The Formosan savages are similar to the higher quadrumanes, such as the gorilla, in their gait. Their arms are long, and they have enormous feet. When they walk the front part of the foot is the only section that touches the ground; this is managed in some way by a perfect manipulation of the toes. The savages are above normal height, except among the southern tribes. The hair of the savages is usually tied in a knot at the back of the head, although it is occasionally cut short. Body hair is not very abundant. The features are those of a race which has been degraded by the difficulties of eking out an existence. Children in the north look very much like Europeans. You are amazed by the variety of physiognomies, for flat faces are seen side by side with Greco-Roman profiles. Unfortunately, the natural beauty is soon destroyed by an artificial ugliness. The southerners look like Malays or Tayals, but they are all extremely vigorous and agile.

19: Guérin and Bernard--553-554 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 141, 609

The savages are all alike [554] in having an expression of defiance and anxiety, which shows that they are undeveloped mentally. Some of the women are pretty, and they are small.

20: Alvarez--256 [2] (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 141, 142 Paiwan

"The forehead is regular. The nose is straight, yet slightly flattened towards the nostrils. Very thick lips appear among the Tsalisen, Pyuma and Paiwan. Tendency to obesity is rare. The Tsalisen, and most of the Pyuma and Paiwan, have round faces and strong limbs. They can run with great speed. They have good eyes and are splendid marksmen. They are either dark brown or blackish in complexion."

21: Asai--6 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 141, 144

"Physical types: There are five different types—Atayal, Saisiyat, and Sedeq; Bunun; Tsou, Kamakanabu, Saaru; Ruka, Paiwan, Puyuma, Ami; Yami. They are all rather similar to the Igorot tribe in the Philippines."

36: Dodd--70 [2] U-2 1865 (1885) **Formosan Aborigines**
116, 141

"The men are not remarkably tall; in fact I should say that few of them measure over five feet nine inches, and the majority of them are, probably, under five feet six inches. In the South of the island, it is said, the men are of a larger mould than those residing North of Latitude 24 N."

7: Joest--57 [7] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 142, 609 Chin-hoan

They have straight hair, never frizzly or wavy, and apparently not so stiff as that of the Malayans. By a fortunate accident I was able to obtain two specimens of their hair. In Tokohan, a village not far from the border there were three natives who were awaiting execution for killing several Chinese. I offered them presents first, but without success. It took three Chinese to hold two of the prisoners who, in spite of their chains, resisted with the utmost force until I had cut off some of their hair.

7: Joest--57-58 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 142 Chin-hoan

The men have an attractive, slim build; young people have pleasing, rounded contours. Their eyes are small, dark brown or black, with scant eyelashes and eyebrows; they have thin lips, beautiful teeth, and beautiful noses; some of them have aquiline noses. The color of their skin is a reddish brown; the [58] skin of the women is considerably lighter; some of them have yellowish white skin like that of the Chinese. If they are hot or drunk, both the men and women have flushed cheeks. In spite of their prominent cheekbones their facial expression is attractive; some of the girls were decidedly pretty. There are no traces of a resemblance to Negroes or Alfuros; I should say, without attaching any scientific value to the statement, that both men and women resemble the Japanese in respect to their features, the women even in respect to their figures. The women especially are strong and healthy; many of them have fat calves, which they protect from the thorny shrubs with a type of gaiters; the legs of the men are covered with scars.

7: Joest--58 [2] 116, 142 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines Chin-hoan

The beard of the men is scant; they have just the hint of a mustache; there are some traces of hair on the armpits and on the genitals.

11: Haguenauer--33 T-3 (no date) 1929
116, 142

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

The Tayal are well-built, and quite slender. The eyes have nothing Mongolian about them, while the brown skin reminds you of that of the Malays. Physical beauty is rare, but some of the women are attractive.

16: Müller--229 [3] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 141, 142, 164

The physical characteristics which all the aborigines of Formosa have in common are stiff black hair, prominent cheekbones, black iris, eyes of the Malayan type, a snub nose with wide nostrils, yellowish complexion, sparse beard, and medium height. The size of the skull (cephalic index) is between 79 and 83; they are brachycephalic. Although their build is not especially strong, they are agile and have a great deal of endurance. They are, however, subject to climatic diseases such as malaria.

19: Guérin and Bernard--553 [3] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 141, 142, 481

The Formosan savages are similar to the higher quadrumanes, such as the gorilla, in their gait. Their arms are long, and they have enormous feet. When they walk the front part of the foot is the only section that touches the ground; this is managed in some way by a perfect manipulation of the toes. The savages are above normal height, except among the southern tribes. The hair of the savages is usually tied in a knot at the back of the head, although it is occasionally cut short. Body hair is not very abundant. The features are those of a race which has been degraded by the difficulties of eking out an existence. Children in the north look very much like Europeans. You are amazed by the variety of physiognomies, for flat faces are seen side by side with Greco-Roman profiles. Unfortunately, the natural beauty is soon destroyed by an artificial ugliness. The southerners look like Malays or Tayals, but they are all extremely vigorous and agile.

20: Alvarez--256
116, 142, 144

(no date) 1927

Formosan Aborigines

"The Igorrotes of Formosa have great beautiful black or brown eyes, an agreeable and even noble countenance, notwithstanding their savage manners and customs. The horizontal orbits of their eyes separate them from their oblique-eyed Chinese neighbours. There are indeed oblique-eyed individuals among them, for they have mixed very considerably with the Chinese. The head is covered with blackish, smooth hair, yet not very abundant, nor very long, owing probably to the lack of care and cleanliness. Blond haired individuals have rarely been observed among them, and bare-headed people are likewise extremely rare.

The Japanese Prof. R. TORII, however, states: 'blond haired Igorrotes are to be found frequently'. And TAYLOR says: 'they have red hair and use bracelets of silver, made by themselves'; and 'they seem to be descendants of the Dutch, who took refuge in the mountains, when they fled ferocious Koxinga'."

20: Alvarez--256 [2]
116, 141, 142

(no date) 1927

Formosan Aborigines
Paiwan

"The forehead is regular. The nose is straight, yet slightly flattened towards the nostrils. Very thick lips appear among the Tsalisen, Pyuma and Paiwan. Tendency to obesity is rare. The Tsalisen, and most of the Pyuma and Paiwan, have round faces and strong limbs. They can run with great speed. They have good eyes and are splendid marksmen. They are either dark brown or blackish in complexion."

20: Alvarez--256[3] (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 142, 302

"The women of the villages Urai and Linmongan, situated in the north, near the capital of the island are almost red in colour and of a cheerful and agreeable countenance. The Tangoos, as well as the Atayal, are bronze in complexion and of a bad-looking appearance. A similar complexion is found among the Bunum and Tsu-u, in the central regions. They are called Chui-huan, viz., savages of the water, for they dwell on the borders of lake Candidius. According to TAYLOR, the Diaramonk, a Tsalisen branch of the southeast, 'are rather black and let their hair and finger-nails grow'."

20: Alvarez--256-257
116, 142, 144

(no date) 1927

Formosan Aborigines

"Lighter shades of complexion are observed among the Bunum, Tayal and northern Amis (6). The latter are generally strong and well built. They [257] are much stronger

6. See on this subject 'Memoria de cosas pertenecientes á la Isla Hermosa en 1632', by Father JACINTO ESQUIVEL, publ. in the 'Correo Sino-Anamita, o Correspondencia de las [257]Misiones del S. O. de Predicadores' 1897, Vol. XXX, p. 18 passim. The original Manuscript is preserved in the Archives of the monastery of Sto. Domingo, at Manila (Philippine Islands).

than the western Paiwan, who are weak and short in stature. The Paiwan of Botan, in the east are, however, tall and strong. The same may be said of the Buhuan in the centre. They 'are a beautiful race, strong, tall and of fine complexion', while, according to the Japanese authors, Bunum, Tsu-u, Tsalisen and Paiwan are found to be of either short of middling stature and of unprepossessing appearance, especially those of the Bunum branch named Gundai. The latter may be regarded as the genuine primitive inhabitants closely related to the Papuans, while the Atayal of the north undoubtedly belong to the Malayan stock."

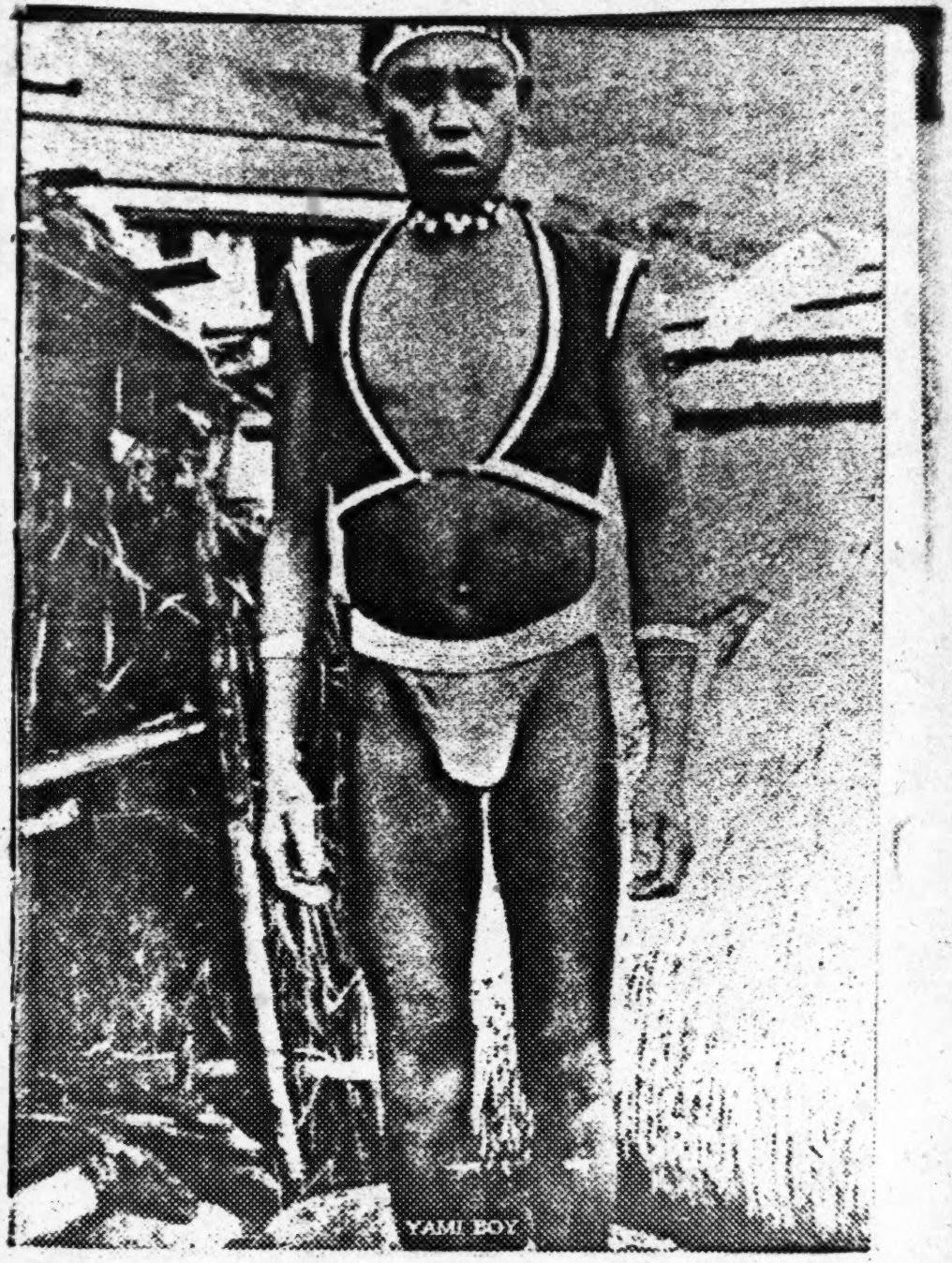
34: Del Re--12-15 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 302, 142 Yami

"Except for ceremonial occasions, the men only wear a 'G-string' and the women a short skirt and, sometimes, a kind of cloak reaching down to the waist. They anoint their dark coffee-coloured skin with pig-fat in order to beautify themselves as well as for hygienic reasons. Their hair of a reddish hue--hence the name Kô-tô-sho--is worn long and bobbed, by the men as well as by the women. This seems to be a custom now peculiar to this tribe. Referring to the Formosan style of hairdressing an anonymous XVIIIth century Dutch writer noted that no [pages 13 and 14 contain illustrations] [15] male was allowed to wear his hair below his ears until he had reached the age of 16 or 17 after which he let his hair grow as long as the women do in Europe. The women, however, have long hair, which they never cut. Only when their hair has grown long do they begin courting. (3) Another peculiarity is that they neither smoke nor drink

3. cpr. Veerwaarlooside Formosa, Amsterdam, 1675 (subsequently cited as VF), Part I, p. 7, an invaluable and, on the whole, reliable source of information concerning the Formosan savages, particularly those inhabiting the West central and Southwestern part of the island (Sinkan) in the neighbourhood of Tayouan (present day Tainan-Anping) with whom the Dutch settlers came into closer contact.

any kind of intoxicating beverage."

34: DelRe U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami



291
1H2

34:Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami

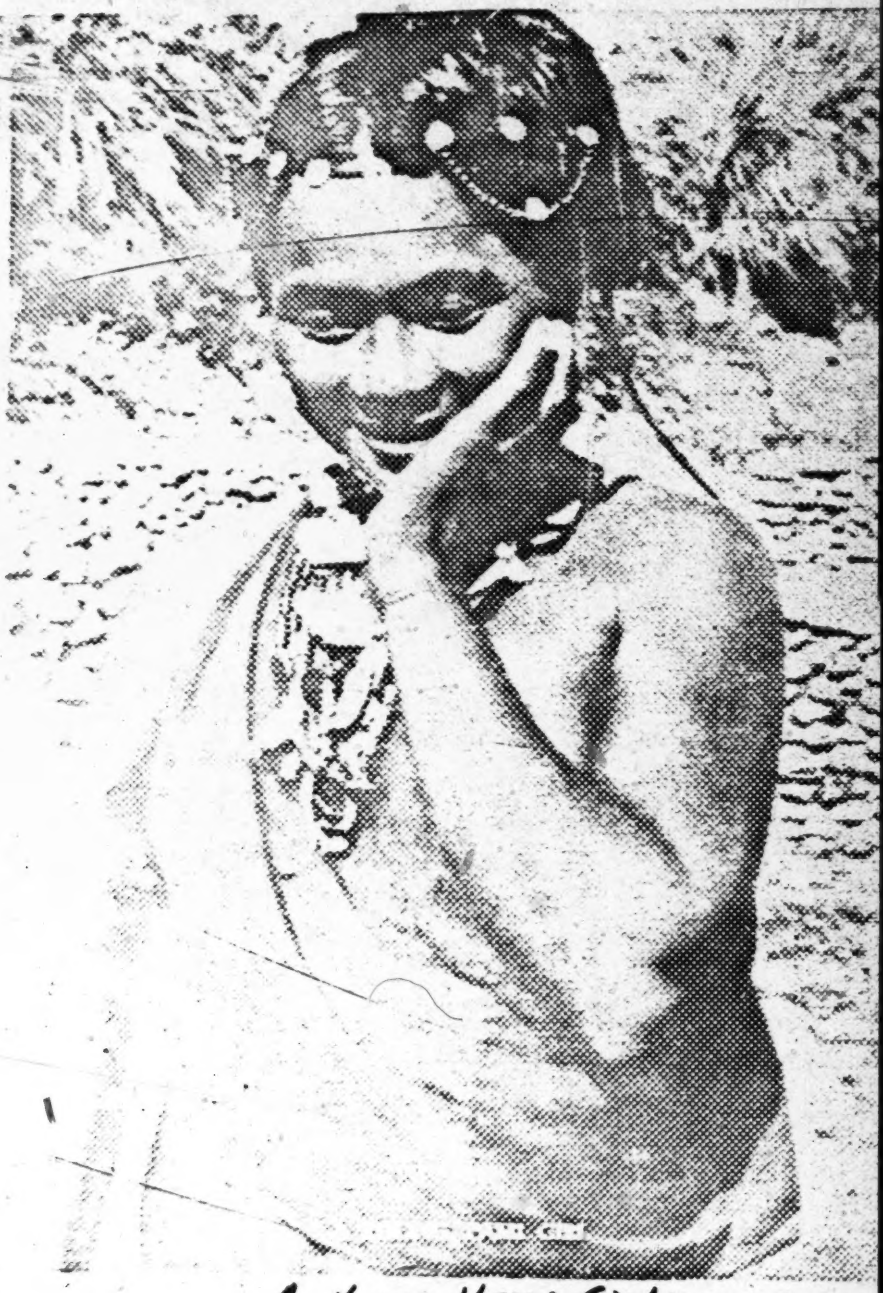
Yami Woman Spinning

14

291
142
283

34:Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigine
Yami

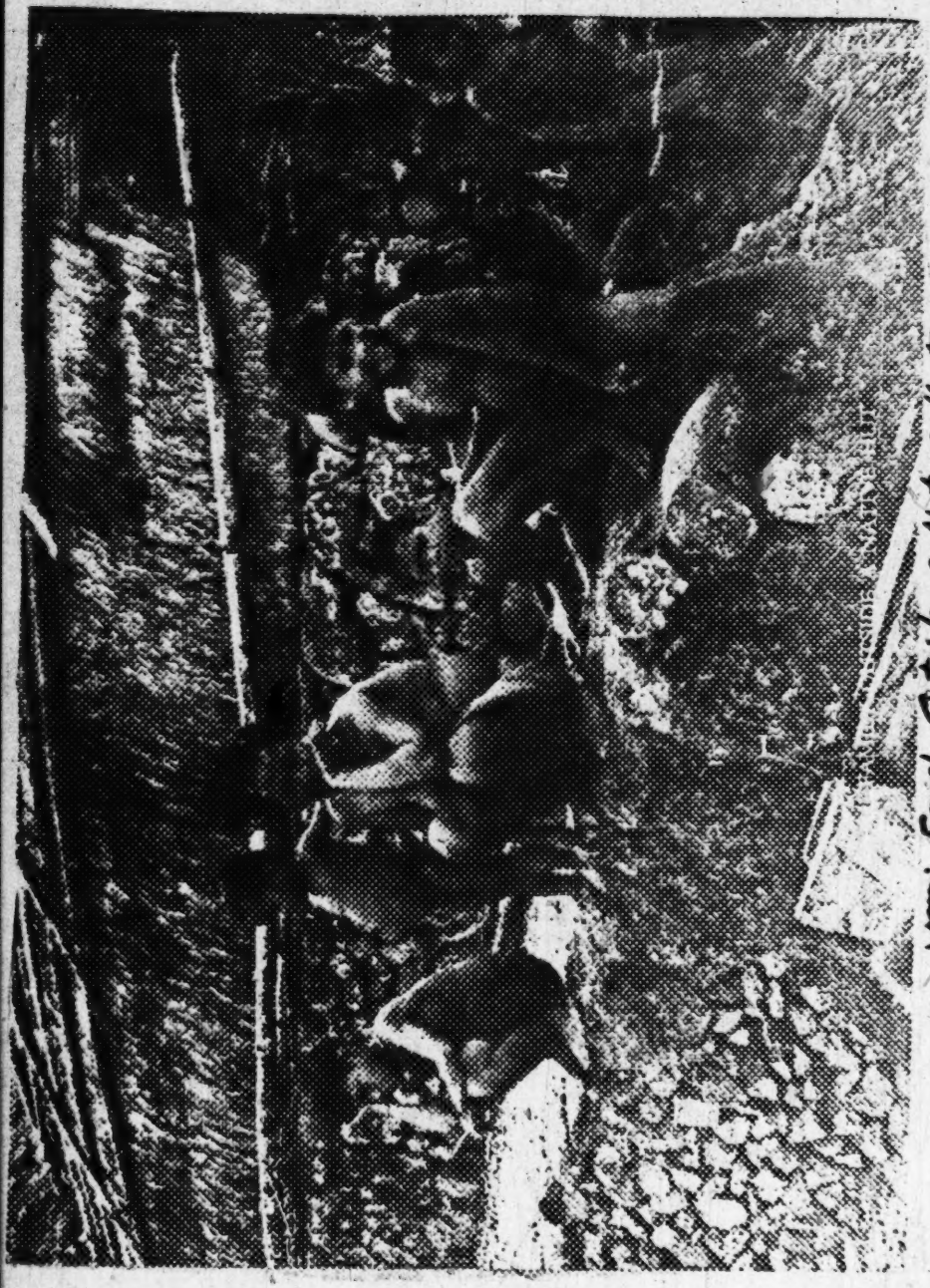
142



A young Yami Girl

34:Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami

142
592



Yami Family Outside a Native Hut

35: Collingwood--136-137 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 142 Sek-hoan

"The occupants of these habitations were a fine race of people, much superior in good looks to the Chinese; their features being more regular and well formed, and their expression decidedly more intelligent. The complexion was olive, the eyes [137] wanting the obliquity so characteristic of the Mongol race, the cheek-bones less high and prominent, the lips somewhat thick, and the chin well turned, giving altogether a very pleasing expression, neither stupid nor savage. The hair was usually black, but sometimes had a decidedly reddish cast, and that of the women was luxuriant and tied with a loose knot, while the men had adopted the Chinese custom of shaving the forehead, though not so far back as the vertex, and wearing a pigtail. Their physical proportions were in many cases very striking, and among them we saw both men and women of stalwart proportions. Some of the young girls were decidedly pretty, and exhibited all the coquetry, the love of finery, and other characteristics, which distinguish the sex in general in other parts of the world."

35: Collingwood--142-143 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 142, 161, 165, 732 Sek-hoan

"With regard to their diseases, we had no means of learning anything of the mortality of the village. One young woman appeared to be recovering from small-pox, and one old woman [143] was covered with a skin disease, which gave her a leprous appearance, but the people in general were healthy-looking and physically strong, hardy, and well made. We observed no deformities among them, with the exception of one child of three or four years old, which crawled nimbly about on its hands and knees, and appeared to be physically unable to stand or walk. The village may have contained, at a rough estimate, two hundred and fifty inhabitants. There were plenty of children, but old grey-headed persons were not numerous."

36: Dodd--70 U-2 1865 (1885) Formosan Aborigines
116, 142, 212

"The Hill Savages of North Formosa are, without doubt, exactly like other human beings in the shape of their bodies and number of their limbs, and although they are as wild as the animals which roam about their country, have no written language of their own, and live in a most primitive style, yet there are no signs of a Darwinian tail, neither do they at all give you the idea that their progenitors were of the monkey species."

36: Dodd--70-71 U-2 1865 (1885) Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 142

"The complexion of old men of the tribes [MLB: of North Formosa] is very sallow and often swarthy; that of young, healthy warriors much lighter and clearer, but there is observable in the majority of faces a dark tinge not to be seen in the faces of Chinese, not quite so dark as the complexion of mixed descendants of Portuguese settlers in Macao, but resembling more the tint to be seen in the faces of fair-complexioned Japanese. They are, if anything, darker-skinned than ordinary Chinamen who have not been exposed to the sun; but the peculiar strain referred to, does not appear so distinctly in the younger members of the tribe, or so strong, as it does in the complexions of those who have taken an active part in hunting, fighting, and in the hard daily struggle for existence.

The skin of the darkest savage of the North of the island is not so dark as the complexions of many representatives of Spain, southern France and Italy, and in higher latitudes, many faces of Celtic type shew as dark a hue as that observable in the faces of the aborigines of the North. In old members of the tribes, the colour of the skin assumes a duskier and sallower tint, constant on the frequent exposure to the sun and to the weather, but with all this, there is no similarity of colour to that visible in the faces of African negroes.

The strain of negro blood was plainly visible in the faces of the wrecked Pellew Islanders, but in the colour [71] of the skin and in the texture of the hair of the northern tribes there are no signs of negro extraction. Their hair is invariably dark and lank,

not curly or frizzled, their lips are not so thick even as those of Malays, and the high noses possessed by many approach often the European type. With these evidences before us, it is safe to assume that these savages have inherited an intermediate colour not apparently traceable to negro admixture... The colour of the skin of all the Northern tribes I have seen appears to be of a uniform hue, without any variety, beyond a darker or lighter complexion observable when comparing bronzed and swarthy old men with younger members of the tribe who have never been much exposed to the weather."

36: Dodd--71-72 U-2 1865 (1885) Formosan Aborigines
116, 142

"The general contour of the face resembles somewhat that [72] of a Malay, but the lips of the Formosan savage are not so thick, neither are their noses (excepting in few instances) quite so flat as those of the Malays whom I have seen at Singapore and in China. It may safely be said that there is nothing in their physiognomy which resembles the Chinese, their natural enemies, whom they imagine to be the only other inhabitants of Formosa or indeed of the world."

36: Dodd--72 U-2 1865 (1885) Formosan Aborigines
116, 142, 152

"On first meeting a savage of the true type (not beggar savages who are to be found on the borders and often in Chinese villages), you notice immediately the wide difference between him and the Celestial whom you have left on the opposite side of the borders, not only in the shape of his head, but particularly in the expression of the eye, which reminds you more than anything else of the wild and anxious gaze of a Scotch deer-hound. The eyes of most of the young warriors are strikingly black and piercing, they always appear to be on the move, staring to their full extent and gazing with a clear but eager look as it were at some far distant object beyond you. In the eye of the younger huntsmen and warriors, you cannot recognise care, but the look of those in their prime speaks of anxious thought for the morrow and is an index of the general feeling of insecurity, which must frequently and naturally exist amongst men who almost daily encounter dangers from contact with their human enemies, in the shape of neighbouring unfriendly tribes or the wily Chinese invader, as well as at times the wild animals of the forests, on the flesh of which they are, for the most part, dependent for their subsistence. The expression referred to is not one of fear, but denotes rather a life of care and anxiety."

36: Dodd--72-73 U-2 1865 (1885) Formosan Aborigines
116, 142, 302

"The head [MLB: of the "savage of the true type."] being generally small and round, the face is not particularly large or full. The eyes are very dark-coloured and straight cut, not at all oblique. In those of good-looking young men and women, the lashes are dark and long, eyebrows black, strong and thick, but not overhanging. In some faces they often nearly meet at the root of the nose. They are decidedly a very distinct feature of the face, as beards and whiskers are unknown and a moustache is seldom attempted, though I have seen certain old members of tribes [73] wearing a resemblance to one: as a rule all hairs appearing on the chin or cheek are plucked out by the roots, a small pair of tweezers being used for the purpose."

36: Dodd--73 U-2 1865 (1885) Formosan Aborigines
116, 142

"The shape of the heads of savages varies considerably, though the majority of them appear round and rather small. Their faces are for the most part of a Malayan type, some have a Jewish cast, and again you observe faces whose profiles resemble those of Europeans. I am inclined to think that these differences in physiognomies are attributable to the mixture of Malay, Philippine and Polynesian blood with the original ancient stocks previously existing in the island.

37: Steere--305 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 191, 174, 142, 292 Sek-hoan

"The Lek-whan call themselves Paijek in their own tongue, which all speak in their families, though all, but the very old, speak Chinese also, and some of the younger ones can write it with some readiness. There seem to be no manuscripts or other proofs that they formerly had any connection with the Dutch, and their position at nearly equal distances from Taiwanfu and Tamsni, the two points occupied by the Dutch, would have made them among the last visited by them, and the least influenced. Their language shows them to be closely connected with the savage tribes of the island, and with the Pepo-whans of the south. They are large and strongly framed as compared with the Chinese, but their faces are coarse, and the teeth of the women protrude; but their countenances show much good nature and kindly feeling. Their dress is much that of the poorer classes of Chinese, though for weddings and great ceremonies they use a national dress, consisting of two or three long sleeveless mantles, open in front, and the under one reaching to the heels, while those above are shorter. These are ornamented with a large amount of red embroidery about the bottom. They raise a species of nettle, from which they make a coarse but lasting cloth."

37: Steere--307 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 131, 142, 621, 291 Chin-hoan

"The savages that I visited east of the Lek-whan settlement of Posia, I have left with the general designation of Che-whan. The Chinese and Pepo-whans often call them Bon-whan. They occupy a part of the water shed of the island about the head-waters of the river that flows through the valley of Posia and into the Formosan channel near Changwha, and of other streams that flow into the Pacific. They are said to belong to a nation or confederacy, of over thirty villages, under one chief. They are very small and inferior looking, hardly averaging five feet in height, but very muscular from their life spent in climbing up and down their steep mountains. Their dress is made of a species of nettle, perhaps the ramil plant, which they cultivate, and which the women weave into narrow strips of very strong and durable, but somewhat coarse cloth, which is generally ornamented with red and blue stripes woven in. The only clothing of the men is a coarse sleeveless shirt of this cloth, which comes down to the middle of the thigh. I saw a couple of men among them wearing nothing but narrow (tapa rabos), not so wide as the hand, made apparently from the hair of some animal, woven, and colored red. They were said to belong to another, but friendly tribe. The women wear a sort of short tunic or kilt."

37: Steere--307 [3] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 142, 301, 516 Chin-hoan

"Both sexes go barefooted, and from long usage, their feet get as hard as horn, so that spines and sharp rocks do not penetrate them. They appeared to be very flat-footed, the arch of the foot being almost entirely wanting, while the toes were much spread, the big toe turning round toward the heel, so that it almost made a right angle. The women are very fond of wearing ear-rings of white shell, and bands of beads of the same about the head. The men stretch their ears, generally by putting in pieces of bamboo, but upon occasions of display, those who are able, put in disks of white shell two inches or more in diameter."

37: Steere--310 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 131, 621, 142 Chin-hoan

"The Tsui-whan--Chinese Tsui, water, and whan, savage--are so called from living about a small lake, which is situated about ten or fifteen miles to the south of Posia, from which they get a great part of their living by fishing. This lake, with the flat, cultivable lands about it, is entirely shut in by wooded mountains, those to the east rising to great height. The lake is over two miles in length, and contains a number of species of fish and eels. There are three villages of Tsui-whan about the lake, containing perhaps in all a thousand people, under one chief, and apparently entirely separate and independent of any other tribes of savages. They are a small but well-formed race, with regular and rather pleasing features."

37: Steere--311-312 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 142, 291, 622, 301 Chin-hoan

"The Kale-whan are very small in stature, averaging about five feet. The features of the younger ones are quite regular and pleasant, but among the old, want and vice have almost made them to look like brutes. They dress in Chinese cloth--the men in the short coat or hunting shirt, that leaves the legs and arms exposed. The chief was dressed in the skin of a tiger cat, which seemed to be his badge of office. The women dress much as the Chinese and Pepo-whans in the plain below, but they sometimes spend much time in embroidering their sleeves and trowsers. The women were always, while we were among them, whether at work in the fields or in the villages, crowned with wreaths of vines and flowers. These were often nothing more than sweet potato vines, but in some cases beautiful wild plants and flowers. Many of the men were also decorated in this way, and it would almost seem to be [312]a distinguishing mark of the tribe."

6: Kirchhoff--29 [3] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
116, 144, 171, 511

There can be no doubt that these Formosan natives belong to the Malayan race. Proof of this is offered by their language, their physique and many of their customs, such as headhunting and the community houses in the villages, where the youths and unmarried men sleep together.* Separated into many tribes divided by dialect and varying in

* Joest, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Eingebornen der Insel Formosa," Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, 1882, p. 61.

appearance, these Formosan Malays do not possess any common name. Today, insofar as they live untouched by the culture of foreign intruders, they lead a pretty rough existence, generally as hunters, although they live in small forest villages made up of wretched bamboo huts.

7: Joest--55 [3] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 144, 437, 563 Pepo-hoan

'Marriages between Chinese, especially the Hakkas, and Formosan women, occur frequently. Thus a distinct racial group, the Pepohoan, has been formed; they usually form the intermediaries in barter.

7: Joest--57 [2] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 144

Schetelig believes that the Chinwan and Shekwan may be divided into two distinct racial groups according to the formation of their skull; according to his theory, the former are related to the Polynesians, the latter to the Malayan group. The two groups do not seem to be related linguistically.

10: Schumacher--224 [5] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 144 Chin-hoan

So far it has not been undisputably established to which population group the Tschin-Huan belong; they live in the almost inaccessible mountains of Formosa.

10: Schumacher--224 [7] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 144 Pepo-hoan

The latter [MC: Peyo-Huan] seem to be products of cross-breeding between the Chinese and Tschin-Huan. Especially in the north of the island, they are the intermediate between the Chinese and the Formosans of the mountains.

15: U.S. Navy --23 [7] (no date) 1944 Formosan Aborigines
116, 144, 177, 563, 162 Pepo-hoan

"Marriage between the Formosan-Chinese and the aboriginal population has been a common thing since the incursion of the Chinese, and the result is that a large number of Pepohoans or 'Plains barbarians' have become assimilated in manner of living to the peasant Chinese. For purposes of the census the Japanese administration counts these Pepohoans among the Formosan-Chinese."

16: Müller--228 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 144, 171, 174, 197

While we have no tangible evidence concerning the origin of the aborigines of Formosa, we may assume from their physical appearance, customs, language, and level of intelligence that they belong to the racial group of the Malayans. We may therefore conclude that they originally came from the Malayan Archipelago. Although they have numerous traits in common, as a result of their derivation from one single group, their development has proceeded along different lines, partly because the chains of huge mountains have split them into different groups. Their language especially shows so many divergencies that some of the tribes cannot understand each other.

17: Norbeck--1 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 121, 144, 171

"The similarity of the Formosan aborigines to various other Indonesian or southeast Asian peoples in physical type, culture, and language has been frequently noted, but no thorough study of the Formosan groups has as yet been made by a westerner. This paper presents translations from Japanese of folk tales of the Atayal tribe of north Formosa. The tales reveal an affinity with the mythology of other Indonesian and southeast Asian groups; the most noteworthy resemblance, which is close to the point of identity in some instances, is with the folklore of the mountain tribes of northern Luzon."

17: Norbeck--2-3 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 144, 174

'The tribes which inhabit the interior of Formosa, an area comprising approximately one-half of the total island, are of preponderantly Malay or unspecialized Mongoloid stock, and the present peoples are thought to have resulted from successive waves [3] of migration. Although considerable variation exists among the tribes, all are members of the of the Malayo-Polynesian linguistic stock, and in physical type and culture resemble peoples of southeast Asia, the Philippines, and other Indonesian areas."

20: Alvarez--250 [2] (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 144

"The aborigines of Formosa are, we think, of Malayan origin. They constitute seven groups, with the following names: Atayal, Bunum, Tsu-u, Tsalisen, Pyuma, Amis and Paiwan. [MC: see map, category 102, p. 247] They represent a racial unity from the anthropological and ethnological as well as linguistic points of view. Physical differences exist only between the Atayal and the Bunum, and between these and the Paiwan."

20: Alvarez--251 [3]
116, 144, 131, 173

(no date) 1927

Formosan Aborigines
Paiwan

"The Paiwan seem to be of Malayan extraction. At present they live in the southernmost part of the island. It is said that four centuries ago they were lords of a flourishing kingdom, then comprising the whole south and a part of the centre, where they afterwards were met with by the Dutch and subsequently reduced to submission by the invaders.

As to their antiquity and origin, there is nothing left but some oral traditions and the notices, most of them obscure and extremely vague, given by several ancient Chinese historians. It is needless to say, that such material can cast but a slight light upon the past history of these tribes."

20: Alvarez--251 [4] (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 144, 173

"Following the records we have referred to, [MC: i. e. oral traditions and sketchy notes of Chinese historians] the Atayal seem to be the oldest inhabitants in the northern section. The first elements of their people might have come from China. The Bunum have for centuries occupied the hills of Central Formosa. It is said they are descendants of Malayans who [illegible]d landed on the eastern shores of the island. There they found the fertile country inhabited by a black people, who are supposed to be the primitive inhabitants of Formosa. Dispute and struggle soon arose. The black race, indeed of inferior civilization, was conquered and absorbed by the higher civilized intruders. The amalgam of these two elements afterwards retired to the mountains which they now occupy. They had probably been dislodged from their former home and pressed back by some more powerful new-comer also of Malayan origin. The most extensive of all the tribes are the Paiwan. Highly influenced by them, somatically as well as linguistically, are the Tsalisen, Amis and Pyuma."

20: Alvarez--252-253 (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 175, 144, 167

"Now, supposing the Chinese records to be incorrect and even exaggerated, we can, however, arrive at the conclusion that Formosa must have been peopled several centuries before the Christian era. The first Malayan tribes seem to have then invaded the island. In the fifth and sixth century they became a nation powerful enough to beat and dominate the primitive inhabitants. A new competitor, of Malayan origin too, now appeared. They occupied the northern section of Formosa, and were in all probability the ancestors of the Atayal. In the south, the Paiwan began to spread and occupy a great extent of territory. The highest degree of their g r a n d e u r and advancement they reached in XIIth century. It was then that they crossed the strait, or channel of Formosa and frightened the Chinese population by an unexpected landing and bold attack on the coast of Fokien. [253]

New immigrations of tribes of alien origin have since contributed to alter and complicate the character, manners and customs, language, and so on, of the Formosan aboriginal race; and this to such a degree that to-day it is almost impossible to solve the question as to the origin and ethnical affinities of the Formosan tribes. Among the new invading tribes, there were, for instance, the Bisayas. They appeared in 1174-1189, landing on the coast of Fokien. According to the Chinese records of that time, the Bisayas were a most ferocious people with great eyes, using ironlances, and bamboos, which they used to throw with force at their enemies. TERRIEN DE LECOUPERIE says,

they might have crossed the strait and passed over to Formosa and given origin to the name Piisaye, which later on was applied by the Chinese to the island Formosa."

20: Alvarez--256 (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 142, 144

"The Igorrotes of Formosa have great beautiful black or brown eyes, an agreeable and even noble countenance, notwithstanding their savage manners and customs. The horizontal orbits of their eyes separate them from their oblique-eyed Chinese neighbours. There are indeed oblique-eyed individuals among them, for they have mixed very considerably with the Chinese. The head is covered with blackish, smooth hair, yet not very abundant, nor very long, owing probably to the lack of care and cleanliness. Blond haired individuals have rarely been observed among them, and bare-headed people are likewise extremely rare.

The Japanese Prof. R. TORII, however, states: 'blond haired Igorrotes are to be found frequently'. And TAYLOR says: 'they have red hair and use bracelets of silver, made by themselves'; and 'they seem to be descendants of the Dutch, who took refuge in the mountains, when they fled ferocious Koxinga'."

20: Alvarez--256-257 (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 142, 144

"Lighter shades of complexion are observed among the Bunum, Tayal and northern Amis (6). The latter are generally strong and well built. They [257] are much stronger

6. See on this subject 'Memoria de cosas pertenecientes á la Isla Hermosa en 1632', by Father JACINTO ESQUIVEL, publ. in the 'Correo Sino-Anamita, o Correspondencia de las [257]Misiones del S. O. de Predicadores' 1897, Vol. XXX, p. 18 passim. The original Manuscript is preserved in the Archives of the monastery of Sto. Domingo, at Manila (Philippine Islands).

than the western Paiwan, who are weak and short in stature. The Paiwan of Botan, in the east are, however, tall and strong. The same may be said of the Buhuan in the centre. They 'are a beautiful race, strong, tall and of fine complexion', while, according to the Japanese authors, Bunum, Tsu-u, Tsalisen and Paiwan are found to be of either short of middling stature and of unprepossessing appearance, especially those of the Bunum branch named Gundai. The latter may be regarded as the genuine primitive inhabitants closely related to the Papuans, while the Atayal of the north undoubtedly belong to the Malayan stock."

20: Alvarez--257 [2] (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 144

"The question as to the origin of the Formosan Igorrotes is somewhat complicated. Judging from their physical features, the southern Paiwan in many respects are like the Sannan and Shikishimo of Lyu-kyu. The Paiwan of the east look very much like the Tagales of Luzon. The southern Amis resemble the natives of the Caroline Islands. The so-called Chuihuan of the centre, who belong to the Tsu-u and the Bunum, have a great resemblance to the Malayans of Borneo and Singapore. Some Atayal bear a resemblance to the Maori of New Zealand, while the Pepohuan of Baska, in the south, according to Thomson, seem to be related to the Laos of Siam.

And the Tsalisen in front of the port of Takao in their physical features closely resemble the broad type of Japanese peasant of the south, with his short but strong limbs."

21: Asai--1 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 144

"There is sometimes misunderstanding and confusion in the terminology of Formosans and Formosan tribes. Most of the present day inhabitants of Formosa are of Chinese stock from Fukien and Kwantung provinces, many of them Hakka Chinese. The original inhabitants, the aboriginal groups of Formosa, are of Indonesian stock. They belong to the Indonesian stock both physically and culturally. They number about 140,000 and this figure is relatively stable. They are generally divided into 13 tribes: Atayal, Saisiyat, Sedeq, Bunun, Tsou, Kamakanabu, Saaru, Ruka, Paiwan, Puyuma, Ami, Yami, and Siroiya."

21: Asai--6 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 141, 144

"Physical types: There are five different types—Atayal, Saisiyat, and Sedeq; Bunun; Tsou, Kamakanabu, Saaru; Ruka, Paiwan, Puyuma, Ami; Yami. They are all rather similar to the Igorot tribe in the Philippines."

21: Asai--9 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 144

" 'It is a well known fact that there lives an Indonesian race on Formosa, and it is called by the Japanese Ban-zoku or Takasago-zoku, which includes Indonesian aboriginal tribes not only on Formosa, but also on this small island Botel Tobago. According to the classification of the Aboriginal Department of the Formosan Government General they are divided into 7 tribes (or divisions), namely, Taiyal, Tsou, Saiset, Bunun, Paiwan, Ami and Yami, but linguistically we must expect more divisions. [MC: see category 197]"

35: Collingwood --143 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 144, 157, 186 Sek-hoan

"In conclusion, I think it is evident that the race of people inhabiting this village is distinct from the Chinese. Among the women, particularly, there was scarcely one who had a Chinese feature, and their habits and modes of life also differ considerably. The feet were in no instance bandaged, as is universally the custom among the neighbouring Chinese. With regard to the men, it was not always so easy to discriminate, although in many, or rather most, instances, the Kibalan man was bigger and more stalwart, and with a cast of features superior to that of the Chinese. Some of them may have been half-castes, but I am of opinion that the majority of the inhabitants were of pure aboriginal descent, though how they became separated from the mountain savages, and the process and reason of their domestication, I have no means of knowing. Their present isolation in their own special village in a great measure accounts for the apparent purity of their blood. They were in all respects a more intelligent and more engaging people than the Chinese of Formosa, though these latter affect superiority. Thus, when I inquired of a man in the Chinese village of Sano, who I imagined had a dash of Kibalan in his face, if he belonged to that race, he replied, 'No, I am a man' (that is, a Chinese), 'not a foreigner.' "

37: Steere--304 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 144, 291 Pepo-hoan

"The Pepo-whans are a large and well-formed race, showing little of Chinese features, except where it can easily be traced to intermarriage between the races, which seldom occurs. The men have no distinctive dress, unless the turban may be considered such, though the Chinese also use this to some extent. The women have a peculiar and very becoming dress, consisting of wide trowsers and a short and wide-sleeved jacket, meeting the trowsers at the waist and fastened with a sash. The head is wrapped in a blue turban, the ends of which are drawn out at the sides of the head like wings and giving them a peculiarly jaunty and coquettish appearance."

7: Joest--58 [7] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 151 Chin-hoan

Although the Chinwan language has the same word for blue and green, they were able to distinguish between these two colors when I showed them colored glass beads.

7: Joest--62 [2] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 151, 201 Chin-hoan

I was frequently struck by the excellent vision of the Chinwans. Once a native told me that he could see a large number of people from his tribe; I myself was not able to see a trace of this crowd. He told me this in sign language, by raising his hands and opening and closing them quickly several times.

36: Dodd--72 U-2 1865 (1885) Formosan Aborigines
116, 142, 152

"On first meeting a savage of the true type (not beggar savages who are to be found on the borders and often in Chinese villages), you notice immediately the wide difference between him and the Celestial whom you have left on the opposite side of the borders, not only in the shape of his head, but particularly in the expression of the eye, which reminds you more than anything else of the wild and anxious gaze of a Scotch deer-hound. The eyes of most of the young warriors are strikingly black and piercing, they always appear to be on the move, staring to their full extent and gazing with a clear but eager look as it were at some far distant object beyond you. In the eye of the younger huntsmen and warriors, you cannot recognise care, but the look of those in their prime speaks of anxious thought for the morrow and is an index of the general feeling of insecurity, which must frequently and naturally exist amongst men who almost daily encounter dangers from contact with their human enemies, in the shape of neighbouring unfriendly tribes or the wily Chinese invader, as well as at times the wild animals of the forests, on the flesh of which they are, for the most part, dependent for their subsistence. The expression referred to is not one of fear, but denotes rather a life of care and anxiety."

39: Wiedfeldt--13 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 153, 185 Atayal

After a period of years in which many Atayals were killed by coming in contact with the wire of the Aiyu line, which is charged with 2,000 volts, they have now found out that they can slip between the wires without harming themselves by holding them apart by long bamboo sticks, to the ends of which they have attached empty sake bottles. To think beyond immediate necessities to more remote ends and to provide for these in advance, seems too difficult to most of the Atayals. In spite of occasional crop failures, they accumulate no stores of provisions, nor do they observe a closed season in hunting or spare the young game.

39: Wiedfeldt--13 [2] F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 153, 182, 622 Atayal

Some of them, of course, are able to think further agead. For years, some of the tribal chiefs have understood and have attempted to make the others understand that individual fights against the Japanese on the part of different tribes mean useless shedding of blood, and that their only hope lies in common action by all the tribes. They have not achieved a great measure of success, due largely to the difficulty of introducing new ideas into the mind of the Atayals, who do not follow their heads, but the prize skulls. ...They are capable of observing closely, and often make slow but correct deductions from their observations...

39: Wiedfeldt--16 [2] F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 153, 811, 177.65 Atayal
636.65 Japanese

The capacity of the Atayals to grasp something that has been told them is also limited. If one attempts to tell them something through the medium of an interpreter, one runs up against a complete lack of comprehension, even if it is only a question of their forming a new concept out of elements already known to them. They do not even have an idea of the power of the Japanese; of which they should have been clearly conscious in view of the bloody battles that they have had with them. In order to make them aware of this, and to scare them off from making further attacks, the Japanese have very cleverly taken a number of highly respected Atayals to Tokyo every year at the expense of the state, so that they could get an idea there by what they themselves could see of the power and the resources of Japan, and could then tell the members of their tribe. The sum total of all this is that the Atayals do not completely lack imagination...but it has been employed only in a few fields, and has not been very productive even in these...

11: Haguenauer--43-44 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 156, 183 Atayal

The savage does not reason to any great extent, although he shows initiative during a hunt or a battle. But his other actions are governed by tradition, or by the command of the village chieftain. The science of the Tayal is purely empirical, and it is limited to a few observations concerning atmospheric phenomena, the properties of certain plants and the habits of the wild animals. If the intellectual life of the Tayal is on such a low plane, it is not because they are entirely absorbed by the necessities of their vegetative life; it is rather that they do not see any need for thinking. If you ask a Tayal a question, he will give you the traditional [44] answer which he got from his ancestors. He never tries to explain anything.

22: Wiedfeldt--39 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 156, 181, 241, 433 Atayal

Atayal domestic economy produces no surplus which they could give up. Every family plants just as much land as it needs for its own maintenance. Besides, who would take a surplus off their hands, since every family produces the same thing and has enough for itself? The impulse to make a profit, which now dominates our whole life, is completely lacking....Furthermore, the Atayals have no competition, that motive power of economic life. Indeed, the effort to produce more than the other fellow and thus to distinguish oneself may be seen only in the skull hunt. Finally, they do not know how to aim at the greatest possible production with the smallest possible expenditure of strength.

35: Collingwood--141 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 123, 156, 526, 562 Sek-hoan

"The following morning a number of natives visited the ship in their boats, and, on bottles being shown to them, they eagerly demanded them. When thrown into the water, half-a-dozen men leaped after them, and vigorous swimming-matches took place for the prizes. They would also dive for buttons of any kind that were thrown in. Soon afterwards several boats, full of people of all ages and both sexes, came alongside and readily ventured on board. Indeed, one great distinction between these people and the Chinese was the entire absence of timidity on the part of the females, who, instead of running away and hiding themselves as soon as they are even looked at, showed the most perfect confidence and freedom from mauvaise honte. They immediately commenced eagerly inquiring for brascos (bottles), and as our supply of these desirable articles was limited (owing to the custom of throwing empty bottles overboard), considerable jealousy was excited among the unsuccessful competitors. There was no idea of barter, and perhaps it was our own fault that we obtained nothing in return for our valuable presents. A number of our visitors were induced to descend to the captain's cabin, where, as lunch was going on, they readily partook of the edibles, and made themselves quite at home. Captain Bullock good naturedly cut off the tassels from his cushions, which were immediately transferred to the hair of the native beauties. After going about the ship, and conducting themselves with the greatest propriety, they returned to the village."

39: Wiedfeldt--12 [2] F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 156, 437 Atayal

The Atayals are shrewd, and know how to act with thought and calculation in everything that concerns their vital needs. Among the border tribes, they have learned how to trade quickly, and they are quick to press their own advantage, the women in barter with the Japanese traders, and the men in their political dealings with the Japanese officials.

35: Collingwood--139 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 123, 157, 609 Sek-hoan

"We unpacked our basket of provisions in the middle of the village, and were soon surrounded by the entire population, who pressed curiously about us, but withal civilly; and seemed to think our eatables not bad, particularly the loaf sugar, which young and old appeared to appreciate. Captain Bullock had brought with him some old numbers of the Illustrated London News, which he distributed among them; but I remarked that though all seemed anxious to get a leaf, they did not look at the woodcuts, but immediately folded it up and put it in some part of their dress—nor could I interest them by pointing out to them the most striking illustrations, which they did not appear to comprehend. They did not, however, show any lack of interest and curiosity in most things, and the men particularly most inquisitively examined every part of our dress, feeling its texture, looking into our pockets, and shewing by signs that they wished to see the interior of any box or bag we happened to carry. Nor were they content with looking once, but the same objects must be inspected again and again. The women more particularly exhibited a great anxiety to obtain as presents anything we could give them, particularly anything ornamental. The naval buttons were a great temptation, and over and over again they pointed to them, and intimated their desire to be the fortunate possessors of them. When denied, they would point to a young child and ask it for him, as though we could not refuse it. Darwin, I may observe, makes the same remark when speaking of the Fuegians. If the button was given under these circumstances, it was immediately fastened on a string and tied round the child's forehead. But so importunate were they, that I might have

completely stripped myself and found candidates for every article I possessed. Notwithstanding this, however, and that they repeatedly put their hands into our pockets, not a single article was lost, and no attempt was made to steal, but upon its being re-demanded they never offered to retain any object whatever. After our meal was over, the empty bottles were eagerly sought after, and we soon learned that no more acceptable present than a bottle could be made to them. This, which they called brasco, and tobacco, (1)

1. Both words, no doubt, from the Spanish or Portuguese, frasco and tobaco. —Editor.

were the only two things which they specially applied for."

35: Collingwood--142 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 123, 157 Sek-hoan

"The people readily acceded to the desire that they should sit, and several picturesque groups were formed, some of which were successfully fixed by the camera: of course it was very difficult to keep them all quiet, and impossible to make them comprehend the necessity of absolute stillness during the critical moments. The result, however, was in several instances very satisfactory."

35: Collingwood --143 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 144, 157, 186 Sek-hoan

"In conclusion, I think it is evident that the race of people inhabiting this village is distinct from the Chinese. Among the women, particularly, there was scarcely one who had a Chinese feature, and their habits and modes of life also differ considerably. The feet were in no instance bandaged, as is universally the custom among the neighbouring Chinese. With regard to the men, it was not always so easy to discriminate, although in many, or rather most, instances, the Kibalan man was bigger and more stalwart, and with a cast of features superior to that of the Chinese. Some of them may have been half-castes, but I am of opinion that the majority of the inhabitants were of pure aboriginal descent, though how they became separated from the mountain savages, and the process and reason of their domestication, I have no means of knowing. Their present isolation in their own special village in a great measure accounts for the apparent purity of their blood. They were in all respects a more intelligent and more engaging people than the Chinese of Formosa, though these latter affect superiority. Thus, when I inquired of a man in the Chinese village of Sano, who I imagined had a dash of Kibalan in his face, if he belonged to that race, he replied, 'No, I am a man' (that is, a Chinese), 'not a foreigner.' "

37: Steere--306-307 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 157, 771, 533 Sek-hoan

"The ancient worship of the Lek-whan, like that of the Pepo-whan of the South, seems to have consisted of certain idolations, dances and songs, and the worshiping of a boar's or deer's skull. They differ materially from the Chinese in a natural love and taste for music. They have fitted several of their wild idolation tunes to Christian hymns, which they sing with great spirit. They learn European music readily, but seem to prefer their own. They are [307] naturally honest and hospitable, and we had great trouble in getting them to take pay for the articles of food we bought of them."

37: Steere--314-315 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines 1-2
116, 157, 177, 721

"The numbers of the savages of Formosa are hard to estimate. They are certainly more numerous than would be expected from the rough and mountainous character of the country they inhabit. They are weak and cowardly and badly armed, and their only safety is in [315] their woods and rocks, through and over which they make their way with almost the facility of wild beasts. Those who inhabit the sea coasts to the west are in the habit of plundering wrecked vessels and adding the heads of those of the crew who escape drowning to their treasures. They are said to be a fierce race and better armed than those of the mountains. The Chinese are slowly encroaching upon them where the soil and timber is worth possessing, but it will take centuries at the present rate for them to gain entire possession of the island, and it is probable that they never will conquer the whole island but will leave the most mountainous parts of the island in the hands of the savages, just as they have done in the interior of China itself, where there are many tribes of savages who do not recognize Chinese authority. There is probably no day of the year that passes without bloodshed along the savage border in Formosa. The savages are continually coming out and lying in wait for the Chinese, and the Chinese are in no way particular how they get the savages in their power and revenge themselves, but the Chinese government seems to have no concern in it. Those who live along the border understand that they do it at their peril, and that their death will not be noticed. The only means for defense or warning that we saw upon the border were undertaken by private individuals, and we saw one man,

37: Steere--314-315 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines-2
116, 157, 177, 721

whose lands and property were exposed, who was offering ten dollars per head for savages."

39: Wiedfeldt--25 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 157, 186, 609 Atayal

I have not been able to determine the basic reasons for their reserve. Perhaps it is rooted in excessive pride of race, not to say, haughtiness of race, as some of the Japanese maintain... It is also partly due to a certain shyness. In the presence of people who belong to other races, the Atayals drop their voices to a whisper, and display a prudent reserve in spite of the curiosity of the others. The sources of this attitude, however, continue to be a mystery; the only thing that is clear is their attitude of reserve.

40: Kirk-17 [2] S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 157

"The government, likewise, hopes to make the aborigines more productive economically. Their temperament, like that of the North American Indians and so many other primitives, does not fit them to be factory workers, dock laborers, or members of construction gangs. They might be pressed into service as road or brush workers in the mountain passes."

11: Haguenauer--29 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 161, 657

The seiban [MC: completely unacculturated natives] are divided into eight large tribes: the Tayal, Saisat, Tchou, Bunun, Paiwan, Puyuma, Amis and the Yami. The total population is only 134,000, and that is very small for such a large territory.*

* The map [MC: see category 102 page:facing 25] shows the location of these eight tribes. The Tayal are divided into the Tayal and the Sedjiek. The Tsarisen speak a language which is similar to that of the Paiwan.

The tribes that I have just named are distinguished by somatological characteristics, language, social organization and customs. They have nothing in common except the system of administration, to which they were subjected by the Japanese.

16: Müller--228 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 161, 175

(The purpose of this slip is to correct a typographical error resulting in the following slip being marked 232 [2] whereas it should have been 232 [1]).

16: Müller--228 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 161, 175

While, at the turn of the 17th century, the aborigines of Formosa occupied the entire island, today they form only a fraction of the total population. The hordes of Chinese immigrants from the mainland opposite, chiefly from the Fukien Province, have gradually pushed the original inhabitants towards the central and eastern mountains. There are today approximately 2 1/2 million Chinese and nearly 100,000 Japanese on the island, while the number of natives is, at the most, 120,000.

17: Norbeck--3-4 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 161 Atayal

"According to a Japanese census of 1930, the Atayal numbered 32,925, in 241 villages [4] (perhaps more properly translated as communities), and had a total of 7,040 houses. (5)

5. Suzuki Sakutarō, Taiwan no Banzoku Kenkyū ('Study of the Aboriginal Tribes of Formosa') (Taihoku, Formosa: Taiwan Shiseki Kankō-kai, 1932), p. 6."

18: Kakyo--73 E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 161, 177

The Pepohan of Formosa are dying out. The Besha, who live in the plains of Polisia, in a district cut off by natural boundaries, numbered 120 fifty-one years ago, according to the account of a Chinese official. Gradually their community dissolved, and at the present time only 11 Besha are living, scattered among various tribes.

The Matoska savages living in the surroundings of Kagi, in whose district the Dutch formerly had set up a school, at the time of the Tei dynasty formed one of the largest native communities of Formosa. According to an original document of 1639 they numbered 3,000. But since they have lived together with the Chinese, their number has been sinking steadily. According to their traditions, they numbered between 800 and 1,000 one hundred years ago. Now only 200 of them are known.

19: Guérin and Bernard--548-549 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 161

What is the savage population at the present time? [549] Although it is impossible to answer this question exactly. . . we estimate that it is between 15 and 20,000 people.

22: Wiedfeldt--7 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 161 Atayal

Yielding to the pressure exerted by Chinese immigrants, the "savages" of Formosa have evacuated the western plain, and have withdrawn to the mountainous country of the interior and the eastern coast, with the result that they occupy about 17,000 of the 34,700 square kilometers of the island's area. At present, their number is estimated at 120,000, and they are said to be divided into nine tribes, which vary as to composition, language, and customs.

22: Wiedfeldt--7 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 161, 177 Atayal

The largest and most vigorous of these [MC: Formosan Aborigine] tribes is that of the Atayals. This tribe is estimated as consisting of 30,000 persons occupying 7,700 square kilometers, and has deliberately remained aloof from foreign influence. They call themselves Atayals, which in their language means persons of the same kind, presumably in the anthropological sense.

22: Wiedfeldt--8 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 161 Atayal

The Schimptonoff, [MC: also called the Bedonoff tribe of the Tayals] whom I investigated more thoroughly, because my work kept me in their district a longer time, are about 1800 strong. Some almost extinct neighboring tribes have fused with them, so that they now number about 3,000 individuals. Including their hunting grounds, they have an area of around 80 square kilometers. They are composed of 52 clans. Every clan has an average of 12 to 15 families, and every family consists of 4 to 5 persons. It is calculated that there are 2500 individuals of the Taroku.

22: Wiedfeldt--20 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 584, 161, 177 Atayal

In contrast to the Japanese and other Oriental peoples, marriage brokers are unknown among the Atayals. The young people become acquainted freely. The young man tries to win the favor of his girl by distinguishing himself in the skull hunt, as is shown by the Atayal love songs translated by Florenz. The Atayal belles are said to have become less exigent in this respect lately, and to be satisfied with the simple line of tattooing, as a result of the excess number of women after the homicidal fights with the Japanese. The lover does his own courting, or sends his father to the girl's father to set the price of the bride.

31: Hofmann--620 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 161, 231, 701 Tsou

They have domestic dogs of a small black breed which guard the houses and are used in hunting.

Another domestic animal which is found everywhere is a small black pig. There are also chickens in the village, but there are no cattle. The entire tribe comprises 1,500 members, including 400 men able to bear arms; all the men know how to shoot.

31: Hofmann--627 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 161 Tsou

In spite of their favorable living conditions, the population of the Tsou natives has hardly increased at all. There are no large families among the Malayans on this island....

34:Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami

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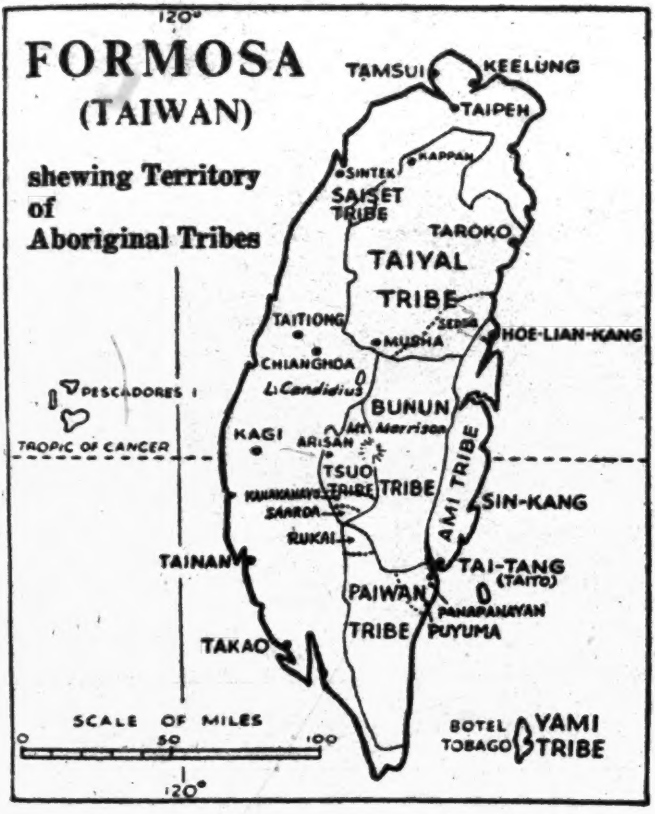

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MOUNTAIN TRIBES AND SUB-GROUPS

TRIBE	SUB-GROUP	POPULATION IN 1935
TAIYAL	Sedeq	34,957
SAISET	—	1,461
BUNUN	—	18,048
TSUO	{Kanakanavu {Saaroa	2,191
PAIWAN	{Rukai {Puyuma	42,614
AMI	—	47,064
YAMI	—	1,682
	Total	148,017

9

34: Del Re--15-16 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 161, 181, 625, 177.16 Yami

"On the whole they appear to have preserved almost intact their traditional social organization and religious beliefs which the Japanese not only did not attempt to modify, except in certain minor points, but took care that the natives should not be contaminated by outside contacts. These were infrequent, partly by reason of the island's inaccessibility, and partly because the authorities following a policy of segregation and in order to avoid exploitation, did not encourage casual visitors, whether Japanese or foreign. The same was true, to a lesser degree, in the case of the 'wild' savages of the interior. One of the results of this policy was an increase in the savage population. The relations between the latter and the specially chosen police force were on the whole very harmonious. Some of these policemen indeed, elected to make their permanent home among the savages [16] rather than be transferred elsewhere. The unfortunate Musha insurrection (1930) which cost the lives of a considerable number of Japanese women and children as well as policemen, and was ruthlessly suppressed, was due to the conduct of individual policemen and not the result of government policy."

35: Collingwood--142-143 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 142, 161, 165, 732 Sek-hoan

"With regard to their diseases, we had no means of learning anything of the mortality of the village. One young woman appeared to be recovering from small-pox, and one old woman [143] was covered with a skin disease, which gave her a leprous appearance, but the people in general were healthy-looking and physically strong, hardy, and well made. We observed no deformities among them, with the exception of one child of three or four years old, which crawled nimbly about on its hands and knees, and appeared to be physically unable to stand or walk. The village may have contained, at a rough estimate, two hundred and fifty inhabitants. There were plenty of children, but old grey-headed persons were not numerous."

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
AD4
Atayal

ETHNOGRAPHICAL INVESTIGATION OF SOME ASPECTS OF THE ATAYAL, CHIN-SHUI TS'UN, MIAOLI HSIEN

Ruey Yih-fu, Ho Ting-jui,
T'ao Shu-hsüeh, Hsü Shih-chen and
Ch'iu Ch'i-ch'ien
Translated by Chen Chi-lu

I. THE ATAYAL OF CHIN-SHUI TS'UN

101 Chin-shui Ts'un is situated on the banks of both the Wen-shui River [*lali²oŋ lilax*] or the Upper Hou-lung River and its tributary the Pa-kua-li River [*ŋa²oŋ toanoq*], while Tung-hsi-shui Mountain rises to the south and Heng-lung Mountain to the north of it. The Chin-shui Atayal was originally a branch of the *Tseo²le²* Tribe, and was formerly called the Wen-shui Fan or Wen-shui Tribe. According to Y. Sayama, the Wen-shui Fan originally included eight villages, but at the time of his investigation, there were only four villages: *paqali* (included a part of *xalo*), *tapilas* (included a part of *seqa²on*, or *taojan*), *ma²ao*, and *saxe²an* (included *saβulok*, *sayata*, and a part of *seqa²an*). Approximately at the same time, U. Mori also recorded only four village-names of the "six-villages of Ta-hu Fan, which were *paqali*, *tapilas*, *taojan* (*seqa²an*) and *saxe²an*. Later on, at the time of N. Utsurikawa's investigation (about 25 years ago) it was reported that there were only *paqali* and *tapilas*, and *saxe²an* known merely by name. [16] The *Takasagozoku-chosasho* (*The Investigation Report on Formosan Aborigines*) published in 1937 by the Japanese Government accorded with Utsurikawa's statement and stated that *paqali* had a population of 29 households, 133 persons, and *tapilas* 41 households, 217 persons. In the present investigation, we discovered that besides *tapilas* which is situated on the southern bank of the Wen-shui River, and *paqali* on both banks of the Pa-kua-li River, there is Ho-ti Village which is situated on the northern bank of the Wen-shui River. This Ho-ti Village is also called *saxe²an* by the Atayal, but the dwellers are no longer the *Tseo²le²*, they are mostly the *ʃiaqalo* of the *Seqoleq* Tribe, or the people of the *loxkax* Village. A part of them are the *pasqalan*, or the people of *məʃiŋo* Village. *qaino-βotox*, one of our informants, related that: "The *ʃiaqalo* originated in the place called *xabun-totonan*. In time of the Chief *βota-momots*, they had moved to *jaβayan* and *loxqax*, and settled there for about three or four generations. They moved again to *wanpala* in 1925, because they had found that the lands of *jaβayan* and *loxqax* were not arable. In 1936, those who lived in *loxqax* had been coerced by the Japanese government to move to the northern bank of the Wen-shui River and there they formed the present Ho-ti Village; and those who lived in *jaβayan* to *laqus* of Nan-chuang Hsiang. The latter had moved again (between 1947–1949) to Heng-lung-shan and formed the present *jaβayan* or

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
Atayal AD4

maqalaqa Village." On the slope north of Ho-ti Village there is a village of 10 households, 62 persons, which is generally referred to as *saβulok* or *tsaβulok*. According to Y. Sayama, *saβulok* was originally one of the "eight villages of the Wen-shui Fan", and was formed by joining the village of *sayata*, later on it was annexed by *saxe²an*; but we found that the inhabitants of *saβulok* today belong to the village of *paqali*. On the slope east of Ho-ti Village there are 5 households, generally called *taojan*, this name has been found in Mori's book, and today, the people form a part of *tapilas*. Sayama stated that *taojan* was originally one of the "eight-villages of the Wen-shui Fan" but was annexed early by *tapilas*. Mori stated that *tapilas* had subordinated *maqao*, which Sayama called *ma²ao*, another one of the "eight villages of the Wen-shui Fan". *The Investigation Report on Formosan Aborigines* records that *ma²oa* was annexed by *tapilas* in 1928. In the present investigation, the following account had been given by the vice-chief of *tapilas*: The people of *maqao* originally lived around *ulai*, but now none of them can be found there." The present *tapilas* consists of two *camil* (the term *camil* will be explained later). One is *tapilas*, its meaning is not known; the other is *meililax*, it is the native name of the Wen-shui River. The *tapilas* originally lived in the valley 10 km. west to Hu-shan. In time when the informant's grandfather *taimo-la²on* was the chief, the Japanese government had coerced the *tapilas* to move to Hu-shan which is situated on the bank of the Wen-shui River, and appointed *qaino-βawan*, the grandfather of Chief *βujoŋ-tolai*, to be the chief, and *taimo-la²oŋ* to be the vice-chief." So, the present Chin-shui Ts'un consists of the people from *tapilas*, *paqali*, *loxqax* or *saxe²an*, as well as *jaβayan* or *maqalaqa*.

II. KIN GROUPS

The Kin group forms the nucleus of all kinds of Atayal social organization. The *tapilas* Atayal have four kinds of kin groups. The following description is summarized from the information which was given by *joqex-etex* and *βujoŋ-tolai*:

1. *βaβu²an*

It is the fundamental unit to found an *alaŋ* or a *qalaŋ* (village). *βaβu²an* may be defined as family. A "family" comes into being with the marriage of a mating pair. Atayal marriage is strictly monogamous. One always leaves one's "family of orientation" and erects a new house and forms one's "family of procreation" which is called *otox* or *qotox βaβu²an* by the Atayal, after he is married. Therefore, a "family" generally includes a married couple and their offsprings. But Atayal *βaβu²an* is different from that of the so called nuclear family of the western civilization which consists of only kins of two generations. In the Atayal, the only son or the youngest son of the family always remains in his parent's family even after he is married. So, it may consist of kins of three generations, and may be an extended family. In some occasions, if the condition of the house is favourable, the eldest or second son may also remain in the house after he is married. If the only son or the youngest son is disliked by

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

105 different localities, so that their cultures, though similar, are not uniform. The native tribes also differ considerably in the degree to which they have been acculturated and in the type of culture change that has taken place.

The Ami

10 13 16 The Ami live in the Taitung Rift Valley, which runs in approximately a north-south direction for 150 kilometres along the east coast of Formosa. Some Ami live on the east coast proper. The Ami tribe is the largest on Formosa. They are divided into five groups by dialect and cultural differences. The number of households and population of each group, based on the census of 1937, are as follows:

Group	No. of households	Population
Pei-nan	859	9546
Heng-ch'un	461	4403
Hai-an	1159	11760
Hsiu-ku-luan	2008	15861
Nan-shih	1713	8436
Total	6200	50006

241 226 349 611 591 The chief traits of the Ami are intensive agriculture and fishing; pile dwellings; paddle-and-anvil pottery; long wooden shields; feather headdresses; clans[1]; matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence; classificatory or Malayan kinship terminology; parent-child nymic linkage; and age-grades.

Tavarong is a town of 5,000 population situated in the central part of the Taitung Rift Valley, in Hualien Hsien. It belongs to the Hsiu-ku-luan group and is regarded by the Ami themselves as the oldest settlement in the whole Ami area. About one per cent of the Tavarong townsmen are Christians; the rest hold to their native religion. 361

Gods, spirits, and souls

776 The Ami term for gods, which include also spirits and souls, is *kawas*. The Tavarong Ami believe in two kinds of *kawas*. The first kind, which may be considered natural gods, include *maratau*, *tšidar*, *borar*], and others. *maratau* is a male tutolary deity who resides in heaven. According to informant Maran-Namo?, *maratau* is the god of "politics and strength". In former days, when the Ami were at war with their neighbors, the Atayal, they prayed to *maratau* for protection[2]. *tšidar* is the female sun goddess, and *borar*] the male moon god. The sun goddess is held to be more powerful than the moon god. Maran-Namo? while explaining the designs on the houseposts of the house of the *kakita:n* (priest), stated that *tšidar* is the almighty deity and holds the supreme position over

1. Utsurikawa [1935] reported about 55 clan names for the Ami, but he gave no clan names north of the Vataan, Tavarong, and Karuran areas.
2. According to Furuno [1954:3-42], *maratau* is connected with headhunting and is the god of crops and game, as well as being the war god.

4:Grajdanzev--35 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 162, 177

"The Japanese took over from the Chinese the word 'savages' for the aboriginal tribes. At the end of 1938 the total number of aborigines was 155,900. However, only 95,400 of them are classified as 'savages' and are under the special, indefatigable supervision of Japanese police, the remaining 60,500 being 'civilized', that is, they are 'sinified', and in their outlook, customs, and occupation do not differ from the Chinese. The whole group of aborigines is divided into many tribes, among which the most important are:

Tribe	Population (in thousands) 1938
Taiyal	37.1
Saiset	1.6
Bunun	17.6
Tsuwo	2.3
Ami	50.9
Yami	1.8
Paiwan	44.5
Others	.1
Total	155.9

Many of these tribes show an increase in numbers, although much smaller than that of the Chinese on the island, but some are dying out."

7: Joest--57 [5] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 127, 162 Chin-hoan

We have no information about the size of the Chinwan group; the estimates which have been made by the Chinese are not reliable.

Table 19: Aboriginal Population by Tribes, 1935 and 1938

Tribe	No. of settlements	Dec. 1935 Population	1938 Population
Taiyal	181	35,639	37,100
Saiset	12	1,482	1,600
Tsou	20	2,167	2,300
Bunun	185	17,757	17,600
Ami	83	48,237	50,900
Paiwan	172	43,460	44,500
Yami	7	1,695	1,800
	561	150,438	155,800 "

15: U.S. Navy--23 [7] (no date) 1944 Formosan Aborigines
116, 144, 177, 563, 162 Pepo-hoan

"Marriage between the Formosan-Chinese and the aboriginal population has been a common thing since the incursion of the Chinese, and the result is that a large number of Pepohoans or 'Plains barbarians' have become assimilated in manner of living to the peasant Chinese. For purposes of the census the Japanese administration counts these Pepohoans among the Formosan-Chinese."

20: Alvarez--255 [5]
116, 162

(no date) 1927

Formosan Aborigines

"The statistics of the aboriginal inhabitants, as made in 1910 by order of the Japanese government are as follows:

Branch	Square-miles (approximately)	Villages	Houses	♂ (males)	♀ (females)
Atayal	3.000	217	5.974	13.592	14.174
Saisset		9	130	408	356
Bunum	1.200	115	1.802	8.528	7.541
Tsu-u	500	27	238	1.230	1.070
Amis	1.000	107	4.655	16.421	16.387
Pyuma	100	9	1.108	3.184	3.287
Tsalisen	600	53	3.029	6.687	6.464
Paiwan	600	118	4.702	10.871	10.423
Total: 7	7.000	655	21.638	60.921	59.702
				120.623	

This official record is regarded as exact, except for the figures given for the Atayal, whose territory is not yet well explored."

26: Honda--470-471 N-3 (1896) 1897 Formosan Aborigines
116, 162, 576, 609 Bunun

On the third day [EJ: of the journey toward Mt. Morrison] we came upon the first settlement of the aborigines. The village comprised thirteen huts, inhabited by about 150 persons. It was called Namaka-ban. Shortly before we reached this village I had sent our armed soldiers back [471] with the thought that they would do more harm than good. My interpreter, a Chinese who had had frequent contact with the aborigines and had delivered salt to them, was very emphatic in his statement that the arrival of armed men would immediately start hostilities. As we approached the village, we saw the chief with about 30 of his men armed with rifles, spears, and bows and arrows; they had taken up their positions on a hill. Bur before we ourselves reached the village, I sent my interpreter to inform the inhabitants of our peaceful intentions. I went to meet the natives without any visible weapons and only with a gun in my pocket; whereupon the chief knelt down and folded his hands over his head as a greeting. I followed him into the village where I presented him with various gifts.

N-3

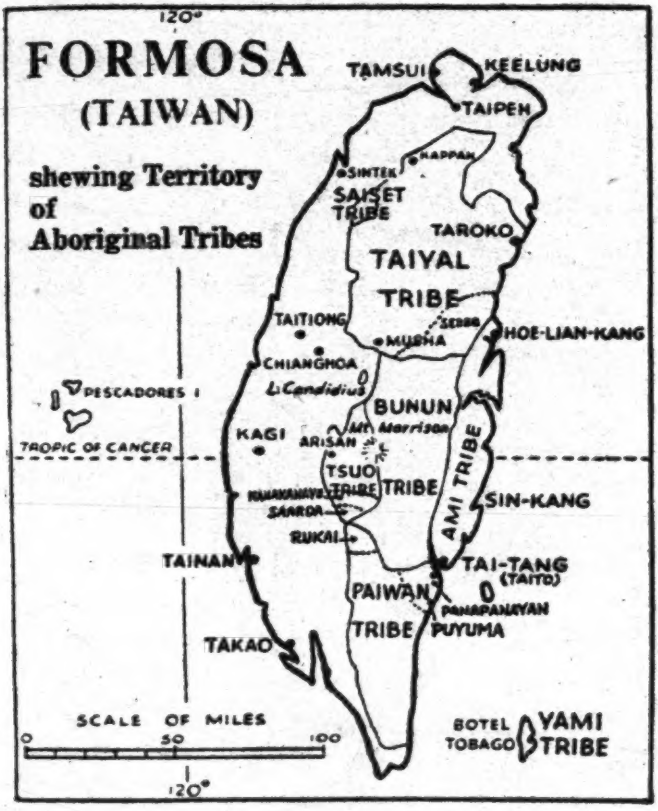
(1896) 1897

Formosan Aborigines
Bunun

The next day we marched for five hours through grassland at an altitude of about 2700 meters to the village of Ho-Sha, which has a population of about 300 persons. On the way we passed a hanging bridge of Calamus Rotang which spans the Tinalankei River in a spot where it is about 30 meters wide. In the village of Ho-Sha we were received as on the previous day and once more I had to spend the night in the community building surrounded by smells.

34:Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami

162



103
161

MOUNTAIN TRIBES AND SUB-GROUPS

TRIBE	SUB-GROUP	POPULATION IN 1935
TAIYAL	Sedeq	34,957
SAISET	—	1,461
BUNUN	—	18,048
TSUO	{Kanakanavu {Saaroa	2,191
PAIWAN	{Rukai {Puyuma	42,614
AMI	—	47,064
YAMI	—	1,682
	Total	148,017

37: Steere--302 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116. 101. 162

"The aborigines of Formosa naturally fall under two divisions: First, the ancient inhabitants of the great plains to the west, who possessed some of the elements of civilization, and who, from their exposed situtation, soon fell under the dominion of the Chinese, when they entered the island, over two hundred years ago. They are now found scattered nearly the whole length of the island, and generally driven back from the rich lands that were their ancient inheritance, to the sterile and hilly lands near the foot of the mountains, where they are subject to continual attacks from the savages. They have frequently migrated to rid themselves of unpleasant neighbors, both Chinese and savages, and there are known to be large colonies of them who have penetrated the mountains, and have settled in unknown valleys on the east coast. They are generally known by the name of Pepo-whan, which, literally translated from the Chinese, means barbarians of the plain, and demonstrates the fact that the Chinese found them inhabiting the plains on their arrival. A large division of the Pepo-whan, near the center of the island, who still speak their native language, are called Lek-whan--ripe or cultivated barbarians. At the time of the Dutch occupation there were several tribes or nations of this people, each speaking its own language."

37: Steere--302-303 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 162, 101, 177 Chin-hoan

"The second great division of the aborigines of Formosa is of those who are still wild and savage, and who inhabit the steep and rocky mountains running through the east part of the island. They occupy about half of the island, but their territory, where it has been visited, is steep and rocky. They are probably but little changed by [303] their intercourse with the Chinese, and there may be tribes who have not yet heard of the Chinese. The gradual advance of the Chinese in their search after timber and cultivable lands has no doubt caused wars among the different tribes, by crowding the more exposed tribes back upon those behind. They are divided up into many small tribes and nations, but their languages, as well as the general customs of tattooing and of cutting off and preserving the heads of their enemies, point to their descent from a common stock. They live much by hunting, but cultivate their steep hill-sides in millet, sweet potatoes, tobacco, etc. They are known by the general name of Che-whan--raw or unripe barbarians. Of those visited, I have called those living east of the Lek-whan settlement of Polisia, by the common name Che-whan, while the others are designated by their tribal names of Tsui-whan and Kale-whan."

37: Steere-303-304 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 162, 171, 177, 197, 212 Pepo-hoan

"The Pepo-whans of the south part of the island occupy a large tract of country to the east of Takow and Taiwanfu. They inhabit the villages of Kongana, Kamana, Alukang, Backsa, Lakuli, Baukimseng, etc., and they may number five thousand people, while there is a large colony formed from them on the east coast of the island. They no longer speak their aboriginal language, using Chinese instead, and the Fuh-kien dialect of this, though they are in contact with the Hak-kas on the south and south-east. I procured the two lists of words, [MLB: see category 194, pp. 332-333.] Nos. 4 and 5, from very old women, No. 4 at Kongana and No. 5 at Baukimseng. They both said that their language was very little spoken, even in the time of their parents, Chinese having already become general. The two lists are not identical, and seem to show that there has been a coalescing of tribes, the supposition being strengthened by differences in dress, etc., still apparent among them. I found in existence among them a number of old manuscripts in Roman letter, most of them apparently business papers, such as deeds and contracts. The Pepo-whans still preserve these among their valuables, though no one can read them. Some of them have Chinese pawnshop marks upon them. They seem to be indubitable proofs and remains of the Dutch occupation, when many teachers and missionaries were employed among the aborigines, and many thousands of them are said to have become Christians. When the Dutch were driven out, and the teachers and missionaries murdered by the Chinese, the whole work was supposed to have gone out in darkness, but these manuscripts seem to show that for

nearly a hundred and fifty years afterward, these poor people, oppressed and driven back to the hills by the Chinese, still kept enough of the knowledge taught them to read and write their [304] own language, and almost necessarily books and a knowledge of the Christian religion also. The manuscripts are in the ancient Pepo-whan language, spelled out in Roman letters, the dates generally being in Chinese, spelled out in the same way. Of the manuscripts procured, a few of them are of the reign of Young Ching, who reigned from 1723 to 1736; the most of them are of the reign of Keen Lung, who reigned from 1736 to 1796; and there is one of the reign of Kaking, who began to reign in 1796. Curiously, the oldest of the documents are dated eighty years after the Dutch were driven out. There may yet be found books and manuscripts giving some account of the struggles of this people with the Chinese."

37: Steere--305 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 131, 162, 578, 721 Sek-hoan

"The Lek-whan, a large division of the Pepo-whan, living near the center of the island, seem to have originally come from near Chang-wha. A few miles to the north of this city there are still toward two thousand living in the towns of Loisia and Toasia, though, like the Pepo-whan near Taiwanfu, badly in debt to the Chinese. There is a large settlement of them in a mountain valley, two days' journey to the east of Changwha, called Posia or Polisia, to which, according to their own account, they began migrating forty or fifty years ago, and they are still going, there now being some four or five thousand there. This valley is entirely surrounded by mountains and forests inhabited by savages. They are nominally at peace with these, and pay them a yearly tribute of rice and cattle, but in spite of this they are continually losing their lives from attacks by the savages, some twelve or fourteen persons from the valley being killed annually, while at work in their fields or fishing or hunting. The only news of the manner or cause of the loss the friends and relatives receive, being often the headless trunk lying where it fell."

37: Steere--311 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 131, 162, 621 Chin-hoan

"The Kale-whan are a tribe of Che-whan inhabiting the mountains east of Takou. The territory they occupy is not extensive, not reaching over the dividing line of mountains, but all lying toward the west. They live in two villages, which are called by the Chinese Toasia and Taosia--large and small towns. The first and lowest contains perhaps two hundred inhabitants, while Taosia is properly a collection of villages, with toward a thousand inhabitants. They can look down from these villages, which must be at a height of four or five thousand feet, upon the great plain below, thickly dotted with Chinese villages and covered with rice fields, and they can even see the sea in the distance."

22: Wiedfeldt--23 [6] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 163, 165 Atayal

A family seldom has more than three children living. The largest family had ten children at a time as a result of multiple births; the smallest had none at all after the death of several children.

7: Joest--55 [2] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 164, 273

The aboriginal population is also frequently decimated by smallpox epidemics. They suffer from the damp and cold; they produce few children and indulge in quantities of Chinese brandy, so that it is likely that they will soon either become extinct or be assimilated by the Chinese immigrants.

7: Joest--58 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 164 Chin-hoan

I saw no signs of scabies or syphilis or of any other skin disease among the natives.

7: Joest--62-63 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 164, 753 Chin-hoan

Added to this [MC: the Chinwan custom of abortion] is the high rate of infant mortality. The climate of the island is characterized by sudden changes from oppressive heat and humidity to cold weather. [63] The Chinese immigrants spread smallpox among the natives, and the Chinwans are even more afraid of this disease than the Chinese; a victim of smallpox is compelled to leave the village and live in the forest until he dies or recovers. Considering all these factors, as well as the harmful effect of brandy, we may say that it is hardly likely that the native population will increase.

16: Müller--229 [3] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 141, 142, 164

The physical characteristics which all the aborigines of Formosa have in common are stiff black hair, prominent cheekbones, black iris, eyes of the Malayan type, a snub nose with wide nostrils, yellowish complexion, sparse beard, and medium height. The size of the skull (cephalic index) is between 79 and 83; they are brachycephalic. Although their build is not especially strong, they are agile and have a great deal of endurance. They are, however, subject to climatic diseases such as malaria.

19: Guérin and Bernard--561 [6] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 164

The most common diseases among the savages are: intermittent fever, tuberculosis, intestinal disorders and small-pox.

20: Alvarez--257
116, 164, 753

(no date) 1927

Formosan Aborigines

"There is a strange tendency for crop, principally among the females of the Bunum and their neighbours the Tayal of the south. That 'bunch' is called toa-am-kui viz., great womb, by the Chinese. It is found particularly in the district of Taulak, or Toro-ku (Japanese name), in the central region; in several Cantonese Khe-lang villages, and among the Bunum and Tayal, who live in the mountains, not very far from each other. It is generally observed in female adults. Its origin used to be attributed to the influence of the environment. The Chinese believe it to be due to the meat of an animal named pong-hond, viz., 'full of wind', which is an article of the diet of the tribes mentioned above."

22: Wiedfeldt--23 [7] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 164 Atayal

The Atayals are said to be very susceptible to disease, and succumb more frequently than do the supposedly weaker civilized individuals.

14: Tamai--97 [2] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 165 Chin-hoan

There are few Tschinwans who live to be more than forty.

22: Wiedfeldt- 23 [6] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 163, 165 Atayal

A family seldom has more than three children living. The largest family had ten children at a time as a result of multiple births; the smallest had none at all after the death of several children.

35: Collingwood--142-143 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 142, 161, 165, 732 Sek-hoan

"With regard to their diseases, we had no means of learning anything of the mortality of the village. One young woman appeared to be recovering from small-pox, and one old woman [143] was covered with a skin disease, which gave her a leprous appearance, but the people in general were healthy-looking and physically strong, hardy, and well made. We observed no deformities among them, with the exception of one child of three or four years old, which crawled nimbly about on its hands and knees, and appeared to be physically unable to stand or walk. The village may have contained, at a rough estimate, two hundred and fifty inhabitants. There were plenty of children, but old grey-headed persons were not numerous."

4:Grajdanzev--36 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 166, 563, 657, 728, 177.56 Japan
636.56

"It is difficult to say whether they understood, at the beginning, even the change of the sovereignty. In any case the war continued. During the first years of occupation the Japanese, preoccupied with the suppression of Chinese rebellions, tried only to keep them within the reservation, but later a complete program of subjugation was worked out. Its essential feature was the removal of aborigines to low lands in order that the mountainous areas which they had occupied might be exploited. These areas were rich (or at least were thought to be) in timber, minerals and agricultural potentialities, for a certain part of the area could be sown with tropical plants."

20: Alvarez--255-256
116, 177, 361, 166, 241

(no date) 1927

Formosan Aborigines

"The Amis, Pyuma and several other branches have been influenced by owing [sic] and assimilated to their Chinese neighbours, [MC: owing] to the close and permanent contact with the invading race. They pursue some agriculture and have also a [256] little home industry, while others, especially the Atayal, seem to be averse to any kind of manual labor. The latter are hunting tribes. Of course, there are some of them engaged in agricultural work; yet, generally, they prefer to walk about the vast forests in search of game, honey and so forth. Authors of the past century asserted, incorrectly however, that the aboriginal inhabitants of Formosa had but temporary shelters, for they were always wandering abouth [sic] the woods. There were, undoubtedly, transmigrations since the arrival of the Chinese in 1683. It is for instance, almost sure that the ancestors of the Amis, Pyuma, Paiwan, Atayal and Tsalisen had been driven out from their primitive home by the Chinese. But nomads, in the strict sense of the word, we think have never existed in the island."

37: Steere --304-305 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 511, 427, 779, 771, 166 Pepo-hoan

"The Pepo-whans are very poor, having mortgaged the poor lands they now occupy to the Chinese, so that they live principally upon sweet potatoes, the one rice crop that the land produces going to pay rent or the interest on their debts. They burn charcoal and the women carry it in baskets upon their heads to the Chinese villages for sale. They were visited about three years ago by Dr. Maxwell, a Scotch missionary, and they received Christianity readily, the Chinese worship of idols and ancestors having but little root among them, while the traditions they still possess of their ancient teachers probably influenced them to some extent. There are now several hundred christians among them at Kamana, Backsa, etc., with a number of schools and chapels established. The Pepo-whans of Baukimseng, differ from their brethren farther north in their ancient language, and the women, instead of a turban, wear a broad conical hat, like the Hak-kas near them, and this is highly ornamented with tinsel and bits of glass. They are crowded back upon the poor stony lands near the mountains, and they go to their fields armed with lances and fire-locks to protect themselves from attack. The Pepo-whans have nearly lost their love for hunting and fishing, and support themselves almost entirely from the produce of their fields. There seems to be but little hope of regaining a foot-hold on the [305] western side of the island, and they will probably be compelled to migrate, like their brethren who have gone before them, to the east coast."

40: Kirk--15 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 166, 311, 361, 657, 177.36 Japanese

"The government of Formosa, as a part of ko-min-ka, has adopted a policy of removing the aborigines from their remote mountain homes to small parcels of land on the plains where they can be more easily watched and where they may acquire some skill as tillers of the soil. The agricultural possibilities of the lowlands include rice fields, livestock, sericulture, and sugar cane. Not infrequently, when the authorities have tried to pull a village up by the roots and transplant it at the foot of the mountain, the natives have openly rebelled against their rulers. But the soldiers quickly subdue the ringleaders and continue their policy of 'removals' according to schedule. The government errects huts on the plains, rent free, for the mountain families and prepares rice fields and vegetable plots, which are also free from tax. Free medical care is provided."

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 ADl Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
Atayal
AD4

ETHNOGRAPHICAL INVESTIGATION OF SOME ASPECTS OF THE ATAYAL, CHIN-SHUI TS'UN, MIAOLI HSIEN

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Translated by Chen Chi-lu

I. THE ATAYAL OF CHIN-SHUI TS'UN

101 Chin-shui Ts'un is situated on the banks of both the Wen-shui River [*lali²oŋ lilax*] or the Upper Hou-lung River and its tributary the Pa-kua-li River [*ŋa²oŋ toanoq*], while Tung-hsi-shui Mountain rises to the south and Heng-lung Mountain to the north of it. The Chin-shui Atayal was originally a branch of the *Tseo²le²* Tribe, and was formerly called the Wen-shui Fan or Wen-shui Tribe. According to Y. Sayama, the Wen-shui Fan originally included eight villages, but at the time of his investigation, there were only four villages: *paqali* (included a part of *xalo*), *tapilas* (included a part of *seqa²on*, or *taojan*), *ma²ao*, and *saxe²an* (included *saβulok*, *sayata*, and a part of *seqa²an*). Approximately at the same time, U. Mori also recorded only four village-names of the "six-villages of Ta-hu Fan, which were *paqali*, *tapilas*, *taojan* (*seqa²an*) and *saxe²an*. Later on, at the time of N. Utsurikawa's investigation (about 25 years ago) it was reported that there were only *paqali* and *tapilas*, and *saxe²an* known merely by name. [16] The *Takasagozoku-chosasho* (*The Investigation Report on Formosan Aborigines*) published in 1937 by the Japanese Government accorded with Utsurikawa's statement and stated that *paqali* had a population of 29 households, 133 persons, and *tapilas* 41 households, 217 persons. In the present investigation, we discovered that besides *tapilas* which is situated on the southern bank of the Wen-shui River, and *paqali* on both banks of the Pa-kua-li River, there is Ho-ti Village which is situated on the northern bank of the Wen-shui River. This Ho-ti Village is also called *saxe²an* by the Atayal, but the dwellers are no longer the *Tseo²le²*, they are mostly the *ʃiaqalo* of the *Seqoleq* Tribe, or the people of the *loxkax* Village. A part of them are the *pasqalan*, or the people of *məʃiŋo* Village. *qaino-βotox*, one of our informants, related that: "The *ʃiaqalo* originated in the place called *xabun-totonan*. In time of 160 the Chief *βota-momots*, they had moved to *jaβaŋan* and *loxqax*, and settled there for about three or four generations. They moved again to *wanpala* in 1925, because they had found that the lands of *jaβaŋan* and *loxqax* were not arable. In 1936, those who lived in *loxqax* had been coerced by the Japanese government to move to the northern bank of the Wen-shui River and there they formed the present Ho-ti Village; and those who lived in *jaβaŋan* to *laqus* of Nan-chuang Hsiang. The latter had moved again (between 1947–1949) to Heng-lung-shan and formed the present *jaβaŋan* or

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
Atayal AD4

məqalaqa Village." On the slope north of Ho-ti Village there is a village of 10 households, 62 persons, which is generally referred to as *saβulok* or *tsaβulok*. According to Y. Sayama, *saβulok* was originally one of the "eight villages of the Wen-shui Fan", and was formed by joining the village of *sayata*, later on it was annexed by *saxeʾan*; but we found that the inhabitants of *saβulok* today belong to the village of *paqali*. On the slope east of Ho-ti Village there are 5 households, generally called *taojan*, this name has been found in Mori's book, and today, the people form a part of *tapilas*. Sayama stated that *taojan* was originally one of the "eight-villages of the Wen-shui Fan" but was annexed early by *tapilas*. Mori stated that *tapilas* had subordinated *maqao*, which Sayama called *maʾao*, another one of the "eight villages of the Wen-shui Fan". *The Investigation Report on Formosan Aborigines* records that *maʾoa* was annexed by *tapilas* in 1928. In the present investigation, the following account had been given by the vice-chief of *tapilas*: The people of *maqao* originally lived around *ulai*, but now none of them can be found there." The present *tapilas* consists of two *camil* (the term *camil* will be explained later). One is *tapilas*, its meaning is not known; the other is *meililax*, it is the native name of the Wen-shui River. The *tapilas* originally lived in the valley 10 km. west to Hu-shan. In time when the informant's grandfather *taimo-laʾon* was the chief, the Japanese government had coerced the *tapilas* to move to Hu-shan which is situated on the bank of the Wen-shui River, and appointed *qaino-βawan*, the grandfather of Chief *βujoŋ-tolai*, to be the chief, and *taimo-laʾoŋ* to be the vice-chief." So, the present Chin-shui Ts'un consists of the people from *tapilas*, *paqali*, *lóxqax* or *saxeʾan*, as well as *jaβayan* or *məqalaqa*.

II. KIN GROUPS

The Kin group forms the nucleus of all kinds of Atayal social organization. The *tapilas* Atayal have four kinds of kin groups. The following description is summarized from the information which was given by *joqex-etex* and *βujoŋ-tolai*:

1. *βaβuʾan*

It is the fundamental unit to found an *alaŋ* or a *qalaŋ* (village). *βaβuʾan* may be defined as family. A "family" comes into being with the marriage of a mating pair. Atayal marriage is strictly monogamous. One always leaves one's "family of orientation" and erects a new house and forms one's "family of procreation" which is called *otox* or *qotox βaβuʾan* by the Atayal, after he is married. Therefore, a "family" generally includes a married couple and their offsprings. But Atayal *βaβuʾan* is different from that of the so called nuclear family of the western civilization which consists of only kins of two generations. In the Atayal, the only son or the youngest son of the family always remains in his parent's family even after he is married. So, it may consist of kins of three generations, and may be an extended family. In some occasions, if the condition of the house is favourable, the eldest or second son may also remain in the house after he is married. If the only son or the youngest son is disliked by

20: Alvarez--252-253 (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 175, 144, 167

"Now, supposing the Chinese records to be incorrect and even exaggerated, we can, however, arrive at the conclusion that Formosa must have been peopled several centuries before the Christian era. The first Malayan tribes seem to have then invaded the island. In the fifth and sixth century they became a nation powerful enough to beat and dominate the primitive inhabitants. A new competitor, of Malayan origin too, now appeared. They occupied the northern section of Formosa, and were in all probability the ancestors of the Atayal. In the south, the Paiwan began to spread and occupy a great extent of territory. The highest degree of their grandeur and advancement they reached in XIIth century. It was then that they crossed the strait, or channel of Formosa and frightened the Chinese population by an unexpected landing and bold attack on the coast of Fokien. [253]

New immigrations of tribes of alien origin have since contributed to alter and complicate the character, manners and customs, language, and so on, of the Formosan aboriginal race; and this to such a degree that to-day it is almost impossible to solve the question as to the origin and ethnical affinities of the Formosan tribes. Among the new invading tribes, there were, for instance, the Bisayas. They appeared in 1174-1189, landing on the coast of Fokien. According to the Chinese records of that time, the Bisayas were a most ferocious people with great eyes, using ironlances, and bamboos, which they used to throw with force at their enemies. TERRIEN DE LECOUPERIE says,

they might have crossed the strait and passed over to Formosa and given origin to the name Piisaye, which later on was applied by the Chinese to the island Formosa."

"Naturally enough, the tribes living farthest up in the high mountains are most resistant to change. The Atayal, the Bunun, and the Paiwan, for example, will continue to annoy their Japanese rulers for some time to come. The Atayal huddle together in colonies and are most difficult to move; the Bunun live apart from one another in the mountains and are more easily moved to the foothills, where small villages are ready to receive these involuntary migrants. (4)

4. Interview with T. Soda, Professor of Public Health, Taihoku Imperial University.

In the course of a few years the old culture of the Formosan primitive will probably be only a memory, for the Japanese will have pushed their policy of ko-min-ka far into the high mountains. Fortunately, several scholars of the Imperial University have done extensive research in the origin, history, and customs of the aborigines, and these men are trying to preserve for future generations a true picture of native Formosan culture as it was before the coming of Chinese and Japanese."

6: Kirchhoff--29 [3] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
116, 144, 171, 511

There can be no doubt that these Formosan natives belong to the Malayan race. Proof of this is offered by their language, their physique and many of their customs, such as headhunting and the community houses in the villages, where the youths and unmarried men sleep together.* Separated into many tribes divided by dialect and varying in

* Joest, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Eingebornen der Insel Formosa," Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, 1882, p. 61.

appearance, these Formosan Malays do not possess any common name. Today, insofar as they live untouched by the culture of foreign intruders, they lead a pretty rough existence, generally as hunters, although they live in small forest villages made up of wretched bamboo huts.

7: Joest--58 [5] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 304, 881 Chin-hoan

The women also tattoo their face when they have reached puberty. The design covers the face from ear to ear; the line extends from the temples at the level of the ear across the cheek and the upper lip to the other ear, and the lower line runs parallel to this, passing just below the lower lip and up to the lobe of the ear on both sides. The design consists of long lines running parallel to each other and short vertical lines which cut through them. Only the lips are left free. The resulting pattern thus emphasizes the whiteness of the teeth and the healthy red color of the gums and lips. It is distinctly attractive, but gives a strange effect until one becomes accustomed to it; it is somewhat similar to the design of the Ainu women on Yesso, which gives the appearance of a blue moustache.

I was told that the women of central Formosa also tattoo their hands.

7: Joest--63 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 181, 609, 857 Chin-hoan

The character of the Chinwans has been described by all who have come into contact with them as good-natured and unassuming; they have never killed a white man who has approached them in good faith. Although my appearance aroused great curiosity, I was never annoyed by the natives here as I had been among the Hakkas or the Chinese. While the children of the latter always ran away from me and cried, the children of the Chinwans were easily persuaded to make friends with me.

They did, it is true, touch me or pull my beard. One of the natives thought that the fork I had brought with me was a comb and used it to scratch the lice from his body, and sometimes the natives rubbed my body with a wet finger to make sure that this was my natural color, but there was always one among them who had known me longer and told the rest to desist, lecturing them about me...

10: Schumacher--224 [10] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 291 Chin-hoan

The clothing of the Tschin-Huan men consists of skins and jackets of the Chinese fashion made from pineapple or nettle fibers.

10: Schumacher--224-225 T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 141, 171, 562 Chin-hoan

The women can hardly be distinguished from the Chinese owing to the similarity of the shape of their faces, their delicate build, and their lighter skin. [225] In married life they claim a privileged position exactly like the Chinese women.

10: Schumacher--225 T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 548 Chin-hoan

Village prostitutes or haischa are completely lacking among the Tschin-Huan in contrast to all the other population elements of Formosa.

10: Schumacher--226 T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 174, 301 Chin-hoan

If we believe that the inhabitants of the mountains came to Formosa at a later time and were driven to the mountains by the natives they met at the time of their arrival, Chinese fanaticism would not have allowed them time to familiarize themselves with the Chinese system of economy. Both Chinese and Japanese priests following the field armies have unanimously assured me, after long questioning, that the Tschin-Huan have continued to be Brahmans until this very day and I now face the question of whether they are of Malayan or Mongolian descent. The mere fact that their hair-dress is different from that of the Chinese does not prove that they are not "Chinese". For the pig-tail is not exclusively a Chinese characteristic.

Their dress, their houses and their manner of living is different from that of the Chinese; together with the fact that they are Brahmans, this may lead us to the assumption that at some time in the past they immigrated from India. But after all were not some of the Chinese Brahmans before the time of Buddha?

14: Tamai--95 [7] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 304 Chin-hoan

Nothing is known about the origin of the Tschinwans. They differ from the Formosans in appearance, language, customs, and manner of life; in many respects they resemble the natives of the Malakka Peninsula and those of the Philippines. They even show some similarities with the Japanese; thus the unmarried women among the Tschinwans are not tattooed. When they are wearing Japanese clothes and are seen together with the Japanese it is difficult to distinguish between the two.

16: Müller--228 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 144, 171, 174, 197

While we have no tangible evidence concerning the origin of the aborigines of Formosa, we may assume from their physical appearance, customs, language, and level of intelligence that they belong to the racial group of the Malayans. We may therefore conclude that they originally came from the Malayan Archipelago. Although they have numerous traits in common, as a result of their derivation from one single group, their development has proceeded along different lines, partly because the chains of huge mountains have split them into different groups. Their language especially shows so many divergencies that some of the tribes cannot understand each other.

17: Norbeck--1 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 121, 144, 171

"The similarity of the Formosan aborigines to various other Indonesian or southeast Asian peoples in physical type, culture, and language has been frequently noted, but no thorough study of the Formosan groups has as yet been made by a westerner. This paper presents translations from Japanese of folk tales of the Atayal tribe of north Formosa. The tales reveal an affinity with the mythology of other Indonesian and southeast Asian groups; the most noteworthy resemblance, which is close to the point of identity in some instances, is with the folklore of the mountain tribes of northern Luzon."

17: Norbeck--5-6 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 539, 773 Atayal

"A comparison based upon the comprehensive motif-index of Stith Thompson (9)

9. Stith Thompson, 'Motif-index of Folk Literature,' Indiana Univ. Studies, 19-23, Nos. 96-97, 100-101, 105-6, 108-12 (1932-36).

reveals that nearly all of the tales share motifs with other areas of the world in general outline, although detailed resemblances have a much more restricted range. The incidence of frequency and the degree of similarity, as might reasonably be expected, increases with territorial propinquity, and is particularly marked among the Malay and other unspecialized Mongoloid peoples. These similarities are intensified in the folklore of the Philippines, and particularly in that of the pagan mountain tribes of northern Luzon. A fairly substantial amount of folklore is at hand on the Apayao, Tinguian, Nabaloi, and Bontoc-Igorot, which is here compared with that of the Atayal. Folklore of the Ilongot and Ifugao, for whom the quantity of material available is considerably smaller, has also been utilized for comparison. [6] Since material on the remaining mountain peoples of Luzon is either very limited or unavailable, references to it have been omitted from consideration here."

17: Norbeck--6-7 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-3
116, 171, 539, 773 Atayal

"Tables of motifs in the mythology of the foregoing Luzon groups follow, with references to Atayal tales bearing the same or similar motifs. For the sake of convenience the appended Atayal folk tales are referred to by number.

I. TALES OF MAGIC APPEARANCE OF FOOD AND REQUISITES FOR LIVING

Philippine Version	Philippine Group	Atayal Folk Tale Number
Food, clothing, and anything desired appear magically. (10)	Apayao	7, 20
As punishment, people must labor for daily needs, with no further magical aid. (11)	Apayao	7, 20
Small basket of rice becomes five pots. (12)	Bontoc-Igorot (14)	7, 20
Pigs and deer emerge from forest		

at call. (13)	Bontoc-Igorot (14)	7, 20
Food once easily available. Handful of rice sufficient for a family. (15)	Ifugao	7, 20
One teaspoon of rice when cooked sufficient for one person. (16)....	Ifugao	7, 20
Magic betel nut which, upon being chewed, produces deer. (17).....	Nabaloi	7, 20 [7]
Prepared food appears at a word. A small jar containing a single grain of rice supplies an abundance of food. (18)	Tinguian	7, 20
One grain of rice placed in each of twelve jars, which at once become filled with rice. (19)	Tinguian	7, 20

Many additional tales bearing the motif of magic appearance of food appear in the folklore of the above groups. This motif is also common in the mythology of other peoples of the Philippines. The motifs listed above bear the closest resemblances to the Atayal tales.

(10) Laurence S. Wilson, Apayao Life and Legends (Baguio: Privately printed, 1947), p. 82.
(11) Mabel Cook Cole, Philippine Folk Tales (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1916), p. 105.
(13) Ibid.
(14) In ibid., as 'Igorot.'
(15) H. Otley Beyer, 'Origin Myths Among the Mountain People of the Philippines,' Philippine Journ. Sci., 8, No. 1 (1913): 111.
(16) Dean C. Worcester (trans.), Fr. Juan Villaverde's, 'The Ifugaos of Quinigian and Vicinity,' Philippine Journ. Sci., 4, No. 4 (1909): 256.
(17) C.R. Moss, 'Nabaloi Tales,' Univ. Calif. Publ. Amer. Archeol. Ethnol., 17, No. 5 (1924): 345-46. [7]
(18) Fay-Cooper Cole, 'Traditions of the Tinguian,' Field Mus. Nat. Hist., Publ. No. 180, Anthropol. Ser., 14, No. 1 (1915): 191.
(19) Ibid., p. 211. "

17: Norbeck--7 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 539, 773 Atayal

"Flood tales similar to the two Atayal flood tales (Nos. 5 and 19) have been found for the Apayo, Ifugao, Nabaloi, and Bontoc-Igorot. All are based on the general theme that the world was once flat except for one or two mountains upon which the surviving people, usually two, take refuge from the floods, and that the present mountains and valleys were formed by the receding flood waters. Elements from these tales are elaborated in the following section."

17: Norbeck--7-8
116, 171, 773

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

"Especially frequent throughout the mythology of the Tinguian and Bontoc-Igorot are references to 'peoples of the first times' who had different customs and ideas. Mabel Cook Cole, in referring to Tinguian myths, writes, '...the chief characters of these tales are not celestial beings, but typical generalized heroes of former ages.' She states further, 'In [8] the..., stories we read of many customs of "the first time" which differ radically from those of the present.' (20) This is also characteristic of the Atayal

20. M.C. Cole, op. cit., pp. vi-vii.

myths."

"Roland B. Dixon, in The Mythology of All Races states, 'The mountain tribes of northern Luzon in the Philippines seem to stand alone in respect to cosmogonic myths in that, so far as material now at our command is concerned, they lack entirely, or almost entirely, any myths of the origin of the universe.' (21) He writes further that

21. Roland B. Dixon, The Mythology of All Races, Oceania (Boston: Marshall Jones Co., 1916), 9:55.

the actors in cosmogonic myths are treated as human beings in Igorot and some other Philippine mythology. (22) In commenting on cosmogonic mythology among the Ifugaos,

22. Ibid., p. 172.

H. Otley Beyer reports, 'The Ifugaos have no beliefs that I have ever been able to discover, as to the origin of the universe; to their minds it has always existed and will always continue to exist.' (23) Although the appended Atayal tales unquestionably do not

23. Beyer, op. cit., p. 99.

represent the total group mythology, from material at hand the above points are also

characteristic of the Atayal.

Of the Philippine mountain groups, at least the Tinguian, Nabaloi, and Bontoc-Igorot share with the Atayal the idea (not uncommon in the beliefs of many other peoples) that death was not intended to be inevitable and that immortality was lost through some error."

"Some individual elements from these tales of the mythical period appear below:

Philippine Version	Philippine Group	Atayal Folk Tale Number
Earth once flat. (24)	Apayao, Bontoc-Igorot, Ifugao, Nabaloi	5, 19
Sun and moon once of equal brightness and there was perpetual daylight. (25)	Apayao, Nabaloi	4 [9]
The moon once also a sun, and it was always day. (26)	Bontoc-Igorot	4
Mountains and valleys formed by rush of receding waters. (27)	Ifugao	5, 19
Shooting the sun with an arrow. (28)	Nabaloi	4
People formerly immortal. (29)	Nabaloi	19

(24) Wilson, op. cit., p. 39; M.C. Cole, op. cit., pp. 102-3; Beyer, op. cit., p. 111; Moss, op. cit., p. 237.
(25) Wilson, op. cit., p. 40; Moss, op. cit., p. 237. [9]
(26) Albert E. Jenks, The Bontoc Igorot (Manila: Dept. Int., 1905), Ethnol. Surv. Publ. I: 221.
(27) Beyer, op. cit., p. 100. Note: only the Ifugao flood tale explicitly states that the mountains and valleys were formed by flood waters. All others begin with the statement that the earth was once flat, and the reader can infer the formation of mountains and valleys from the floods.
(28) Moss, op. cit. p. 233.
(29) Ibid., p. 235."

IV. TALES OF TRANSFORMATION

Philippine Version	Philippine Group	Atayal Folk Tale Number
Boy turns into hawk because parents will not peel sugar can for him. (30)	Apayao	25, and others (31)
Origin of monkeys from women. Planting sticks become tails. (32)	Apayao	8, 24
Boy turns into fish when parents kill his pet pig. (33)	Apayao	23, 25, and others
Vain girl turns into scaly fish. (34)	Apayao	12, and others
Boy turns into serpent eagle because mother is stingy with food. Flies overhead saying. 'I don't need your food any longer.' (35)	Bontoc-Igorot	25, and others [10]
Boy turns into monkey because step-mother did not give him enough food. (36)	Bontoc-Igorot	8, 24, and others

Girl turns into rice bird because mother did not give her enough food. (37)	Bontoc-Igorot, Nabaloi	9, and others
Origin of monkeys from men. Rattan becomes attached to anuses as tails. (38)	Ilongot	8, 24
Men turn into rice birds when woman employer does not feed them. (39)	Ilongot	9, and others
Boy turns into monkey because no one will peel sugar cane for him. Cane becomes tail. (40)	Nabaloi	8, 24
Lazy daughter turns into monkey; roll of cotton becomes tail. (41)	Nabaloi	8, 24
Boy turns into hawk because of mistreatment. Flies over house and tells parents he will eat their chickens in the future. (42)	Nabaloi	25, and others
Woman turns into rock because of shame. (43)	Nabaloi	9, and others

Woman turns into wildcat to punish man for misdeeds. (44)	Nabaloi	22, and others
Lazy man constantly leans on planting stick. He turns into a monkey and stick becomes tail. (45)	Tinguian	8, 24 [11]
A boy is too lazy to strip sugar cane for himself. His mother, in anger, tells him to stick it up his anus. He does so and becomes a monkey. (46)	Tinguian	8, 24
Lazy girl pretends she does not know how to spin. Her companions, in disgust, tell her to stick spinning stick up her anus. She does so, and turns into a monkey. (47)	Tinguian	8, 24
Young wife is told by husband to cut an excessive amount of rice. She turns into a bird and flies off. (48)	Tinguian	9, and others

Boy is sent off to tiresome work of keeping birds from rice field, and turns into bird. Parents plead with him to become a boy again, but he refuses and flies off. (49)	Tinguian	25, and others
Deer which hunters are pursuing turns into a jar. (50)	Tinguian	21, and others
Boy turns into a stone because his grandmother ate the bird he snared. (51)	Tinguian	25, and others

Many additional tales of transformation exist among other peoples of the Philippines, but the most numerous and those of closest resemblance to the Atayal occur in the groups above.

(30) Wilson, op. cit., pp. 105-6.
(31) The Atayal tales which are most similar are listed by number. Where the phrase 'and others' appears, similar motifs may also be found as elements of various other Atayal tales.
(32) Wilson, op. cit., pp. 106-9.
(33) Ibid., pp. 115-16.
(34) Ibid., pp. 134-36.
(35) Jenks, op. cit., pp. 222-23. [10]
(36) Carl W. Seidenadel, The First Grammar of the Language Spoken by the Bontoc Igorot (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1909), pp. 562-65.
(37) M. C. Cole, op. cit., pp. 117-18; Moss, op. cit., p. 291.
(38) Laurence L. Wilson, Ilongot Life and Legends (Baguio: Privately printed, 1947), pp. 40-41.
(39) Ibid., pp. 42-44.
(40) Moss, op. cit., pp. 282-83.
(41) Ibid., p. 283.
(42) Ibid., p. 291.
(43) Ibid., p. 323.
(44) Ibid., pp. 335-37.
(45) Dean S. Fansler, Filipino Popular Tales (Lancaster, Pa., and New York; Amer. Folklore Soc., 1921), p. 414. [11]

(46) Ibid.
(47) Ibid.
(48) Fay-Cooper Cole, op. cit., p. 191.
(49) M.C. Cole, op. cit., p. 53.
(50) Ibid., pp. 68-70.
(51) Ibid., pp. 84-85.
(52) Laurence L. Wilson, Apayao Life and Legends, p. 88."

V. MISCELLANEOUS TALES

Philippine Version	Philippine Group	Atayal Folk Tale Number
People who lived by inhaling the vapor of cooked rice and who had no anuses; anus made by piercing with pointed stick. (52)	Apayao	3 [12]
Examination of tattoos on back of hands before crossing bridge to Paradise. (53)	Apayao	16
Wicked giant whose skin is so thick it cannot be pierced with arrows. (54)	Nabaloi	6
Giant who violates women. (55) ..	Nabaloi	6
Giant who extends arms across river as a bridge when water is high. (56)	Nabaloi	6

(52) Laurence L. Wilson, Apayao Life and Legends, p. 88. [12]
(53) Ibid., pp. 166-67.
(54) Moss, op. cit., pp. 341-43.
(55) Ibid., pp. 343-45.
(56) Ibid., p. 347."

17: Norbeck--12 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 773 Atayal

"As may be noted, a number of the Philippine tales referred to above contain motifs and details identical or very nearly identical with the appended Atayal folk tales. Reference has already been made to the similarities noted in the culture, physical type, and language of the Formosan tribes and the various peoples of the Philippines. The coincidence of mythological motifs alone is suggestive of some sort of relationship."

17: Norbeck--12 [2] (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 177, 773 Atayal

"Both the Philippine groups under consideration and the Atayal inhabit isolated mountain regions and, at least during the historic period, remained resistant to outside cultural influences, preserving until very recent times cultures thought to be much the same as those of generations of their forebears. Indian and Islamic influence seems not to have reached them, and western influence upon the mythology of these groups is hardly discernible. In discussing diffusion of mythological themes, Stith Thompson reports that one-seventh of one hundred traditional tales current in western Asia and Europe have been recorded from Indonesia. (57) The motifs which he lists under this

57. Stith Thompson, The Folktale (New York: The Dryden Press, 1946), p. 284.

heading are almost entirely absent from the folklore of the groups here considered."

17: Norbeck--12-13
116, 171, 773

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

"The similarity in folklore of the Atayal and Luzon groups seems unquestionably valid as a further substantiation of the relationship noted on the basis of linguistic, physical, and cultural similarities. A thorough comparative study of these [13] groups as well as other isolated groups (58) of Indonesia and Southesast Asia should be rewarding.

58. Of the groups examined in the southern Philippines, those of greatest similarity to the Atayal in mythology (but with considerably less similarity than the Luzon groups covered) were the Bagobo and Mandaya of Mindanao, both isolated peoples. Laura W. Benedict, 'Bagobo Myths,' Journ. Amer. Foklore, 26, No. 49 (1913); Fay-Cooper Cole, 'The Wild Tribes of Davao District, Mindanao,' Field Mus. Nat. Hist., Publ., No. 170, Anthropol. Ser., 12, No. 2 (1913)."

19: Guérin and Bernard--550 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 171 Atayal

In the northern third of the island there is a group of aborigines which belong to various denominations, obey independent chiefs and are not jointly liable, although they live peacefully and share their hunting territories and frontiers. The whole agglomeration speaks the same language, although a few idioms reveal that there are different tribes. We shall call this group the Morrisonien, for the peoples composing it live on the slopes of this alpine region. [VMM: The authors seem to have mistaken Mt. Sylvia for Morrison] A simpler term would by the Tayal, and we are glad to borrow it from their idiom. Although this idiom does not resemble that of the island of Luzon, the analogy of the words Tayal and Tagal is worthy of note; the latter is the generic name of the inhabitants of the Philippines.

20: Alvarez--251 [2] (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171 Bunun

"The Bunum who have kept less aloof from contact with the invading races have lost entirely all the characteristics of their race. They are the lords of the summits of Central Formosa. They may be identical with those tribes mentioned by the Dutch historian VALENTIN: 'They live in the mountains and speak a different language', says this authority. Yet we do not know whether they are Negritos or not."

21: Asai--3 [3] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 241, 622 Paiwan

"In the village of the Paiwan there is a chief. The villagers are all subjects of the chief. All land belongs to him and he has absolute power. Labor is performed by the order of the chief. The workers are given a portion of the crops. (This is similar to Marshall Islands.)"

21: Asai--4 [3] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 777, 787

"Dreams are important in divination. The lucky and unlucky days for hunting are told in dreams. Another kind of divination is by the Sisili bird. When they go hunting (whether for birds or for animals), they count the number of cries of the bird, and if the number is unlucky, they will go back to the village. This is an Indonesian type of divination."

21: Asai--6 [3] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 769

"There is a connection between the Formosan festival for the dead and the Urabon festival in Japan. When Buddhism was brought to Japan, the Japanese already had a festival honoring the dead, and they took up the Buddhistic form, though in India it was not very important. Much the same thing happened in Java until about the 10th century, when Islam was introduced."

22: Wiedfeldt--8 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 182, 582, 619 Atayal

As things are now, one can become well acquainted only with the tribes living on the frontier. Nevertheless, as far as I have been able to observe, the members of other tribes resemble them in stature, clothing and tattooing, and are said to resemble them also in mode of life and customs. Just as all the Atayal tribes are distinguished as a unit from the other savages of Formosa because they do not have the common dormitory for the young men, or because they are not acquainted with the custom of chewing betel, etc., so they are united by similar customs. They have the same type of money, they can understand each other, although their language shows dialect variations, since it does not have the benefit of the restraining influence of a written form. Neighboring tribes of the Atayals intermarry and have occasionally undertaken joint military expeditions, two things which are unheard of between branches of different tribes. Conditions among the Schimptonoff and the Taroku may hence be taken as typical of the Atayals, especially since both tribes, in spite of their frontier location, have lost very little of their tribal peculiarities, and have lost that little very recently, apparently.

31; Hofmann--607 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 304 Atayal

Members of the Atayal group are tattooed, both the men and the women, while the tribes in the south of the island do not have this custom. I myself did not come into contact with the aborigines in this region; we were, moreover, safe from attacks since our expedition had sufficient arms. All the regions we saw showed evidence of the recent struggles. The forest had been destroyed and large areas were covered with Miscanthus grass which grew to the height of one meter; this grass offers excellent protection to the headhunters.

31: Hofmann--611 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171

I cannot here discuss the customs and manner of living of the Seiban, [EJ: i. e. the Atayal] since I did not come into contact with them. I shall discuss the Tsou aborigines later on, but it must be emphasized that the customs of the different tribes vary considerably.

34: Del Re--8 [2] U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 197 Yami

"The creation-myths which will be dealt with are, in the main, peculiar to the Yami and differ considerably from those of the inland tribes, while having a certain affinity with those of the Puyuma. The latter, as well as those of the Ami, seem to be related to myths found among other Indonesian peoples. In the case of the Yami, it has been ascertained that their language is allied to that of the inhabitants of the islands of Batan or Basay (Vasay), Itbayat and Satung situated in the Phillippine group. (2)"

2. see Dr. E. Asai, A Study of the Yami Language, spoken on Botel-Tobago Island (subsequently cited as AYL) Leiden, Universiteitsboekhandel J. Ginsberg, pp. 4, 9ff. That some direct and, possibly, frequent intercourse existed between the Yami and the Batanese and Ibatanese is further substantiated by the internal evidence of text 5 (p. 73) and text 1 (p. 55 ff.) appended to AYL. See also the important article on this subject contributed by the late Dr. N. Utsurikawa (Director of the Ethnological Institute, Taihoku, Imperial University) to Ethnological Journal of South Eastern Asia and Oceania, Taihoku. Vol. I, n. 1 (1931).

34: Del Re--12 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 171 Yami

"Compared with other Formosan tribes, the Yami occupy numerically, a somewhat insignificant place more than compensated, however, by the fact that they constitute a remarkably interesting and original ethnographic unit divorced linguistically and culturally from those found on the main island, and revealing considerably developed cultural patterns."

36: Dodd--77-78 U-2 1865 (1885) Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 171, 291

"They [MLB: men of the northern tribes] wear another kind of coat, or rather jacket, called the fighting jacket. It is made in every way like the lûkûs, but in its size. Instead of extending low down the body, it only reaches as far as the waist, and is more like a shell jacket without sleeves than anything else. It is made of hemp, very closely interwoven with threads of scarlet long-ells, a colour which, amongst the northern tribes, seems to be the favourite. Further south, towards the Sylvian Range, coats embroidered with blue thread of long-ells are more the fashion. The long-ells and camlets used by the border savages are obtained from their neighbours, the Chinese hillmen. In describing the dress of the savages, I am alluding at present more especially to that worn by men living in the hills to the North of N. Lat. 24, and to East of 121 E. Long. There appears to be very little variety in the costumes worn in this region, that is, in the lower ranges of hills, but at 6,000 to 8,000 feet above the sea level, great differences in the appearance of the dresses as well as in the manners and ways of the people are observable. A rather curious apology for a great coat is worn in damp or rainy weather, of which they get a very full share at all times of the year, for the lofty mountain ranges, varying from 4,000 to 12,000 feet running nearly the whole length of the island, offer a great attraction to rain clouds.

This coat is made generally of the skin of the large brown deer, only partially cured by exposure to the sun and wind. The design is about as rude as anything can be, a slit of about six inches in length is made in the hide and at the end of the slit a circular piece

of the skin is cut out, allowing just room for the neck. The stiffness of the hide and the narrow space [78] allowed for the neck prevent the coat dropping off the shoulders. A man with a covering of this kind can screw himself into such a position that no part of his body is exposed, excepting his head, and on this he places his jockey-cap-shaped rattan cap, with the peak at the back, thus securing perfect protection from rain."

37: Steere-303-304 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 162, 171, 177, 197, 212 Pepo-hoan

"The Pepo-whans of the south part of the island occupy a large tract of country to the east of Takow and Taiwanfu. They inhabit the villages of Kongana, Kamana, Alukang, Backsa, Lakuli, Baukimseng, etc., and they may number five thousand people, while there is a large colony formed from them on the east coast of the island. They no longer speak their aboriginal language, using Chinese instead, and the Fuh-kien dialect of this, though they are in contact with the Hak-kas on the south and south-east. I procured the two lists of words, [MLB: see category 194, pp. 332-333.] Nos. 4 and 5, from very old women, No. 4 at Kongana and No. 5 at Baukimseng. They both said that their language was very little spoken, even in the time of their parents, Chinese having already become general. The two lists are not identical, and seem to show that there has been a coalescing of tribes, the supposition being strengthened by differences in dress, etc., still apparent among them. I found in existence among them a number of old manuscripts in Roman letter, most of them apparently business papers, such as deeds and contracts. The Pepo-whans still preserve these among their valuables, though no one can read them. Some of them have Chinese pawnshop marks upon them. They seem to be indubitable proofs and remains of the Dutch occupation, when many teachers and missionaries were employed among the aborigines, and many thousands of them are said to have become Christians. When the Dutch were driven out, and the teachers and missionaries murdered by the Chinese, the whole work was supposed to have gone out in darkness, but these manuscripts seem to show that for

nearly a hundred and fifty years afterward, these poor people, oppressed and driven back to the hills by the Chinese, still kept enough of the knowledge taught them to read and write their [304] own language, and almost necessarily books and a knowledge of the Christian religion also. The manuscripts are in the ancient Pepo-whan language, spelled out in Roman letters, the dates generally being in Chinese, spelled out in the same way. Of the manuscripts procured, a few of them are of the reign of Young Ching, who reigned from 1723 to 1736; the most of them are of the reign of Keen Lung, who reigned from 1736 to 1796; and there is one of the reign of Kaking, who began to reign in 1796. Curiously, the oldest of the documents are dated eighty years after the Dutch were driven out. There may yet be found books and manuscripts giving some account of the struggles of this people with the Chinese."

Australian Aborigines OB5
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Borneo OC1
Malays AN5
Taimore FY7

I B 171 174 [9 cont.] Celebes came via the Sarangani, Talaud, and Sangir Islands (2).

2. There is another hypothesis concerning the settlement of Borneo, that it took place in more recent times and that it came from Indochina, but this idea involves too many problems to be acceptable. See T.J. Bezemer, "De binnenlandsche stammen van Borneo [The inland tribes of Borneo]," De Volken van Nederlands-Indië, p. 278.

F 171 The native culture of Formosa also reminds one of the people of the Malay Archipelago. Tattooing, teeth-filing, modesty belts, bow and arrow, copper rings for ankle and upper arm, all these are reminiscent of the Dajak [Dyak].

I M 171 What has been said of the relationship between Malayans and Filipinos also applies to the inhabitants of the Malayan Peninsula and the natives of the Netherlands East Indies. This [10] is especially true of the Malayans in the narrow sense of the word. They are exactly the same as their compatriots on the other side of the Strait of Malacca. It also applies, however, to the other, non-Malayan groups of the peninsula, the Semang, the Senoi, and the Jakun group.

I T 171 611 Both ethnologically and geographically, the inhabitants of Madagascar are much further removed from the peoples of Indonesia; nonetheless, language and customs bear witness to their Austronesian ancestry. This is especially true of the inhabitants of Imerina. Among other things, matriarchy is found there.

I A 171 342 177 Considering only native cultures, one notices a similarity between the peoples of the Malayan Archipelago and those along the coast of northern Australia. From time immemorial cudgels from central Celebes and the beehive house of Timor have been found there; as a result of later Malayan and Papuan influences, similarities in boats, houses, the bow, and (almost certainly traded with the inhabitants of the eastern part of the Archipelago) earthenware are also found.

20: Alvarez--251 [3] (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 144, 131, 173 Paiwan

"The Paiwan seem to be of Malayan extraction. At present they live in the southernmost part of the island. It is said that four centuries ago they were lords of a flourishing kingdom, then comprising the whole south and a part of the centre, where they afterwards were met with by the Dutch and subsequently reduced to submission by the invaders.

As to their antiquity and origin, there is nothing left but some oral traditions and the notices, most of them obscure and extremely vague, given by several ancient Chinese historians. It is needless to say, that such material can cast but a slight light upon the past history of these tribes."

Z0: Alvarez--251 [4] (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 144, 173

"Following the records we have referred to, [MC: i. e. oral traditions and sketchy notes of Chinese historians] the Atayal seem to be the oldest inhabitants in the northern section. The first elements of their people might have come from China. The Bunum have for centuries occupied the hills of Central Formosa. It is said they are descendants of Malayans who had landed on the eastern shores of the island. There they found the fertile country inhabited by a black people, who are supposed to be the primitive inhabitants of Formosa. Dispute and struggle soon arose. The black race, indeed of inferior civilization, was conquered and absorbed by the higher civilized intruders. The amalgam of these two elements afterwards retired to the mountains which they now occupy. They had probably been dislodged from their former home and pressed back by some more powerful new-comer also of Malayan origin. The most extensive of all the tribes are the Paiwan. Highly influenced by them, somatically as well as linguistically, are the Tsalisen, Amis and Pyuma."

21: Asai--6 [6] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 173, 361

"They move their villages often. Many old sites have been found through excavations, and the oral traditions of the tribes have been studied."

22: Wiedfeldt--7 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 173, 186, 609 Atayal

According to their traditions, they are the noblest and oldest kind of people on the island. Their ancestors took refuge on the mountains after a severe typhoon, and from there they slowly returned to the plains. Later, other savages came to the island; then came the Chinese, the whites, and finally the Japanese. They consider all of these people as illegal intruders, but they especially hate the Chinese, with whom they have been longest in contact. The boundaries of their territory consist of mountains thickly wooded with virgin forest. The interior is said to be similar, as far as foreign observers have penetrated. To be sure, that is not very far. No foreigner has as yet set foot on Mt. Sylvia.

22: Wiedfeldt--36-37 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 173, 177, 292, 436 Atayal

For all settlements and compensations, for the purchase of land by the clans, and the reimbursement of the prophetess, the Atayals have a definite means of exchange which has the same value for all of the Atayal tribes: the materials [MC: which are set] with precious things, which are usually of three kinds. [MC: See page 12 in category 116 or 436 for description] The general acceptance of this indigenous money is based on its high value as a means of adornment, and its worth depends on the rareness of the materials and the care with which it has been made. [37] Ostensibly the Atayals have never wished to learn how to make these things. An old Taroku told me through the medium of the interpreter that they had gotten the precious materials long ago from white men, but the other Tarokus and all the Schimptonoffs denied the truth of this improbable tradition. If it were true, one would be forced to think of Spanish amulets. All the Atayals are agreed on this point, that they were once brought to them from outside, and that for a long time, there has been no new material. According to this, the same quantity of objects used as money, which presumably are fairly safe from the ravages of termites, has been in circulation among them since its introduction, and only the temporary owners change. This is very possible, in view of the fact that there is no economy based on earnings, and in view of the fact that there has been no increase in the population of the Atayals, as well as because of the stagnation of their culture. The objects used as money are the only possessions that do not follow their owner to the grave. Neither tribe nor clan has concerned itself with making of ornaments to be used as

money, nor have they attempted to fix the value of such ornaments, but nevertheless, they are the "legal" means by which all fines are paid. Together with language and customs, money is the only tangible bond that unifies all the tribes of the Atayals. The entire fortune of the Atayals consists of such money.

~~26~~: Honda--471 [5] N-3 (1896) 1897 Formosan Aborigines
116, 173 Bunun

A tradition among them says that they are brothers of the Japanese, but that the Chinese have driven away these brothers. For that reason the victory of the Japanese was considered also as their victory over the Chinese.

31: Hofmann--624-625 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 173 Tsou

The Tsou tell the following story about the origin of headhunting, at least as regards their enmity with the Chinese:

About 150 years ago, when the Tsou tribe still practiced headhunting, a Chinese, Gofo, had made friends with the chieftain and therefore was greatly respected by the entire tribe. There was a drought which lasted for a long time so that the chieftain became worried. He thought that the god might be angry since, because of the persuasions of the Chinese, had not been given any offerings consisting of human heads for a long time. He consulted with Gofo, who tried in vain to convince the chief that to offer human sacrifice was a futile undertaking. Finally he proposed to the chief that, if a human head was demanded by the god, it should be his own. The chieftain accepted this offer and killed Gofo. After this there was rain, but in a short time the Tsou tribe was decimated by an epidemic of smallpox. Gofo appeared to the chieftain in a dream and thus the epidemic was considered another punishment of the gods; from then on the natives became headhunters. [625]

In the Chinese settlements there are several temples consecrated to Gofo and his picture has been preserved there. His rash offer has made him a demi-god among the Chinese.

34: Del Re--62 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 753, 772, 173, 582, 776 Yami

"Unnatural death, failure of crops, death of livestock are considered punishments meted out by them. (31) [MLB: i.e., the inferior gods] Like the gods of the upper

31. AYL, p. 80, n.

plane, they are endowed with the power to will the creation of anything. Their life, food and dress are, in all respects, similar to those of the Yami save that their houses are built entirely of gold, and are found in the seven heavenly villages, corresponding to the seven villages of the island, each of which is under the protection of the god of its respective heavenly village. The gods must always reside in their own village and may not take to wife a goddess from another village. This suggests that, in earlier days, intermarriage between the different communities on the island was taboo. At present, however, such a prescription appears no longer to be enforced. During the annual festivals the islanders call upon and make offerings to these gods of yams, taro, millet and other fruits of the earth to ensure a good harvest and a plentiful catch of flying-fish. There are also anitos on this plane, but they are harmless."

39: Wiedfeldt--23 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 121, 173 Atayal

Whether the Atayals of the west coast, where navigation is easier, have ever settled close to the sea, does not seem probable to me. Their traditions speak of their mountains and also of the plain which lies before the mountains, but they do not mention the sea. They would not have been able to plant the swampy plains near the sea, which today yield a rich crop of rice under Chinese hands, just as they even now do not make use of places in their territory which are very fertile, but which require a great deal of work. If they had gone to sea, they would have had to know a few constellations, whereas they are unacquainted with stars and points of the compass...

As inhabitants of an island, they have been spared the fate of being overrun and annihilated by a foreign culture...

4:Grajdanzev--35 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 174, 181, 609

"The aborigines formerly occupied the whole island, but in more than three hundred years of ceaseless war they were driven from the best lands. It is no wonder that they began to look on newcomers with suspicion and even hatred. But all who have had closer contact with them emphasize their good nature, open-heartedness, and other qualities which do not warrant the treatment they received first from the Chinese and later, from the Japanese."

10: Schumacher--225-226 T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 174, 311 Chin-hoan

The scattered location of the cultivated fields belonging to one family insures them to the largest possible degree against damages from rains, insects, plagues, storms which might affect single units of cultivated land.

Furthermore we know that all groups of people who on their own instigation changed to agriculture began work on a few small plots which happened to be most conveniently at hand for them. [226] Our ethnographers can tell us with complete certainty from the traces of all the demarkation lines whether settled tribes or nomads were the first to cultivate the land.

I follow their ideas when I come to the conclusion that the inhabitants of the mountains cannot be the indigenous population of Formosa. Nowadays this idea seems to be gaining some ground with the Japanese explorers and scholars in whose background the Europeans function as counselors and directing forces.

10: Schumacher--226 T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 174, 301 Chin-hoan

If we believe that the inhabitants of the mountains came to Formosa at a later time and were driven to the mountains by the natives they met at the time of their arrival, Chinese fanaticism would not have allowed them time to familiarize themselves with the Chinese system of economy. Both Chinese and Japanese priests following the field armies have unanimously assured me, after long questioning, that the Tschin-Huan have continued to be Brahmans until this very day and I now face the question of whether they are of Malayan or Mongolian descent. The mere fact that their hair-dress is different from that of the Chinese does not prove that they are not "Chinese". For the pig-tail is not exclusively a Chinese characteristic.

Their dress, their houses and their manner of living is different from that of the Chinese; together with the fact that they are Brahmans, this may lead us to the assumption that at some time in the past they immigrated from India. But after all were not some of the Chinese Brahmans before the time of Buddha?

10: Schumacher--226 [2] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 174 Chin-hoan

The inhabitants of the mountains lived for centuries by themselves, completely secluded, because they did not share the material interests of the Chinese and because the climatic differences between the mountains and the lowland plains are so great that frequent changes proved truly detrimental and thus made contacts practically impossible.

11: Haguenauer--28-29 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 174, 177, 563

The center of Formosa is occupied by a broad chain of mountains. At the beginning the populations who reside here may have lived in the plain, but successive waves of invaders have driven them back gradually to the high plateaus. Today the aborigines, who refuse to have any contact with civilization, are the only inhabitants of the mountains. The others, who have abandoned their ancestral customs and language to adopt those of Formosa, are completely submerged among the Chinese; they are called "jukuban", [29] meaning those who have ripened by contact with civilization, and this distinguishes them from the real savages, the seiban, who are raw or green.

16: Müller--228 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 144, 171, 174, 197

While we have no tangible evidence concerning the origin of the aborigines of Formosa, we may assume from their physical appearance, customs, language, and level of intelligence that they belong to the racial group of the Malayans. We may therefore conclude that they originally came from the Malayan Archipelago. Although they have numerous traits in common, as a result of their derivation from one single group, their development has proceeded along different lines, partly because the chains of huge mountains have split them into different groups. Their language especially shows so many divergencies that some of the tribes cannot understand each other.

17: Norbeck--2-3 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 144, 174

'The tribes which inhabit the interior of Formosa, an area comprising approximately one-half of the total island, are of preponderantly Malay or unspecialized Mongoloid stock, and the present peoples are thought to have resulted from successive waves [3] of migration. Although considerable variation exists among the tribes, all are members of the of the Malayo-Polynesian linguistic stock, and in physical type and culture resemble peoples of southeast Asia, the Philippines, and other Indonesian areas."

To determine this origin, one must not limit oneself to treating the origin of the Formosa savage alone. All the tribes and peoples living in the less immediate surroundings of the island must be examined, their distinctive features recorded and the common points of accord investigated. But we will postpone these considerations for a later occasion and limit ourselves today to throwing some light on the peculiarities of bodily structure, the customs and the intelligence of the savages living on Formosa and, on this basis, undertake their grouping. When we seek, in this way, the features common to all and, on the other hand, examine the special features of individual groups, a division into tribes and families does not prove difficult. Although this does not prove that they had a common origin, the division I have made may nevertheless correspond to the facts.

18: Kakyo--64-65 E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 174

If we start with the assumption that the Formosa savages do not all descend from the same ancestors, that they have not all resided in the same place, that they also have branched off at different times and have changed their places of residence, that in the course of time they have then mixed with each other and, in separate groups, have adopted the same customs and usages, and that as a result new [65] tribes have been formed, then it would appear that to investigate the features common to all and to trace the origin of the individual tribes is the best ground work for an investigation of a possible common origin.

19: Guérin and Bernard--547-548 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 174

Formosa does not have any autochthones. Its first inhabitants belong to the great family whose cradle was in Indo-China but which was doomed to wander because of the invasions of conquering races; they are a part of that human sub-soil which is formed by the savage tribes of China, Hainan Island, the Philippines and its neighboring archipelagoes, the Mois of Laos, etc. However, as they were the first and for a long time the only inhabitants of our island, we shall call them the aborigines. [548]

Their migrations must have taken place at a very remote time; they were successive and had no unity as to their point of departure.

At that time the forest dropped way down to the sea so the immigrants could settle in the valleys and the plain. The water-courses were natural frontiers between these newly-arrived clans. They lived by hunting and fishing, spoke totally different languages, and fought one another. . . .

The wind of migration blew many tribes to Formosa, but there was a very small number of individuals in each agglomeration. Some of these clans have disappeared, others have been dominated by the Chinese, but the majority of them have bravely retired into the heart of the mountains.

21: Asai--1 [2] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 174, 197

"Each of these tribes [MC: 13 Formosan aborigine tribes. See preceding paragraph in category 116] uses a different dialect, but the dialects belong, of course, to the common Indonesian language. The dialectical differences are great enough, however, so that the individuals of different tribes cannot understand one another. This indicates that since they immigrated into the Island, they have lived in separate communities and there has not been much communication between the groups. There are also divergent cultures in the different tribes."

22: Wiedfeldt--47 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 174, 619, 643 Atayal

Judging from the name and the powers of the chief, the tribe may have originated from the fact that several clans gathered about a skillful and successful military leader.... [MC: National] states in general have originated by force and conquest under a powerful leader, who then took upon himself the obligation to perform valuable services, such as defence against outside forces and the exercise of justice in domestic life. Such a development by the use of force did not take place among the Atayals.

37: Steere--305 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 191, 174, 142, 292 Sek-hoan

"The Lek-whan call themselves Paijek in their own tongue, which all speak in their families, though all, but the very old, speak Chinese also, and some of the younger ones can write it with some readiness. There seem to be no manuscripts or other proofs that they formerly had any connection with the Dutch, and their position at nearly equal distances from Taiwanfu and Tamsni, the two points occupied by the Dutch, would have made them among the last visited by them, and the least influenced. Their language shows them to be closely connected with the savage tribes of the island, and with the Pepo-whans of the south. They are large and strongly framed as compared with the Chinese, but their faces are coarse, and the teeth of the women protrude; but their countenances show much good nature and kindly feeling. Their dress is much that of the poorer classes of Chinese, though for weddings and great ceremonies they use a national dress, consisting of two or three long sleeveless mantles, open in front, and the under one reaching to the heels, while those above are shorter. These are ornamented with a large amount of red embroidery about the bottom. They raise a species of nettle, from which they make a coarse but lasting cloth."

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

of five to twelve houses. Chinimoaŋ had 55 houses and Pinaiwanaŋ 101. The cultivated fields around the village were possessed by the aristocratic households (*usam na mamatsaŋiran*) of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. By annexing and transition of these fields, their state of possession had become rather complicated. The distribution of aristocratic households had also become rather complicated too. The village had 12 aristocratic households, 9 of them belonged to the Chimo. Among them was the *ruvaniau* household which was of the highest rank. The *ruvaniau* also in charge of the *satsilapan* household which was saved as a village temple in time of our investigation. These two households were both situated on the upper part of Chinimoaŋ. The other 8 Chimo aristocratic households were equally distributed in the two hamlets. The *tʃaluŋi*, the *matsiliat*, the *gumul*, and the *voto* were in Chinimoaŋ, while the south *tʃalas*, the north *tʃalas*, the *tarapatea*, and the *tʃalusaŋiu* were in Pinaiwanaŋ. Two of the Paiwan aristocratic households, the *lusiguan* and the *alijulan* were in *Pinaiwanan*, and the *atsinajan* was in southeast end of Chinimoaŋ. From the distribution of those households, therefore, we may say that the significance of the distinction of Chinimoaŋ and Pinaiwanaŋ has been lost. But by their possession of hunting grounds (*aluliapan*), the existence of dual organization in the early days has been revealed. The village had 6 localities of hunting grounds, two lay south and east of the village, *pasulaval* and *vuit*, and belonged to the Chimo chiefs, four lay in west and north and belonged to the Paiwan chiefs. At the time of investigation, *alulialiav* and *pasulaots* belonged to the *lusiguan* household; *patsavatsavan*, south *tʃalas*; *pasupaots*, north *tʃalas*. The latter two may have been annexed by the Chimo. The fishing grounds were similar in condition to hunting grounds. The Lai-i River (or the *pasulaval* river as it is called by the natives) was the fishing grounds of the Chimo. Most of the lower part belonged to the *atsinajan*, *lusiguan*, north *tʃalas*, *gumul*, *tara²atea* and the south *tʃalas* respectively. The tributary of the Lai-i River, which is called *pasuivelin* by the natives, was originally the fishing grounds of the Paiwan but it was then divided into two parts and is owned by the *atsinajan* and the north *tʃalas*. The Chimo though they predominated over the Paiwan in hunting grounds, and equalled the Paiwan in fishing grounds, had less influence on aspects of religious and ritual. *Para²aree*, the priest of the most important religion rite *malɔvo*, the five-years-feast, was a member of the *atsinajan* household of the Paiwan. The ceremonies of *malɔvo* was initiated in the *lusigunan* and *atsinajan* of the Paiwan and then performed in Chimo households. Two of the three *puliŋao* or priestesses who sang songs for inviting gods were Paiwan. But the *pusao* or the six-years-feast was performed by the Chimo priest and priestesses. The *para²aree* and *puliŋao* of these two groups have acquired their techniques from their own group. This teaching had been kept secret from each other.

By the above mentioned facts, we may assume that the Paiwan are the natives and the Chimo came later. The Chimo though predominated over the Paiwan in economic and political power, but the Paiwan have maintained their position in religious life.

4:Grajdanzev--36-37 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 175, 721, 177.72 Japan
636.72

"The process of subjugation proved difficult because the terrain was mountainous and covered with tropical jungles. Many times the regular army detachments were sent into the territory of the savages and returned without achieving anything; they lost men in ambushes and from illness, and in some cases the imperial troops were actually defeated by the savages, who knew the terrain perfectly. It became clear to the authorities that the aborigines could not be conquered by a frontal assault, and so they began a constant siege. No weapon was left unused in the struggle. Barbed wire for hundreds of miles surrounded the savages and, in the regions of the most 'difficult' aborigines, electric current was used to make the barbed wire fatal. But the savages soon discovered ways of overcoming this difficulty. After the World War bombing from airplanes was used against them, but without apparent success. Their arms were confiscated, but by paying exorbitant prices they managed to buy new ones from Chinese smugglers. Hatred between tribes was exploited and Japanese policemen would return in company with triumphant tribesmen who were carrying the heads of defeated enemies. Nevertheless, this policy failed, (1) and the reason for its failure was simple; the [37] Japanese could not or

1. Owen Rutter, a British colonial administrator, who is opposed to the 'pampering of the native' and who is a partisan of 'justice and firmness' in dealings with

> the [371 natives. writes: 'I say that the Japanese have failed utterly, in their endeavors to solve the important question of bringing the natives under their influence.' Through Formosa, p. 233.

would not understand savages who were unwilling to give up their lands. Governor-General Sakuma, for example. starting his campaign in 1909 to make the savages a 'law-abiding people'—though they were quite law-abiding from their own point of view—compelled them to surrender their arms and had those who refused 'chastised'. "

14: Tamai--93-94 J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 175 Chin-hoan

The treaty of Shimonoseki in April, 1895, ceded to Japan the island of Formosa and the Pescadores Islands, both of which had been Chinese possessions until that time. Thus Japan has added to her empire... another primitive tribe, but one from a different racial group; these are the Tschinwans, the natives of Formosa. Since the Chinese had never been friendly with these natives and therefore had had no influence over them, the present Japanese governor-general, Count Shiki Kabayama, also experienced great difficulties in his administrative tasks. Kabayama used those of the Tschinwan women who had married Chinese to act as intermediaries between him and the native chieftains. He asked them to call the chieftains and their families before him and received them with the greatest kindness; he served them Sake (Japanese wine made from rice) and meat or fish, [94] and when they returned home he gave them many presents, consisting chiefly of red cloth.

14: Tamai--94 J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 175, 127 Chin-hoan

On February 3, 1896, Governor-general Kabayama sent an expedition from Kelung to the Mareisha villages, the villages of Tschinwan. The conquered Chinese had sought refuge in those villages and had made efforts to induce the Tschinwans to rebel against the Japanese rule.

Reporters from the most important Japanese newspapers accompanied the expeditionary forces. The reports of Mr. Michio Kurosaki, a correspondent of the Osaka-Asaki-Shinbun, a daily with a circulation of over 100,000, offer the most detailed account of this expedition. The following is my own translation of this article, to which I have added pertinent facts from other newspapers and periodicals.

14: Tamai--94 [2] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 175 Chin-hoan

The expedition [MC: of the Japanese to the Mareisha villages in February 1896] under First Lieutenant Okamura was accompanied by Chinese guides and interpreters. They started from the city of Shin-Ten-Gai, a distance of about 12 kilometers from Tei-pe-fu, and went directly to the Tschinwan villages of Mareisha. The lieutenant had brought a barrel of Sho-Chiu (a kind of brandy), 200 bags of Japanese tobacco, a roll of red cloth and a pig for the natives. After he had passed Kutsu-Shaku, crossed the Tai-Keika river and gone about two kilometers beyond, the ascent became very steep and he was unable to find a road; this entire region was overgrown with tall grass. The Chinese guides were afraid to go any further and had to be forced to proceed. Towards noon they came across some deserted huts and noticed smoldering ashes. Later they learned that the Tschinwan natives used these huts as a resting-place after hunting expeditions. But the Chinese guides declared that these huts were the houses of the Mareisha District, so that Okamura left all the presents there and, after a difficult march of nine hours arrived in Shin-Ten-Gai.

14: Tamai--94[3] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 175 Chin-hoan

... The Japanese governor, on February 5th, ordered Corporal Katsugase to proceed further inland with his company and to make a simple chart of the region between Kushaku and Kelung. He was to find out where the Chinese rebels had found refuge and whether the Tschinwan natives could offer a food supply. He was also ordered to find out the number of inhabitants as well as their customs and manner of life.

The preparations for this expedition were completed and a Chinese trader who was familiar with the customs and language of the Tschinwans had been hired as interpreter. Just at that time 40 Tshinwans came to the banks of the Sokeiko River which had overflowed. They sent a fisherman across the river to start negotiations with Katsugase. The latter agreed to this and sent presents to the natives, consisting of red cloth, rice wine, and a pig. Thus he had made contact with the natives.

On the other side of the river 13 chieftains from the Mareisha villages came forward; the Chinese trader came over to them and asked them to cross the river and meet the Japanese. They refused at first, saying "We do not know the Japanese and do not know whether they are traitors like the Chinese or honest men. But so that they may not attack us unawares we have brought along a hundred armed men who are lying in ambush. If the Japanese agree to come to us unarmed we shall be glad to negotiate with them, for we have a favor to ask of them." The Japanese agreed to this and as they came across the river they were greeted in the way that is customary on this island, by the "swinging of the swords": the chief went around with his sword drawn and cut off the points of the

blades of grass.

Another chief then told the Japanese: "In the huts we use when we are hunting, we found many Japanese objects and thus learned that the Japanese had been there. The eight Sha (villages) thereupon resolved to thank the Japanese for this in person and to ask them for another favor. In Kushaku the Chinese killed two women without cause and they are therefore our enemies and will remain so unless they pay us 60 Tael as a compensation. We now ask the Japanese to be our intermediaries in this matter and we shall remain forever grateful and obedient to them if they do this."

Katsugase promised that he would undertake this if they would guide him as far as Togasha. It was the [sic] decided that they meet again in the same place on the following day. Then the corporal gave the Tschinwan all the presents which he had brought along for them; they were very happy with these and had a round of drinks with the Japanese before they parted. They also asked Katsugase to bring more food and drink with him on the following day, since the 100 men who lay concealed behind the bushes had not received anything. They were very happy when the corporal promised them this also. The latter then returned to Shin-Ten-Gai...

14: Tamai--94-95 J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 175 Chin-hoan

On February 10th [MC: 1896] Lieutenant Okamura together with 20 soldiers returned to the Sokei River and saw about 40 Tschinwans on the other shore. He gave them two bags of rice and a pig. The Tschinwans asked him whether he had also brought the 60 Taël; they said that if he had not done this for them they would not even speak to him or receive his presents and were determined to return home immediately. Since it would have been very difficult to make contact with the Tschinwans once they had returned to their villages, Okamura asked them [sic]wait one more day for a decision, and they finally agreed to this.

On the following day Lieutenant Hashikawa with ten men went over to the natives and tried to persuade them to send some of their men to Shin-Ten-Gai with him. They, however, were extremely stubborn and would not hear of anything but the money they had asked for. Finally, with great difficulty the Japanese were able to persuade two of the Tschinwans to accompany them to Shin-Ten-Gai. One of these natives was called Shiro. He had had a business in the city of Moko for five years and spoke Chinese quite fluently. He told the lieutenant that they would not be able to return home without the promised compensation, otherwise the Japanese would become the enemies of the natives. He said that they had no more food or drink with them and asked for more food. The lieutenant therefore took 13 of the others with him who were to carry the food.

When they arrived in Shin-Ten-Gai they asked Katsugase about the money. He answered: "We shall give you the 60 Tael, but from now on you may kill neither Japanese

nor Chinese. If you do we shall conquer you with our strong [95] troops and we shall no longer listen to your pleas."

After they had received their money they promised to treat all strangers well and to guide the Japanese troops as far as the main village, Togesha. Then the 13 Tschinwans returned to the Sokei river with their food, and Shiro and his companion remained in Shin-Ten-Gai. The next morning two relatives of Shiro arrived to make sure that Shiro had not been killed by the Japanese overnight.

14: Tamai--95 J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 175 Chin-hoan

On February 13th [MC: 1896] the Governor-General sent the second reconnaissance expedition to the villages of the Tschinwans. This consisted of a company of infantry and two police officials; First Lieutenant Matsuzaki was in charge of the expedition. They were accompanied by reporters, cameramen, carriers, two Chinese who were natives of Formosa, and four Tschinwans.

They started at eight o'clock in the morning and, after crossing the Tai-Keika river twice and climbing a steep mountain, they arrived in Kushaku. There they were received by a chieftain by the name of Watama.

14: Tamai--95 [2] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines-12
116, 361, 175 Chin-hoan

The village of Kushaku is situated within a stretch of level land about three square kilometers in size; on three sides this plain is held in by high, steep mountains, on the fourth by the Tai-Keika River, which at the same time forms the boundary of the Tschinwan district. There are about 60 houses and over 600 inhabitants, Chinese who are natives of Formosa. The men... crossed the river in a Chinese fishing boat and reached the foot of the mountain. There they were met by a number of Tschinwans; they were wearing their short swords at their side and held rifles in their hands. They were on their way back from Kushaku, where they had bought a barrel of Sho-chin and a pig. The expedition then crossed the difficult mountain paths and reached the place where Lieutenant Okamura had left presents for the natives on February 3rd. From here a tunnel about one kilometer long, which the Tschinwans had built through the high grass, led to a large place in the valley where they found many water containers. This place is called Korehanan. Formerly the Formosans had a dyeing industry there but after bitter struggles with the Tschinwans they were killed or scattered. The Tschinwans burned all the houses and left only the containers for water. Since that time the Formosans have not dared to settle there again. Beyond this place the men again crossed a steep mountain and arrived in Tanku, where the Tschinwans had several hunting lodges. 16 Tschinwans, both men and women, were staying there. At the beginning the women seemed to be somewhat afraid of the Japanese. They went on together, however, stopping at a brook about 12 kilometers from Shin-Ten-Gai. It was raining and the troops

therefore experienced great difficulty in marching. They followed the course of the brook and crossed the steep mountain of Kremiuashuya, where there are large numbers of bears, deer, and monkeys; the hunt for these animals forms the chief occupation of the Tschinwans, and hunting lodges were seen everywhere along the brook. After they had climbed the Guane and crossed the Katsukaurio River the expedition arrived in Togasha.

14: Tamai--95 [5] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 175, 103 Chin-hoan

When, in 1886, the Chinese Governor-General of Formosa, Lin-Ming-Tschiang (Chief of the Black Flags) sent his son Rinchoko with 3,000 soldiers, to conquer the Tschinwans the chiefs of the eight villages in Togasha offered to surrender immediately. Rinchoko had guard houses set up throughout the eight villages at intervals of 1 1/2 kilometers and stationed his soldiers there. He made the chief of Togasha, Marai, the head chief of all the villages; since that time the eight villages have been called Maraisha. In 1889 Rinchoko and his soldiers left Maraisha. During the same year Marai, the chieftain, died; he was succeeded by his son, who, however, did not show the same administrative ability as his father.

14: Tamai--95 [6] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 175, 609, 721 Chin-hoan

Between 1886 and 1889 when Rinchoko [MC: son of Chinese Governor General of Formosa] was in Maraisha, the Tschinwans, the Formosans and the Chinese, were in constant contact with each other, but since 1890 their friendly relations have ceased. In 1893 all the guard houses built by Rinchoko in Maraisha were burned down. During the night of May 20, 1895, about 150 Tshinwans made a sudden attack on the Formosans in Kushaku; 17 Formosans and 5 Tschinwans were killed. Four days later the Tschinwans renewed their attack and burned 37 houses. From that time on communication between the two groups ceased altogether and was not renewed until the arrival of the Japanese.

16: Müller--228 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 161, 175

While, at the turn of the 17th century, the aborigines of Formosa occupied the entire island, today they form only a fraction of the total population. The hordes of Chinese immigrants from the mainland opposite, chiefly from the Fukien Province, have gradually pushed the original inhabitants towards the central and eastern mountains. There are today approximately 2 1/2 million Chinese and nearly 100,000 Japanese on the island, while the number of natives is, at the most, 120,000.

17: Norbeck--3 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 175, 177

"The Japanese classify the Formosan aborigines into two groups, representing neither ethnic nor tribal divisions: the Seiban ('wild' or 'raw' aborigines) and the Jukuban ('civilized' or 'ripe' aborigines). These terms are taken over from the earlier Chinese Sek-huan and Chin-huan. Both groups originally fell under the classification of 'wild aborigines,' but with acculturation through the centuries from China, Holland, and Japan a number of the tribes or members of tribes (the present Jukuban) largely abandoned their native cultures and languages, and, adopting principally Formosan Chinese culture, lived in amity with the Chinese, Hakkas, Japanese, and other nonnative residents of lowland and coastal Formosa. The Seiban, however, persistently resisted the advance of the more highly developed cultures and continued their life essentially unchanged in the security of the mountainous area of the interior. They remained fierce and unyielding, making frequent head-hunting forays, so that the Chinese, as a protective measure, were obliged to establish guard lines in various places. After Japanese occupation these guarded areas were elaborated, strengthened, and enlarged into one line encompassing most of interior Formosa. No real conciliatory progress was made by the Japanese until the late nineteen twenties. From Japanese material at hand it appears that the practice of head-hunting has almost, if not entirely, been abandoned, but that complete acculturation has not been achieved so that the Seiban remain at a primitive cultural level. Information on the post-war situation is lacking."

19: Guérin and Bernard--564-565 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 175, 177.17 China
636.17

If the Dutch had succeeded in establishing their dominion, it would have been an excellent thing for the Formosan tribes. Under the rule of these prudent and clever masters, the tribes would have been taught a relative kind of civilization; in any case, [565] they would have learned how to live and to prolong their race. But the Chinese invasion took all their possessions without teaching them anything in return, it has been pitiless from necessity for the island was small, and the invaders were both numerous and hungry. During Koxinka's time there was a general retreat of the poor tribes, and then since then events have proceeded at the slow tempo which still characterizes them today. The new-comers see that the valleys and the plain are occupied, and so they move toward the mountains and infringe upon the territory belonging to the tribes; they want to get land which may be transformed into rice fields, to seize a water-course that is essential for irrigation, to cultivate indigo, tobacco, and especially sweet potatoes on the slopes, and then they are anxious to exploit the forests, especially those containing camphor trees.

In the north the advance has been very slow; it may be that the aborigines have defended their land foot by foot, or it is possible that the Chinese have found a permanent source of wealth in the lands that they have annexed, and so they have not been spurred on to new conquests. In the south, on the other hand, there were some enormous

19: Guérin and Bernard--564-565 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines-2
116, 175, 177.17 China
636.17

deforestation projects at the start. This resulted in some vast empty regions which extend from the last Chinese farms to the frontiers of the aborigines. The tribes may have vegetated more safely on this account, but they have suffered from the difficulty of bartering their products, and this is caused by the absence of roads and the difficulty in navigating the rivers. This deforestation would have been more difficult if several tribes had not joined the conqueror, so there was no resistance whatsoever.

20: Alvarez--251-252 (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 175

"Chinese history furnishes some dates as to the antiquity of the Formosan aborigines, but the conflicting statements make it difficult to arrive at the truth.

According to the learned Prof. LUDWIG RIESS, several centuries before the Christian era a people named Lonkius came from the north and arrived at Formosa. There they settled down, spreading over the greater part of the west. They were met with by the Chinese in the third century of the Christian era. The authors of the Chinese Annals call them 'negroes'. The Chinese historian Ma-fuanlien records that in 605, during the reign of the Suy Dynasty, the emperor Yang-ti ordered a mandarin, Chu-kuan by name, to set sail for the purpose of seeking unknown countries. A mariner, named Homan, who had for some time had the intention of sailing in an easterly direction [252] for the same purposes, was ordered to accompany the mandarin on the voyage. They arrived at the kingdom called Lieu-kieu. As they could not understand the language spoken by the inhabitants, one of the indigenes was seized and embarked, and they returned to China. We are also told that the Chinese expeditionaries were highly surprised at seeing in Formosa people different from the ancient inhabitants they had already known formerly. According to the same source of information, the people of the south were quite distinct from those in the north, especially as far as their manners and customs are concerned. They had black eyes, long noses, and were similar to the inhabitants of Hu. This word signifies in the Chinese literature a 'type' of non-Mongolian race dwelling in Central Asia.

In the following year (606), the emperor again commanded the general Ching-Ling to set out at the head of an expedition against Lieu-kieu(3), in order to oblige its inhabitants

3. The name given by the ancient Chinese to Formosa.

to recognize the emperor's authority and to pay him tribute. Some of the inhabitants had to be brought to China, yet 'the people of Lieu-kieu were not willing to obey and revolted against the Chinese general'. An attack was made; the capital, palaces and houses were destroyed and several thousand prisoners, both men and women, were taken. Ching-Ling then returned to China."

20: Alvarez--252 (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 175

"The name Kuen-lun is borne by several places and mountains in China, in the East Indies and in different islands of Oceania. And this name is always chosen to designate dwelling-places of Negroes, or of Malayans. Ling-nan, a territory in the modern province of Kansi, was formerly inhabited by men of non-Chinese origin. And according to the authors of the Suy Annals, those foreigners had great resemblance to the ancient inhabitants of Formosa.

In 1430, during the Ming dynasty, the Chinese history speaks of the eunuch Wan-san-ho, who, when returning from Siam, was obliged to put into a harbour of the southwestern shores of the island. He found Formosa inhabited by 'barbarous races'; though he was treated cordially and well supplied. Some other Chinese historian says: 'the huts of the indigenes are scattered around, occupying an area of about one thousand Li. There are a large number of villages, each of them containing five hundred, six hundred or even a thousand persons.'"

20: Alvarez--252-253 (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 175, 144, 167

"Now, supposing the Chinese records to be incorrect and even exaggerated, we can, however, arrive at the conclusion that Formosa must have been peopled several centuries before the Christian era. The first Malayan tribes seem to have then invaded the island. In the fifth and sixth century they became a nation powerful enough to beat and dominate the primitive inhabitants. A new competitor, of Malayan origin too, now appeared. They occupied the northern section of Formosa, and were in all probability the ancestors of the Atayal. In the south, the Paiwan began to spread and occupy a great extent of territory. The highest degree of their grandeur and advancement they reached in XIIth century. It was then that they crossed the strait, or channel of Formosa and frightened the Chinese population by an unexpected landing and bold attack on the coast of Fokien. [253]

New immigrations of tribes of alien origin have since contributed to alter and complicate the character, manners and customs, language, and so on, of the Formosan aboriginal race; and this to such a degree that to-day it is almost impossible to solve the question as to the origin and ethnical affinities of the Formosan tribes. Among the new invading tribes, there were, for instance, the Bisayas. They appeared in 1174-1189, landing on the coast of Fokien. According to the Chinese records of that time, the Bisayas were a most ferocious people with great eyes, using ironlances, and bamboos, which they used to throw with force at their enemies. TERRIEN DE LECOUPERIE says,

they might have crossed the strait and passed over to Formosa and given origin to the name Piisaye, which later on was applied by the Chinese to the island Formosa."

4:Grajdanzev--35 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 162, 177

"The Japanese took over from the Chinese the word 'savages' for the aboriginal tribes. At the end of 1938 the total number of aborigines was 155,900. However, only 95,400 of them are classified as 'savages' and are under the special, indefatigable supervision of Japanese police, the remaining 60,500 being 'civilized', that is, they are 'sinified', and in their outlook, customs, and occupation do not differ from the Chinese. The whole group of aborigines is divided into many tribes, among which the most important are:

Tribe	Population (in thousands) 1938
Taiyal	37.1
Saiset	1.6
Bunun	17.6
Tsuwo	2.3
Ami	50.9
Yami	1.8
Paiwan	44.5
Others	.1
Total	155.9

Many of these tribes show an increase in numbers, although much smaller than that of the Chinese on the island, but some are dying out."

6: Kirchhoff--31 U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
101, 177 Pepo-hoan

The Pepo-huan are those Formosan Malays who accepted the fate of dependence on the Chinese intruders and gradually became Chinese in customs and outlook, without there being any mixture of blood. Yet they are distinguished physically as well as culturally from free natives living in the mountains.

6: Kirchhoff--31 [2] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
116, 105, 177 Pepo-hoan

The Pepo-huan are big, bronze-colored men with shining eyes and bold looks who, like their women, of delicate build and a lighter skin color, have taken over much in clothing and dwellings from the Chinese, and who use the Chinese language, at least when dealing with the Chinese, although among themselves they usually talk their own Malayan dialect. Those of them living along the coast are fishermen; their women prepare salt from the sea water which they let run through sand and evaporate. The Pepo-huan of the interior are still fond of hunting, their hereditary occupation, but for the most part they are peasants. As though in imitation of the Dutch, the Chinese allow the peasants of each Pepo-huan village subject to them to choose a chief to settle quarrels among themselves, and appeal may be made from his decisions to the Chinese administration of the district. At his side the Chinese "interpreter" acts in the main as gatherer of the taxes imposed by the Imperial Government. The Pepo-huan are still distinguished by their bravery, dependability and hospitality, but they have been sadly reduced, economically, by the sly Chinese.

6: Kirchhoff--31 [3] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 426

The Chinaman misuses the unsuspecting nature of the brown "half savage," lends him money the latter needs in order to buy a wife, a cow or a shotgun, or to drink Samschu (rice brandy) or smoke opium. Thus he turns him into his debtor, who unsuspectingly pledges his house and possessions, until finally the Chinaman has him as his wretchedly poor tenant.

6: Kirchhoff--31 [6] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
117, 101, 177 Pepo-hoan

We hear tell of a Chinese farm on the island in the Dragon Lake, and of the apparently near-by plain of Polesia, surrounded by mountains, that is said to be inhabited entirely by Pepo-huan who not only speak Chinese, but who have completely forgotten their own tongue (Imbault-Huart, p. 286).

6: Kirchhoff--32 [4] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 286, 322, 412 Pepo-hoan

In respect to crafts also, the Chinese have stamped their individuality on the Pepo-huan. But the Pepo-huan continue to manufacture their wooden vessels in the traditional way, and the knife handles also, in which they insert the blades they buy from the Hakka. Their wives manufacture coarse materials from pineapple and nettle fibers.

7: Joest--57 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 177, 721

The term Shekwan means half raw or half cooked. The Chinese apply this term to those aborigines who settled in the coastal regions or near the boundary. The Chinese trade with these people, among whom the custom of headhunting is practiced rarely or not at all.

The term Chinwan means raw. The Chinese apply this term to the aborigines who live in the forests and mountains of the interior.

7: Joest--59 [4] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 411, 531 Chin-hoan

The weapons of the Chinwans consist of bows and arrows and of a spear 10' to 12' long; the latter is made of oak or ash wood and the spearhead consists of a small Chinese knife attached with a piece of string. Chinese rifles with matchlocks have now taken the place of these spears for the most part. These are six feet long and are made of an iron cylinder. The shaft is long, narrow, and crooked; they draw designs on it for ornament. The matchlock is inserted into the cock. Every warrior carried a second matchlock which is wrapped around the wrist of the left hand. They carry their powder in a horn which hangs from a string of beads around their neck, and the cartridge box is usually attached to their belt.

These rifles do not often hit their mark. From what I have seen I would say that the natives cannot hit the target if it is further than five or six feet away; every time they shoot, the rifles hit their cheek so that they bleed. They carry paper plugs in a special case. In their belt they wear a Chinese knife on which ornaments have been drawn.

7: Joest--59-60 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 301, 304 Chin-hoan

All the Chinwan natives, the men especially, love to wear [60] ornaments. For this they use chiefly the colored glass beads imported from Europe which they string up on chains to wear around their neck. They insert small bamboo sticks into the lobes of their ears and sometimes attach a tassel made of European wool, one of their favorite articles, to these ear pendants. Sometimes they wear small polished pieces of marble attached to chains in their ears, or pieces of shell and metal with a diameter of one inch or less; they enlarge the lobes of their ears for this purpose.

7: Joest--61 [2] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 273 Chin-hoan

In former times the Chinwan natives distilled a beverage from fermented rice or millet. Rice meal took the place of yeast, this had to be chewed by a woman who was past her menopause. Today the Chinese Samshu has taken the place of the native drink and both men and women drink it in large quantities.

10: Schumacher--225 [13] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 361 Chin-hoan

At first I was unable to judge from the type of settlements of the inhabitants of the mountains as to whether they were imitating the Chinese of the lowland plain, or whether their ancestors had known this type of settlement before they came to Formosa.

The great advantages which this form of settlement offers to the individual families are based on such thoughtful principles that they cannot have been discovered by people who were just turning to agriculture.

11: Haguenauer--28-29 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 174, 177, 563

The center of Formosa is occupied by a broad chain of mountains. At the beginning the populations who reside here may have lived in the plain, but successive waves of invaders have driven them back gradually to the high plateaus. Today the aborigines, who refuse to have any contact with civilization, are the only inhabitants of the mountains. The others, who have abandoned their ancestral customs and language to adopt those of Formosa, are completely submerged among the Chinese; they are called "jukuban", [29] meaning those who have ripened by contact with civilization, and this distinguishes them from the real savages, the seiban, who are raw or green.

11: Haguenauer--32 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177

The aborigines at Kappanzan[AN: Kakupanzan] have been under the influence of civilization for a long time....

15: U.S. Navy --23 [5] (no date) 1944 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 563

"About two-thirds of the aboriginal population is considered to be 'savage' and treated accordingly in administration. About one-third is considered to be assimilated to the Formosan-Chinese way of life. No figures on aboriginal life in Taiwan can be 100 percent accurate, for there still remain small remote mountain areas which have yet to be explored and brought under close policing."

15: U.S. Navy--23 [7] (no date) 1944 Formosan Aborigines
116, 144, 177, 563, 162 Pepo-hoan

"Marriage between the Formosan-Chinese and the aboriginal population has been a common thing since the incursion of the Chinese, and the result is that a large number of Pepohoans or 'Plains barbarians' have become assimilated in manner of living to the peasant Chinese. For purposes of the census the Japanese administration counts these Pepohoans among the Formosan-Chinese."

15: U.S. Navy--31 [3] (no date) 1944 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 565, 511 Pepo-hoan

"The marginal people (Pepohoans) in the foothills have a lower standard of living than the Chinese and in their costume and daily habits combine some aspects of both Chinese life and the life of the mountain aborigines. They are usually thought of and treated in the same category with Formosan-Chinese of the lowest living standards."

16: Müller--229 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 177, 609 Pepo-hoan

Among the groups listed... [MC: see previous paragraphs in 101 for the author's group division of the aborigines.] the Pepo no longer have the external characteristics of the aborigines; in their manner and customs they have become culturally assimilated by the Chinese to such an extent that today it is hardly possible to distinguish between the two. They live in the eastern and central districts of the island, and a large number of them also inhabit the western plains. They are on friendly terms with the Chinese, although on the whole the two groups do not actually intermingle. This explains the name given to them by the Chinese, Pepo-hoan, that is, natives of the plain. Only a small part of the Pepo, the Saisiett tribe, has retained their original characteristics to this day.

16: Müller--229 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
101,177 Saisett

Only a small part of the Pepo, the Saisiett tribe, has retained their original characteristics to this day.

16: Müller--229 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 177

Another distinction made by the Chinese between groups of natives is that of Seiban and Jukuban; the first refers to those natives who remained independent, the second to those who had become subjugated. The latter includes, besides the Pepohoan, the Pyuma and Amis groups; although these have not been assimilated entirely by the Chinese, they nevertheless show a certain degree of civilization.

16: Müller--229[5] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 191, 197

Among the Pepo the Saisiett tribe is the only one which has retained the old language. The others speak Chinese, the Amoy and Hakka dialects, using only a few Malayan terms. Most of them have forgotten their original language almost entirely, although it was still spoken little more than a century ago. Only those Pepo tribes listed under Pazzehe and Kareowan speak both languages.

17: Norbeck--3 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 175, 177

"The Japanese classify the Formosan aborigines into two groups, representing neither ethnic nor tribal divisions: the Seiban ('wild' or 'raw' aborigines) and the Jukuban ('civilized' or 'ripe' aborigines). These terms are taken over from the earlier Chinese Sek-huan and Chin-huan. Both groups originally fell under the classification of 'wild aborigines,' but with acculturation through the centuries from China, Holland, and Japan a number of the tribes or members of tribes (the present Jukuban) largely abandoned their native cultures and languages, and, adopting principally Formosan Chinese culture, lived in amity with the Chinese, Hakkas, Japanese, and other nonnative residents of lowland and coastal Formosa. The Seiban, however, persistently resisted the advance of the more highly developed cultures and continued their life essentially unchanged in the security of the mountainous area of the interior. They remained fierce and unyielding, making frequent head-hunting forays, so that the Chinese, as a protective measure, were obliged to establish guard lines in various places. After Japanese occupation these guarded areas were elaborated, strengthened, and enlarged into one line encompassing most of interior Formosa. No real conciliatory progress was made by the Japanese until the late nineteen twenties. From Japanese material at hand it appears that the practice of head-hunting has almost, if not entirely, been abandoned, but that complete acculturation has not been achieved so that the Seiban remain at a primitive cultural level. Information on the post-war situation is lacking."

17: Norbeck--4 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 105, 177 Atayal

"The Atayal have long been known as one of the most fierce tribal groups and the most aggressive in head-hunting. They depend for subsistence upon hoe agriculture, principally of millet, dry-land rice and sweet potatoes, and to some extent upon the hunting of wild pigs and deer. Metal working is not practiced, but metal implements and guns are secured by barter. Atayal women are skilled in loom weaving, and proficiency in weaving is considered the highest feminine attainment. Religious practices, largely concerned with ancestor worship, are open to women as well as men, and women have been reported to serve occasionally as chiefs. Much importance is attached by the Atayal to their own history and genealogy, and traditions are transmitted orally by hereditary officials.

Considerable change in culture has come about from Chinese and particularly Japanese contact, and the Atayal have long possessed rifles. Both official and scholarly Japanese sources state that many Atayal customs have been abandoned or greatly changed in the last few decades, as is also indicated in some of the appended folk tales."

17: Norbeck--12 [2] (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 177, 773 Atayal

"Both the Philippine groups under consideration and the Atayal inhabit isolated mountain regions and, at least during the historic period, remained resistant to outside cultural influences, preserving until very recent times cultures thought to be much the same as those of generations of their forebears. Indian and Islamic influence seems not to have reached them, and western influence upon the mythology of these groups is hardly discernible. In discussing diffusion of mythological themes, Stith Thompson reports that one-seventh of one hundred traditional tales current in western Asia and Europe have been recorded from Indonesia. (57) The motifs which he lists under this

57. Stith Thompson, The Folktale (New York: The Dryden Press, 1946), p. 284.

heading are almost entirely absent from the folklore of the groups here considered."

18: Kakyo--67 [2] E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 415

They are familiar with the use of iron and earthenware vessels (which they have received, however, from the Chinese).

18: Kakyo--68 E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 241

The Formosan aborigines are familiar with agriculture....
In cultivating the fields they no longer use implements of stone or horn, but iron implements.

18: Kakyo--68 [2] E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 411

They no longer shoot exclusively with bows and arrows, but already know the use of firearms.

18: Kakyo--73 E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 161, 177

The Pepohan of Formosa are dying out. The Besha, who live in the plains of Polisia, in a district cut off by natural boundaries, numbered 120 fifty-one years ago, according to the account of a Chinese official. Gradually their community dissolved, and at the present time only 11 Besha are living, scattered among various tribes.

The Matoska savages living in the surroundings of Kagi, in whose district the Dutch formerly had set up a school, at the time of the Tei dynasty formed one of the largest native communities of Formosa. According to an original document of 1639 they numbered 3,000. But since they have lived together with the Chinese, their number has been sinking steadily. According to their traditions, they numbered between 800 and 1,000 one hundred years ago. Now only 200 of them are known.

20: Alvarez--255-256
116, 177, 361, 166, 241

(no date) 1927

Formosan Aborigines

"The Amis, Pyuma and several other branches have been influenced by owing [sic] and assimilated to their Chinese neighbours, [MC: owing] to the close and permanent contact with the invading race. They pursue some agriculture and have also a [256] little home industry, while others, especially the Atayal, seem to be averse to any kind of manual labor. The latter are hunting tribes. Of course, there are some of them engaged in agricultural work; yet, generally, they prefer to walk about the vast forests in search of game, honey and so forth. Authors of the past century asserted, incorrectly however, that the aboriginal inhabitants of Formosa had but temporary shelters, for they were always wandering abouth [sic] the woods. There were, undoubtedly, transmigrations since the arrival of the Chinese in 1683. It is for instance, almost sure that the ancestors of the Amis, Pyuma, Paiwan, Atayal and Tsalisen had been driven out from their primitive home by the Chinese. But nomads, in the strict sense of the word, we think have never existed in the island."

21: Asai--4 [2] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 756

"In almost all the tribes there are medicine men or women. Shamanism is also found in the Siroiya tribe. The Siroiya have become almost completely acculturated with the Chinese and speak Fukien Chinese. Their own culture has practically disappeared. Shamanism is not borrowed from the Chinese. Very detailed descriptions of Shamanism are found in early Dutch accounts."

21: Asai--4-5 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 241, 769, 796

"A special ceremony takes place just after the harvest. In such ceremonies, wine and foods are offered to the souls of the ancestors, who live in the land of the dead. The people chant [5] ceremonial songs to make the souls come to the village. The dances last sometimes 24 hours in one week successively in Saisiyat. This is called the period of pastaai. The people bring rice and cooking utensils. The festival usually takes place in November. Through Chinese influence, there are sometimes two festivals, spring and autumn."

22: Wiedfeldt--7 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 161, 177 Atayal

The largest and most vigorous of these [MC: Formosan Aborigine] tribes is that of the Atayals. This tribe is estimated as consisting of 30,000 persons occupying 7,700 square kilometers, and has deliberately remained aloof from foreign influence. They call themselves Atayals, which in their language means persons of the same kind, presumably in the anthropological sense.

22: Wiedfeldt--7-8 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 177 Atayal

The Atayals are said to consist of 24 tribes. I became better acquainted with the two tribes living along the frontier: the western [8] Schimptonoff, or Bedonoff, and the eastern Taroku, or Toroku. The former are called by the Chinese Sensanban, or Kappansan, which means in German the fore mountain savages; the latter are called Bokkui. I have not been able to find out anything about the meaning of the other names. Both tribes have stubbornly resisted all cultural influences coming from the Chinese, the Japanese, and the other savages, and they have vigorously opposed the advance of the Japanese. After a violent struggle, the Schimptonoff have for four years been kept within the Aiyu line. This is the fate that lies ahead for the Toroku in the struggles now threatening.

22: Wiedfeldt--9[2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 263, 177, 824, 431 Atayal

As a condiment, they like salt best of all. If this is lacking, they use as a substitute the small, salty berries of the mabu tree. The Taroku are said to have learned how to get salt from the sea from the Chinese by way of the Amis who border them to the south. Recently there have been isolated instances of their giving this necessary condiment as a gift and also as an article of barter to the tribes in the interior, after the Japanese prevented the importation of salt. Otherwise they use as a spice a kind of ginger which they get from the root of a species of banana, and to which they attribute a strengthening effect.

22: Wiedfeldt--9-10 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 372 Atayal

They now make a fire with flint and steel, which they get from the Chinese, but in isolated cases they are already using Japanese matches. It is said that in the interior they still make a fire by rubbing two sticks together, which was said to be the only method used by the border tribes also up to two decades ago. The legends and customs with which the peoples of colder countries invest the obtaining and keeping of the fire which is such a vital necessity in their lives are unknown to the Atayals. They are also unacquainted with conflagrations, for after preparing a meal, they put out the fire, inasmuch as they do not need it to heat their dwellings. Moreover, the fire would find little to feed on [10] in the luxuriant foliage surrounding it and in view of the high degree of humidity.

22: Wiedfeldt--10 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 273, 177 Atayal

On special occasions they drink a fermented millet. The women salivate and masticate thoroughly a mouthful of millet, and place the result in a hollow stump of wood, where it ferments after a time. It stays there until it is mixed with water and drunk. Recently they have begun to make rice-whiskey in the same way. They also like slightly salty water, in which ginger has lain. Since they have been restricted to the Aiyu line, many Schimptonoff have become fond of sake and whiskey without soda, which they drink from the bottle. Immoderate drinking is said to have been unknown among them formerly. After all, it was difficult to keep large amounts of intoxicating drinks on hand in view of their laborious method of preparing them.

22: Wiedfeldt--10-11 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 241, 276 Atayal

Tobacco smoking is general among men, women, and children. As a pipe they use two sticks of bamboo, thrust one into the other. [11] According to their traditions, they received the "tamako" from the savages of the plain, who in turn got it from the whites. Although it is only recently that they have taken over the planting of tobacco from the Chinese, today there are a few tobacco plants by every hut. Everyone picks a leaf as he needs it, sticks it in his hair or lays it on the ground to dry, and then packs it in his pipe when it is still half green.

22: Wiedfeldt--11 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 177 Atayal

Masculine clothing consists of a square cloth, without armholes. It is held over the shoulders by a string and hangs down in front as far as the knees. As a result of Japanese influence, a loin-cloth has also begun to be worn recently. The women add to this article of apparel a somewhat wider piece of cloth bound around the hips, and leg-coverings which extend from the knee to the ankle and are fastened top and bottom. Sewing is unheard of. All articles of clothing are yellowish grey in color, and often have reddish brown stripes. Their feet are bare, in spite of the stony mountain paths, just as their heads are unprotected from the heat of the sun. Occasionally the men wear caps with a peak, woven out of osier switches or the twining branches of the to tree.. These caps cover the nape of the neck. Apparently they are a poor imitation of European caps. Many of the young girls have recently taken to twisting around their heads strips of bright colored material which they get from the Chinese or the Japanese. A costume of this sort, which leaves the back of the body as well as the head and the feet uncovered, affords no protection against bad weather, but this is unnecessary in the climate of Formosa. Nor can this costume be attributed to a feeling of modesty, for the Japanese loin-cloth is said to be still unknown in the interior. Also, the leg-coverings of the women leave the upper part of the thigh exposed. This costume satisfies their need for adornment, and this is why the ornamented cloth hangs over the part of the body which is first seen, just as the leg-coverings adorn only the portions of the leg that are visible, and are a pleasing contrast to their dark skins.

22: Wiedfeldt--12 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 301, 177 Atayal

...[MC: An Atayal woman]could not understand why the whites do not like the sticks of bamboo 1 cm. thick and 6 cm. long which she wore in the lobes of her ears. She did admit, however, that the piercing of the ear with a sharp pointed piece of wood and the subsequent enlarging of the hole had been very painful. Apparently this is the reason why rings of brass or bronze, obtained from Japan, have recently begun to be preferred for the ears. Many women wear similar rings as bracelets and occasionally as anklets. I saw as many as 12 rings on one arm. Some young women proudly display glass beads from Osaka strung on strings around their necks, in place of the animal teeth or dried red berries such as the older women wear as necklaces.

22: Wiedfeldt--12 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301, 292, 436, 177 Atayal

If such foreign ornaments [MC: i. e. brass rings and glass beads from Japan] have been taken over by the women, the men have kept for themselves the characteristic old ornamental dress. These "things set with precious materials", as the Atayal description runs, have three sizes, which are worn as arm or leg coverings, kinrai, or as a doublet, bintoan, or as a sleeveless jacket, rokosch-kaha. They consist of material dyed red, on which is fastened small pieces of pierced fish-bone arranged in rows and geometrical designs. Since the fish are not to be found in the interior, and the making of these ornaments would be too tiresome and difficult for the Atayals, who have no tools, these ornaments, which the Chinese call schukun, are very highly prized, and their owners like to wear them on festive occasions because they give them a certain amount of prestige. These valuable and lasting, but unnecessary ornamental garments are used as money. The three sizes are worth respectively 3, 5, and 10 yen.

22: Wiedfeldt--14 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
413, 415, 177 Atayal

As tools [MC: in an Atayal hut] there is nothing more than a weaving frame, a spindle, and a pestle for pounding millet. Recently, a few clay vessels have been added, which have been acquired by barter from the Chinese.

22: Wiedfeldt--14-15 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 177, 224, 721 Atayal

Each Atayal makes his bows [15] out of the flexible wood of the Katsura. He makes his arrows out of bamboo reed. Nowadays most of them have metal tips, which he gets from the Chinese, but formerly they had nothing but wooden tips which had been hardened by fire. He still uses arrows with three wooden tips for shooting birds and as fire-bolts, the destructive effects of which on Japanese houses were demonstrated by the last Schimptonoff war. He also makes himself a spear two meters long, with a tip of wood, antelope horn, or recently of metal forged for this purpose by the Chinese in Amoy. Shields and helmets are unknown. Instead of them, one always carries a net which he has woven himself of ramie, for the purpose of carrying home the game which he has captured or the skulls he has taken.

Presumably within the last generation, they have acquired a knife, which is 40 cm. long, from the Chinese. Every Atayal carves and decorates the handle for this knife himself. His most important and most cherished weapon is the gun, which he has been getting for one or two decades from the Chinese and Japanese, and which he is continuing to get even now, despite the law which forbids the importation of guns. At least, I have seen at the sentinels' posts modern guns which were taken from Atayals by the Aiyu guards. Most of the guns, to be sure, are old breech-loaders, or even muzzle-loaders, which might conceivably be dangerous to the person shooting. There is said to be a scarcity of bullets. An Atayal living in the interior is said to have learned how to pour bullets from the Chinese, but can not satisfy the demand.

22: Wiedfeldt--16 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 177 Atayal

Formerly, the dekane [MC: hunting associations composed of several clans] were supposed to have hunted once a month, and thus to have observed a kind of closed season. Since the introduction of guns, they, like the savages, have cut loose, so that now they can only serve in the hunt once every quarter year. About a third of the hunters are armed with guns, and the others have bows and spears.

22: Wiedfeldt--17 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 311, 241, 177 Atayal

They do not select the fertile valleys, [MC: for purposes of cultivation] but the parcels of land which lie on the slopes and are easier to work. Even in the cases in which individual families have taken over from the Chinese the raising of rice, together with the proper tools, they pay no attention to the unfavorable results of experience and avoid the places that are best adapted and that have a good supply of water, for they lack the ability to stay at a piece of work, which is necessary in raising rice.

22: Wiedfeldt--17-18 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 177 Atayal

Some 30 to 40 are[MC: an are 0.02471 acre] are planted with millet, 20 are with mountain potatoes or sweet potatoes, and 10 are with bananas and beans. At harvest time, the woman picks the millet [18] and treads it out with her feet, or digs the potatoes with a stick. The activity of the Atayals in securing their food consists, thus, in burning off the stand of trees, sowing the seed, and garnering the fruit. Thus it is really only a process of facilitating the activity of nature. It seems questionable to me whether one may use Hahn's designation of hoe cultivation, since the tool which is characteristic of this type of cultivation, the hoe, is lacking. There are only isolated instances in which the Atayals have adopted the Chinese method of hoeing to a depth of 5 cm.

22: Wiedfeldt--18 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 231, 177, 262, 857 Atayal

If the Atayals may be said not to practice agriculture in the proper sense of the word, it may also be said that they do not do any cattle-farming. They have not domesticated any animal, nor do they need any, either for draught animals or for food. In the regions along the frontier, they have recently learned from the Chinese to raise the small black pigs, and they have also become acquainted with the Chinese method of keeping wild boars, according to which the family which raises boars gets a young pig from every litter. From the same source they have introduced the few chickens that they have, which are kept as a luxury... since they, like the Chinese, do not eat eggs. Even the dog, which one now finds in almost every hut, the Atayals are said to owe to the Chinese, and to get them from them by barter. The dog is not used for hunting nor for guarding the hut, but is a playmate of the children. It is apparently more attached to the woman, whom it helps to pass the time, than it is to the man.

22: Wiedfeldt--20 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 584, 161, 177 Atayal

In contrast to the Japanese and other Oriental peoples, marriage brokers are unknown among the Atayals. The young people become acquainted freely. The young man tries to win the favor of his girl by distinguishing himself in the skull hunt, as is shown by the Atayal love songs translated by Florenz. The Atayal belles are said to have become less exigent in this respect lately, and to be satisfied with the simple line of tattooing, as a result of the excess number of women after the homicidal fights with the Japanese. The lover does his own courting, or sends his father to the girl's father to set the price of the bride.

22: Wiedfeldt--21 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 584, 241, 585, 177 Atayal

If the son of a family wishes to marry, the family plants a larger piece of land with millet. At the time of the millet harvest, when there are enough provisions on hand for a year, the marriage takes place without any religious celebration. The head of the clan in which the couple will live in the future, and the members of the clan are invited to it. First they accompany the parents of the bridegroom to the bride's hut, where her parents serve them millet wine. Then all of them go to the new hut for the wedding feast, to which each guest contributes millet or millet wine... Recently they have begun to follow the Chinese custom of slaughtering a pig or killing a hen for the marriage feast. After a few hours, generally after a round dance has been danced and sung, the guests leave the hut wishing the couple many children.

22: Wiedfeldt--33 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 182 Atayal

In this modest study of the life and activity of the Atayals it has often been apparent that their needs and their means of satisfying them dovetail neatly... with their institutions and their customs. The Atayals have a narrow, but well integrated culture, and despite centuries of contact with the pervasive influence of a superior Chinese culture, they have up to now taken over from it only a few non-essentials. In all the essentials, however, unlike the other peoples of Formosa, they have remained aloof from its influence. That these peculiarly stratified cultural conditions, with which the Atayals still are perfectly satisfied today, existed before they had any contact with the Chinese, and the reasons why they have remained stationary so long can only be explained if we can bore a special hole in this petrified culture on another occasion. For our purposes it is sufficient to assume that Atayal culture is not an isolated pocket, but a stratum of considerable extent.

22: Wiedfeldt--35 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 463, 177, 231 Atayal

If the keeping of boars has recently produced a kind of side-line for individual Atayal families, this is a case of a recent innovation borrowed from Chinese economy.

For all settlements and compensations, for the purchase of land by the clans, and the reimbursement of the prophetess, the Atayals have a definite means of exchange which has the same value for all of the Atayal tribes: the materials [MC: which are set] with precious things, which are usually of three kinds. [MC: See page 12 in category 116 or 436 for description] The general acceptance of this indigenous money is based on its high value as a means of adornment, and its worth depends on the rareness of the materials and the care with which it has been made. [37] Ostensibly the Atayals have never wished to learn how to make these things. An old Taroku told me through the medium of the interpreter that they had gotten the precious materials long ago from white men, but the other Tarokus and all the Schimptonoffs denied the truth of this improbable tradition. If it were true, one would be forced to think of Spanish amulets. All the Atayals are agreed on this point, that they were once brought to them from outside, and that for a long time, there has been no new material. According to this, the same quantity of objects used as money, which presumably are fairly safe from the ravages of termites, has been in circulation among them since its introduction, and only the temporary owners change. This is very possible, in view of the fact that there is no economy based on earnings, and in view of the fact that there has been no increase in the population of the Atayals, as well as because of the stagnation of their culture. The objects used as money are the only possessions that do not follow their owner to the grave. Neither tribe nor clan has concerned itself with making of ornaments to be used as

money, nor have they attempted to fix the value of such ornaments, but nevertheless, they are the "legal" means by which all fines are paid. Together with language and customs, money is the only tangible bond that unifies all the tribes of the Atayals. The entire fortune of the Atayals consists of such money.

22: Wiedfeldt--47-48 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 177, 182, 619, 648, 721 Atayal

Every tribe is independent of the other tribes, or is even hostile to them. This attitude was adequate, as long as they did not have any dealings with opponents who were superior to them in strength, as is now the case with the Japanese, and it has naturally given the individual tribe and the chief of the tribe a greater measure of freedom and independence than if a portion of his rights and duties had been transferred to a superior institution. To create social organizations without subjection and on a footing of equal rights seems uncommonly difficult in political life as well as in cooperative labor; even for [48]primitive individuals it seems almost impossible, especially if one considers how much scientific effort and practical work has now been directed at this goal. Even under the pressure of the need to defend themselves against Japanese penetration, the Atayal tribes have not been able to unite. Only individual tribes have been able to unite for minor undertakings, and that not particularly satisfactorily. Nevertheless, some of the chiefs have not spared any effort to bring this about. In the tribes in the interior, the union of the clans in the tribe is so slight, that it is not sufficient to enable them to wage war as a joint effort. In their case, it might even be doubtful whether the social bond between the families by means of their clans in the tribe is so strong that they feel themselves to be members of the same tribe, or whether the tribe is only a union of the clan heads. The tribal feasts which are celebrated in common, the uniform and simple legal procedure of tribal decisions, and the fact that they actually seldom take the liberty to absent themselves from tribal wars, make the first assumption seem more probable,

especially since there is no doubt that this is the situation which prevails among the border tribes.

22: Wiedfeldt--49 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 562, 589, 593 Atayal

Since children are not counted, the Atayal family consists of two members, whose activities complement each other and are equally necessary to their existence. Hence the two have, so to speak, equal rights. In spite of this favorable position of the woman, it is the man who is the head of the family. He decides where they are to live; he pays any fines, or the price of a bride for his son; he alone has the right to participate in the activities of the higher social institutions, and he alone is obligated to do so. The deduction drawn by many advocates of women's rights, that equal economic services lead to equal political rights, meets an exception in the forests of Formosa. There is no such thing as an Atayal living alone, for even widowhood is only a transitory state, or was only a transitory state, until the recent wars brought about a shortage of men. Previously, all the Atayals were members of a family, without exception.

24: Anonymous--92 [5] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 212, 622, 695

The chiefs of one tribe are divided into the head chief and assistant chiefs. There are five or six of these in a community, depending upon the number of families. Trials in one tribe are held in the community house; minor feud are settled elsewhere. Among the clerks of court, there are some who know the Dutch writing; these are called chiao-ts'ê (registrars), and they count all those who go in or out. They dip a goose feather quill into the ink and they write across the page from left to right, instead of up and down. It is said that in recent times, the aborigines have adopted Chinese customs, and that private teachers are trying to teach the children Chinese literature, customs, and music.

25: Plaut-- 62 [2] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 583, 836 Pepo-hoan

In recent times the Peipo seem to have adopted the custom of marriage for the groom has to give the parents-in-law a certain price for their daughter; this may be an imitation of the Chinese custom. One branch of the Peipo, the Tatso, have the custom of giving their daughters a hut of their own when they are of marriageable age; the girls may receive their lovers here.

31: Hofmann--618-619 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 177, 291, 721 Tsou

During our expedition through the forests we occasionally saw some of the natives who had come here to hunt or merely from curiosity. [619] They are a shy people, short, with beautiful bright eyes; they are clothed in deerskins, leaving their arms and legs bare. These are members of the Tsou tribe. The word tsou is equivalent to human being, but they do not apply this term to any other people, neither the Malayans nor the Chinese and Japanese. They are, comparatively speaking, quite civilized; I was told that they had given up headhunting several centuries ago, but this is probably due to the influence of a foreign culture more than moral conviction. There has been no perceptible progress in their culture. Since they are numerically inferior to the other tribes and since they are constantly at war with the neighboring tribe, the Hosha, they are probably forced to accept the rule of the Japanese.

31: Hofmann--606 [2] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177

At the beginning of the seventeenth century Holland ruled the entire island, and the original inhabitants, the Malayans, inhabited all the island regions even down to the coast. The red barbarians from the west, as the Dutch and all other Europeans were and still are called by the Chinese, established excellent relations with the Malayan tribes, so that many of them were converted to Christianity and western civilization spread rapidly among them. This ought certainly to prove the adaptability of the aborigines to a new culture if they are treated well by the new regime. At the same time it is evident that the administration can win the confidence of the natives only if they intrude no further into their territory.

34: Del Re--29 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan--Aborigines
177, 797

"10: cpr. account of marriage customs etc. among Western tribes in VF, Pt. I, p. 8-10. This is of special interest as referring to a period in their social evolution anterior to their partial conversion to Christianity by Dutch missionaries in the South and Spanish Catholic fathers in the North, which temporarily affected their gradual sinicization. Among the former was the famous Georgius Candidius, who arrived in Formosa in 1627."

35: Collingwood--138 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 177 Sek-hoan

"These people [MLB: occupants of a village on the southern side of Sano Bay] are called by themselves Kibalan, and are, I believe, known by the Chinese as the tame aborigines, in contradistinction to the raw savages which dwell on the mountains, and on the east coast more particularly. These latter are at deadly enmity with the Chinese; while the Kibalan live in close proximity, though isolated from them. An officious half-caste among them informed us that there was another village close by; so, guided by him, we proceeded about a furlong along the beach, but were rather disgusted to find it a Chinese village, differing in no respect from other dirty Chinese villages."

35: Collingwood--140-141 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 344 Sek-hoan

"It [MLB: A Kibalan building apparently intended for defense against raids by mountain savages.] was in a very unfinished state, having at present no roof, and the walls not all completed; but the loopholes in the walls of the finished sides, as well as the accounts of the natives themselves, showed for what purpose it was intended. Men were engaged in sawing wood, and doing other business of construction.

By the side of this unfinished building was piled a great [141] heap of tiles of a dark colour, and of a most rubbishy brittle character, which they had purchased of the Chinese for roofing their fort. It seemed the greater pity, inasmuch as the rocks of Sano Bay are of a slaty character, with very distinct cleavage; and, close by the village, slates might have been obtained by a little trouble and intelligence, and these would have answered the purpose better than the wretched tiles they were about to use. A herd of water-buffalos, brought home late in the afternoon, repaired to a muddy pool in front of this building, and, with their characteristic timidity and stupidity, after eyeing us curiously for some time, they took alarm at some movement of one of our party, and bolting helter-skelter out of the mud, floundered over the heap of tiles, crushing numbers of them to pieces, and all but overset some of the native huts in their mad career. Besides buffalos, they have pigs (always black), Chinese dogs, Japanese cats with short twisted tails, and fowls."

37: Steere--302-303 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 162, 101, 177 Chin-hoan

"The second great division of the aborigines of Formosa is of those who are still wild and savage, and who inhabit the steep and rocky mountains running through the east part of the island. They occupy about half of the island, but their territory, where it has been visited, is steep and rocky. They are probably but little changed by [303] their intercourse with the Chinese, and there may be tribes who have not yet heard of the Chinese. The gradual advance of the Chinese in their search after timber and cultivable lands has no doubt caused wars among the different tribes, by crowding the more exposed tribes back upon those behind. They are divided up into many small tribes and nations, but their languages, as well as the general customs of tattooing and of cutting off and preserving the heads of their enemies, point to their descent from a common stock. They live much by hunting, but cultivate their steep hill-sides in millet, sweet potatoes, tobacco, etc. They are known by the general name of Che-whan--raw or unripe barbarians. Of those visited, I have called those living east of the Lek-whan settlement of Polisia, by the common name Che-whan, while the others are designated by their tribal names of Tsui-whan and Kale-whan."

37: Steere-303-304 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 162, 171, 177, 197, 212 Pepo-hoan

"The Pepo-whans of the south part of the island occupy a large tract of country to the east of Takow and Taiwanfu. They inhabit the villages of Kongana, Kamana, Alukang, Backsa, Lakuli, Baukimseng, etc., and they may number five thousand people, while there is a large colony formed from them on the east coast of the island. They no longer speak their aboriginal language, using Chinese instead, and the Fuh-kien dialect of this, though they are in contact with the Hak-kas on the south and south-east. I procured the two lists of words, [MLB: see category 194, pp. 332-333.] Nos. 4 and 5, from very old women, No. 4 at Kongana and No. 5 at Baukimseng. They both said that their language was very little spoken, even in the time of their parents, Chinese having already become general. The two lists are not identical, and seem to show that there has been a coalescing of tribes, the supposition being strengthened by differences in dress, etc., still apparent among them. I found in existence among them a number of old manuscripts in Roman letter, most of them apparently business papers, such as deeds and contracts. The Pepo-whans still preserve these among their valuables, though no one can read them. Some of them have Chinese pawnshop marks upon them. They seem to be indubitable proofs and remains of the Dutch occupation, when many teachers and missionaries were employed among the aborigines, and many thousands of them are said to have become Christians. When the Dutch were driven out, and the teachers and missionaries murdered by the Chinese, the whole work was supposed to have gone out in darkness, but these manuscripts seem to show that for

nearly a hundred and fifty years afterward, these poor people, oppressed and driven back to the hills by the Chinese, still kept enough of the knowledge taught them to read and write their [304] own language, and almost necessarily books and a knowledge of the Christian religion also. The manuscripts are in the ancient Pepo-whan language, spelled out in Roman letters, the dates generally being in Chinese, spelled out in the same way. Of the manuscripts procured, a few of them are of the reign of Young Ching, who reigned from 1723 to 1736; the most of them are of the reign of Keen Lung, who reigned from 1736 to 1796; and there is one of the reign of Kaking, who began to reign in 1796. Curiously, the oldest of the documents are dated eighty years after the Dutch were driven out. There may yet be found books and manuscripts giving some account of the struggles of this people with the Chinese."

37: Steere--306 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 797, 212 Sek-hoan

"The Lek-whan first learned something of Christianity a little over two years ago, when one of the tribe, an old hunter, strayed down to Taiwanfu, and into the missionary hospital there, where he was cured of an ulcer, and took back with him some idea of the Christian religion. This rapidly spread among the Lek-whans, and there are now four or five hundred church members among them, with many more who have thrown away their Chinese idols and their own idolatry, and have become regular attendants upon the Christian services. There are five or six chapels established among them, and the same number of schools, where the Romanized coloquial is taught them, and I saw many girls and boys who had learned to read and write it. This Romanized colloquial is Chinese of the Fuh Kien dialect, spelled out in Roman letters, with certain marks to show the Chinese accents. There is a lack of school-books, there being nothing but the new testament and a hymn book yet translated into this dialect,"

37: Steere--314-315 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines 1-2
116, 157, 177, 721

"The numbers of the savages of Formosa are hard to estimate. They are certainly more numerous than would be expected from the rough and mountainous character of the country they inhabit. They are weak and cowardly and badly armed, and their only safety is in [315] their woods and rocks, through and over which they make their way with almost the facility of wild beasts. Those who inhabit the sea coasts to the west are in the habit of plundering wrecked vessels and adding the heads of those of the crew who escape drowning to their treasures. They are said to be a fierce race and better armed than those of the mountains. The Chinese are slowly encroaching upon them where the soil and timber is worth possessing, but it will take centuries at the present rate for them to gain entire possession of the island, and it is probable that they never will conquer the whole island but will leave the most mountainous parts of the island in the hands of the savages, just as they have done in the interior of China itself, where there are many tribes of savages who do not recognize Chinese authority. There is probably no day of the year that passes without bloodshed along the savage border in Formosa. The savages are continually coming out and lying in wait for the Chinese, and the Chinese are in no way particular how they get the savages in their power and revenge themselves, but the Chinese government seems to have no concern in it. Those who live along the border understand that they do it at their peril, and that their death will not be noticed. The only means for defense or warning that we saw upon the border were undertaken by private individuals, and we saw one man,

37: Steere---314-315 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines-2
116, 157, 177, 721

whose lands and property were exposed, who was offering ten dollars per head for savages."

39: Wiedfeldt--11-12 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 436, 555, 622, 802 Atayal

The Atayals have a better idea of counting than they have of measuring time. Most of them, to be sure, can only count up to three or five, and that is sufficient for their purposes. Anyone who can count up to thirty is considered clever, and only a few individuals in the border tribes can count up to a hundred. Some of the Japanese maintain that a smart Atayal of the interior can count up to a thousand, but most people say that this is just talk. Most of the tribes are said to have names for numbers up to five only, and to count further by saying five and one, five and two, five and three, five and four. They have a special word for ten, and also for twenty and thirty. Some tribes are said to know more words for numbers, but they seem to have acquired them recently through Chinese or Japanese interpreters. Most of the clan heads can count this way up to twenty or thirty. If they need to go beyond that, they call in a wise man to help them, if fines are to be paid. They also have to count when they are fixing the price of the bride or the price for adopted children. They count 25 rokosch-kaha, or 250 yen, by putting down 20 rokosch-kaha, or garments with precious [12] materials, and 10 bintoan, breastpieces with precious materials. Presumably the calculation is made at once in this way, and the reduction to a common denominator is made by the interpreter. In tribes that have lived for years inside the Aitu line, and that accept Japanese money, families will sell a rokosch-kaha together with their profit on it for 13 or 15 yen, because they can conceive only of 13 as 1 rokosch-kaha plus 1 binrai, or 15 as 1 rokosch-kaha plus 1 bintoan, but they can not imagine 11, 12, or 14 yen.

40: Kirk--10-11 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177

" The aborigines of the plains may have become more or less accommodated to a civilized order, although it is too much to claim that they are already assimilated; it is also certainly true to say that the mountain savages, the Atayal, the Bunun, and the Paiwan, are still in a fighting mood. The Japanese lay the blame for this hostility upon the [11] Chinese, who started the trouble centuries ago when they first drove the primitives from their ancestral lands. According to the Japanese version,

> When these unscrupulous and utterly heartless creatures wished to obtain possession of the land belonging to the savages, they would give them a present promising to repeat the same each year. But once the savages had listened to their request and allowed them to use the land, the wily celestials collected other equally wily and unscrupulous men around them, and as soon as they felt themselves strong enough, repudiated all their promises and falling upon the too trustful savages, drove them off by force."

40: Kirk--11 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 609, 721

"It is only natural, say the Japanese, that the savages have developed an intense hatred for all foreigners and look upon Japanese, as well as Chinese, as deadly foes. So many Japanese, in the decade following 1895, lost their lives in a vain effort to subjugate the savages that some officials looked upon the campaign as hopeless and were in favor of giving the savages up as untamable wild men. Others held to the opinion that the aborigines would become civilized if they could be exposed to Japanese culture."

40: Kirk--17 [2] S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 157

"The government, likewise, hopes to make the aborigines more productive economically. Their temperament, like that of the North American Indians and so many other primitives, does not fit them to be factory workers, dock laborers, or members of construction gangs. They might be pressed into service as road or brush workers in the mountain passes."

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

INVESTIGATION OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CHALA'ABUS PAIWAN, PINGTUNG HSIEN

WEI HWEI-LIN
Translated by CHEN CHI-LU

This is a preliminary report of the field-works among the Chala'abus Paiwan of Pingtung Hsien. Members who participated were Messrs. Ho Ting-jui, Tang Mei-chun, Huang Hsün-ch'eng and the present writer.

Chala'abus village was chosen because: it is one of the important and old tribes of the Central Paiwan, and, is the center of the Chimo racial group of the Paiwan. We have noted after the field-session that the village had other significances: (1) The village consisted of twelve aristocratic households whether of the Chimo or of the Paiwan groups. The village organization was thus rather complicated in structure. (2) The dwelling houses and their arrangement had been well preserved in their original form. (3) Old traits in material culture, such as stone-engraving, wood-carving, designed weaving, and embroidery, had been also well kept. (4) The ethnic character is rather conservative. They have been comparatively less influenced by the Japanese and the Chinese as compared to the other groups of the tribe.

Because of the limitation of time and investigators, we emphasized tribal organization and chieftanship of the village. Our field-work was undertaken from Feb. 1 to 15. Because of the complexity of the culture, the investigation is by no means a complete one.

SETTLEMENT TYPE AND DUAL ORGANIZATION

Chala'abus village is situated on the south-eastern slope of Mt. Nan-ta-wu and stands on the northern bank of the Lai-i River or the Upper Lin-pien River. The population of Chala'abus village was 158 households and 948 persons at the time of our investigation. With the Exception of 12 households who had moved to Chinasan which lies between the village site and the plain below it and formed a separate hamlet by themselves, all the other 146 households were concentrated on the two adjacent fan-shaped slopes which in the present report are referred to as the village site. The village of Chala'abus hence consisted of two parts: the south and the north-parts. Each of them occupied a fan-shaped slope. The south-part was called Chinimoan or "the living land of the Chimo", and the north-part Pinaiwanan or "the living land of the Paiwan". The village site was on a slope of 30 degree to 45 degree inclination, with the width north to south 80 M., and length east to west 100 M. Dwelling houses, including floors and roofs, were built of slate. All these houses had small front yards paved with slate. A continuous row of houses of the same level had their yards adjacent on the same level; but communication between two rows of houses was by means of narrow stair-ways, because the front yards of houses in the rear row were always on a level with the roofs of the front houses. The village is thus in a terrace form. Chinimo consisted of eight terraces, and Pinaiwanan ten. Each terrace had a row

177,10 -----177.88

15: U. S. Navy--31 [4]
116, 511, 342, 361, 177.16
636.16

(no date) 1944

Formosan Aborigines
Japanese

"The aborigines along the southeast coast (the Paiwan and Ami tribes) live in fairly well constructed wooden or stone houses, set among meager patches and fields. They live on a primitive agricultural level, supplementing their livelihood by occasional hunting and fishing. The aborigines living farther back in the mountains or along the northeastern coast live in extreme poverty, hunting and fishing and scratching the earth in small patches near their hovels, which may be thatched huts having a single opening, or bamboo and cane cabins perched on stilts. Gradually the Japanese are forcing them to leave their solitary clearings and to gather in villages on level areas where they can learn to subsist on an agricultural economy of the poorest sort."

34: Del Re--15-16 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 161, 181, 625; 177.16 Yami

"On the whole they appear to have preserved almost intact their traditional social organization and religious beliefs which the Japanese not only did not attempt to modify, except in certain minor points, but took care that the natives should not be contaminated by outside contacts. These were infrequent, partly by reason of the island's inaccessibility, and partly because the authorities following a policy of segregation and in order to avoid exploitation, did not encourage casual visitors, whether Japanese or foreign. The same was true, to a lesser degree, in the case of the 'wild' savages of the interior. One of the results of this policy was an increase in the savage population. The relations between the latter and the specially chosen police force were on the whole very harmonious. Some of these policemen indeed, elected to make their permanent home among the savages [16] rather than be transferred elsewhere. The unfortunate Musha insurrection (1930) which cost the lives of a considerable number of Japanese women and children as well as policemen, and was ruthlessly suppressed, was due to the conduct of individual policemen and not the result of government policy."

4:Grajdanzev--37 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 721, 177.17 Japan
636.17

"But arms were necessary for the aborigines, not only to fight the Japanese, but also to hunt for food. The Japanese authorities may have been sincere in their desire 'to civilize' the savages, but civilization as they understood it meant the turning of hunters into cultivators of rice fields. From the warrior and hunter they were taking away his lands and his gun and were granting him a hen for egg production. Savage 'superstitions' were 'eradicated', but the savages were expected to believe in the Japanese goddess, Amaterasu Omikami, with her million deities and the Son of Heaven. The natural consequence of this 'civilizing' was war. This war with the savages cost 7,083 lives and more than 4,100 wounded. For the time being their resistance may be considered to have been overcome, but this has been due to overwhelming force, and not to the beneficent influence of rice fields and shinto shrines."

19: Guérin and Bernard--564-565 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 175, 177.17 China
636.17

If the Dutch had succeeded in establishing their dominion, it would have been an excellent thing for the Formosan tribes. Under the rule of these prudent and clever masters, the tribes would have been taught a relative kind of civilization; in any case, [565] they would have learned how to live and to prolong their race. But the Chinese invasion took all their possessions without teaching them anything in return, it has been pitiless from necessity for the island was small, and the invaders were both numerous and hungry. During Koxinka's time there was a general retreat of the poor tribes, and then since then events have proceeded at the slow tempo which still characterizes them today. The new-comers see that the valleys and the plain are occupied, and so they move toward the mountains and infringe upon the territory belonging to the tribes; they want to get land which may be transformed into rice fields, to seize a water-course that is essential for irrigation, to cultivate indigo, tobacco, and especially sweet potatoes on the slopes, and then they are anxious to exploit the forests, especially those containing camphor trees.

In the north the advance has been very slow; it may be that the aborigines have defended their land foot by foot, or it is possible that the Chinese have found a permanent source of wealth in the lands that they have annexed, and so they have not been spurred on to new conquests. In the south, on the other hand, there were some enormous

19: Guérin and Bernard--564-565 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines-2
116, 175, 177.17 China
636.17

deforestation projects at the start. This resulted in some vast empty regions which extend from the last Chinese farms to the frontiers of the aborigines. The tribes may have vegetated more safely on this account, but they have suffered from the difficulty of bartering their products, and this is caused by the absence of roads and the difficulty in navigating the rivers. This deforestation would have been more difficult if several tribes had not joined the conqueror, so there was no resistance whatsoever.

19: Guérin and Bernard--565-566 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177.17 China
636.17

The Chinese pioneer tries to obtain what he wants by buying it, and his favorite tactics are persuasion; but if he encounters an obstinate refusal, he will try other means, at his own risk of course. Thus wood choppers scatter [566] through the forests singly, or in small groups, and they are an easy prey to marauders. Sometimes the villages or wealthy proprietors do business with a part of the tribe, which comes to the neighborhood to protect the workers. These good services are rewarded by a subsidy (rice, wine, poultry, young pigs etc.) Finally, if the savages refuse to make any concessions, the Chinese proceed in a large group, and half of them keep armed guard over the safety of the workmen. In this way there is no danger, and if the Chinese adopted this procedure all the time, the tribes would be condemned to retreat a little more each day; but the Chinese only do this on rare occasions, and they do not like to use this method.

40: Kirk--16 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 182, 177.18

"With the introduction of agricultural pursuits and Japanese clothing, the primitives are going through a social revolution. In the mountain homes the women have done the weaving for centuries, and the native garments were all homespun. Now the Japanese are taking raw materials from the villagers, and the women who have been transplanted to the lowlands must learn new ways of doing things 'down on the farm.' "

40: Kirk-- 14 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 181, 224, 177.22 Japanese

"As the Japanese have carried away all firearms found in native villages, the savages have complained that this policy of confiscation has worked an unnecessary hardship on many nonhostile groups. Without guns, the aborigines are seriously handicapped in one of the absorbing interests of their lives--bird shooting and bear hunting.

The officials have replied that hunting, after all, is 'contrary to the principles of humanity' and that the primitive should turn their attention away from warlike pursuits to tilling the soil and raising corn and potatoes. The Japanese are hoping that this plan will force the savages to adopt 'gentler ways of living.' As late as 1934, headlines in the newspapers, such as 'Rebellious Savages Found-- Leader Anatex Killed by Machine Gun Fire,' would seem to indicate that the mountain tribes are by no means entirely subjugated."

21: Asai--7 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 231, 241, 243, 177.24 Japan
636.24

"Agriculture. Grow chiefly sweet potatoes, millet, peanuts. The fields are on the slopes of hills. They keep pigs—used originally for sacrifice. They grew dry field rice, but the Japanese started them growing wet rice. This was bad for their health as malaria would start up."

40: Kirk--11-12 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 311, 177.31 Japanese

"But the Japanese, above all, are looking for new food supplies. Overpopulated Nippon is anxious to bring the [12] savage-controlled lands of Formosa speedily under cultivation and the Nipponese cannot afford to stand by and wait patiently over the years for the policy of kindness and good will to work its slow way to the hearts and minds of the primitive peoples. It is far better, the rulers think, to gain complete control over the forbidden territory now by force of arms if necessary, and speed up the processes of accommodation and assimilation."

40: Kirk--15 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 166, 311, 361, 657, 177.36 Japanese

"The government of Formosa, as a part of ko-min-ka, has adopted a policy of removing the aborigines from their remote mountain homes to small parcels of land on the plains where they can be more easily watched and where they may acquire some skill as tillers of the soil. The agricultural possibilities of the lowlands include rice fields, livestock, sericulture, and sugar cane. Not infrequently, when the authorities have tried to pull a village up by the roots and transplant it at the foot of the mountain, the natives have openly rebelled against their rulers. But the soldiers quickly subdue the ringleaders and continue their policy of 'removals' according to schedule. The government errects huts on the plains, rent free, for the mountain families and prepares rice fields and vegetable plots, which are also free from tax. Free medical care is provided."

40: Kirk --13 [2] S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 437, 486, 712, 177.43 Japanese

"According to Japanese reports, these outposts of the Empire are no longer sorely needed. (2) The wire fence is not electrified, and the guard line is no longer heavily

2. Yosaburo Takekoshi, Japanese Rule in Formosa (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1907).

patrolled. Certain Japanese traders who obtain special permits may go beyond the guard lines and barter with the natives, but they must not bring into the mountains either arms or ammunition. Consequently, the only way the primitive can get modern weapons is by smuggling them into the hills."

40: Kirk-- 17-18 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 182, 511, 177.51 Ami

"The Ami to a greater extent than any other tribe have become assimilated or 'Japanized,' and it may be more than a coincidence that this East Coast group seems to have the best physique and enjoy the best health and cultural conditions.

The Ami have schools for their children, a young men's association for their youth, and credit organizations in several villages. Some of the more prosperous natives are in possession of more than ten ko, i. e. hectares, of cultivated fields, while others have annual incomes of one thousand yen or more in currency. Some villagers also [18] have postal savings. 'The Ami are now enjoying their life as subjects of the Japanese Empire,'

> With regard to the natives living on the West Coast plains it can be said that they have practically adopted the tenents of ordinary civilization. The aborigines in the mountainous districts still remain impervious to the light of civilization, and their districts, thus debarred from the beneficence of civilization, are still under special administrative control. In general, the aborigines are not put under legal control, and are accordingly living their own lives in consonance with their own traditional customs. At present, however, most of the aborigines have come to obey the order of supervisory police officials, and have in other ways become law-abiding people ready to

submit to administrative authority. (5)

5. Kokusai Nippon Kyokai, op. cit., pp. 7, 9-10.

4:Grajdanzev--35-36 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116. 563. 657. 727. 177.56 Japan
636.56

"After their occupation of the island the Japanese took over the Chinese 'reservation' system for the aborigines and the territory inhabited by the 'uncivilized' tribes was surrounded by military outposts, (1) which kept constant watch over the [36] natives.

> 1. The fact that these outposts were manned by Japanese policemen and not by soldiers makes little difference, because at their stage of cultural development the aborigines could hardly appreciate the difference.

The latter understood only that the Chinese system would continue a system of incessant warfare in which finally they were the losers and their best lands were taken away."

4:Grajdanzev--36 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 166, 563, 657, 728, 177.56 Japan
636.56

"It is difficult to say whether they understood, at the beginning, even the change of the sovereignty. In any case the war continued. During the first years of occupation the Japanese, preoccupied with the suppression of Chinese rebellions, tried only to keep them within the reservation, but later a complete program of subjugation was worked out. Its essential feature was the removal of aborigines to low lands in order that the mountainous areas which they had occupied might be exploited. These areas were rich (or at least were thought to be) in timber, minerals and agricultural potentialities, for a certain part of the area could be sown with tropical plants."

"When the Japanese, for administrative reasons, tried to induce the members of each village community to elect their own headsman, they met with such opposition that they were obliged to select and appoint one themselves. In practice, however, this Japanese appointee is not recognized by the natives as being anything more than a useful link between themselves and the authorities. (5) Furthermore, unlike what is the

5. cpr. VF, (Pt. I. p.5 f.)

case among other Formosan tribes, it was very difficult before the war to get youths to wear uniform or act as police assistants in spite of the considerable inducements offered them to enter government service."

39: Wiedfeldt--12-13 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 625, 723, 177.62 Atayal
636.62 Japanese

They succeeded over and over again in taking Japanese troups by surprise through their stratagems in battle, so that the Japanese army, which is admitted to be good, [13] proved to be of little use in these battles, and has been replaced by numerous policemen, who live there for long periods and are not so easily outwitted.

"At the close of 1934 there were 536 stations with 5,509 policemen, whose duty it is to maintain peace and order, to give industrial and agricultural training to the villagers, especially the young folks, and to provide medical care. The chief objectives of this work may be briefly summarized: an invigoration of the national spirit, diffusion of the national language, abolition of long-standing evil customs, cultivation of a love for labor, of thrift, and of settled farming. (3)

3. Kokusai Nippon Kyokai, A Record of Taiwan's Progress, Taihoku, p. 62.

This ambitious program to assimilate the aborigines of Formosa, 154,255 strong, is entrusted to a Bureau of Aborigines Affairs within the Police Affairs Section of the Government General. The work of the policeman among the Takasagozoku, as the primitives are called, is in many respects decidedly unique. This guardian of the law, to repeat, is teacher, counselor, financial and agricultural adviser, doctor, nurse, and religious leader all in one. To educate the savages in Japanese manners and ideals, to [15] destroy native customs, beliefs, and traditions, and to accelerate the process of ko-min-ka (i. e., change to Imperial people) are the policeman's main duties in each village. Notwithstanding certain difficulties which have arisen in the past because of unfortunate relations of some policemen with native women, high officials, report that the teacher-policemen, assigned to the special task of savage administration, seem to

have done creditable work.

In addition to schools, young men's associations are formed to stimulate an interest in the study of the Japanese language."

11: Haguenauer--30-31 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 871, 887, 177.65 Japanese
636.65

In spite of what other people may have said, the Japanese are treating the savages in a very kind fashion today. The civilizing work is proceeding methodically and patiently. Most of the savages who are over fifteen have not as yet understood the usefulness of the teaching, however, and only the little ones are beginning to become Japanese. The elders get bored, live an idle existence, and die of illness or alcohol. Their only delight is to borrow a gun from the police station occasionally, and to shoot three or four bullets at the wild boars or the deer. The bow and arrow are enough to kill birds. However, there are fortunately some exceptions, and the teachers have obtained some very brilliant results. I talked Japanese to some savages who had become thoroughly Japanese; they had diplomas from a normal school, and were working as assistants to directors of the posts or teachers. I repeat that the [31] Japanese are treating the natives in a very humanitarian manner. And this should be more successful than in other places, for here in these poor regions there is nothing to attract the large commercial companies, which are all too often the curse of colonies. The gentleness of the system may succeed in saving a part of the native population, possibly the Amis. The savages who will not be able to adapt themselves will probably disappear in the near future.

25: Plaut--32-33 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines-1-3
116, 647, 654, 721, 177.65 China
636.65

We should give particular attention to the viceroy's [EJ: i.e., the Chinese Viceroy Liu-Ming-Chuan, appointed in 1884] efforts to enclose the natives' territory. During the course of time the natives who lived in the western plain, the P'ing-pu-fan, Formosan Pe-po-huan "plain savages" and the Shou-fan, Formosan Sek-huan "ripe savages" or half-tamed ones, had been conquered or else they had retired into the inaccessible mountains of the eastern portion of the island, where the Sheng-fan, Formosan Tseng-huan, the most uncivilized tribes have lived in a state of complete independence for a long time. There was a continual battle between the settlers and the mountain savages; the settlers were eager to push their boundaries farther into the native domain, while the natives used every opportunity to attack isolated settlers or unprotected villages, and in this way they got their revenge and secured some more Chinese heads. Prior to the time of Liu-Ming-Chuan, the Governors had not followed any definite plan with regard to the savages, and in general they allowed the settlers to defend themselves as well as they could; the viceroy undertook to find a means of overcoming this handicap and he resolved to civilize the natives. For this purpose he established the "Training and Development Bureau", Fu-k'en-chu, (Japanese Bu-kon-kyoku). He had set himself the enormous task of educating the savages and of making the land arable.

To fulfill this plan, he established three principal bureaus in Ta-ku-kuan, Tung-shi-chiao and Pei-nan [33] and then had twelve branch offices, one in each of the Hsien

cities, I-lan, Yün-lin, Pu-li-she and Lien-hua-chiang, while the twelve others were in Su-ao, A-li, San-chiao-yung, Wu-chi-shan, Shuang-hsi, T'ien-wei, Hsien-ts'ai-weng, Ta-hu, Fang-liao, Nan-hu, Shui-chang-jung, and Hsiu-ku-luan. To attract settlers from the mainland, he set up settler recruiting bureaus in Amoi, Swatow and Hongkong.

The personnel of the bureaus consisted of 1 commisioner, 3 clerks, 5 policemen, 2 interpreters, 1 cook and 1 native maid. Then there was also 1 doctor and 1 barber. All of these employees were well paid: the commissioner, who was the superintendent of the branch office, received 30-80 taels a month, each clerk had 14-25, a policeman had 6-7, the first interpreter 20, the second 14-15, the maid 7, the cook 4-5 taels, and they all received free board. The interpreters had the hardest task, for they had to work with the savages and make them in favor of the Government's projects. The yearly expenditures of a branch office averaged about 6000 taels, and then in addition to that there was the food and equipment for the protecting troops. All of these expenses were defrayed by the revenue from the camphor monopoly.

As the savages are on a low cultural plane, it was necessary to be sparing with proofs of their good intentions, for it would have been an easy matter to have spoiled them. Accordingly interpreters went to them with gifts, and tried to persuade them to surrender; then at the same time the natives saw the protecting troops at frequent intervals, so any idea of insubordination was nipped in the bud. Those who showed their readiness

to collaborate were given rice, grain, meat, salt and vegetables; every month the barber paid them a visit, and at the end of the year they received clothing, oxen, and sows. Many of the natives entered the Chinese service as fire watchers and interpreters, in return for a monthly compensation, and then fathers sent their children to the school which was established for them in front of the south gate of T'ai-pei; there they received instruction in the dialect of the natives as well as in Classical Chinese.

As the viceroy realized that one of the chief means of civilizing wild peoples is to bring them into contact with educated people, he had the troops build an 80 kilometer road from Chang-hua diagonally across the mountain to Shui-wei on the east coast; the result was that many of the inhabitants of the interior and the eastern part of the island surrendered, they adopted the Manchu queue, and began to till the soil.

25: Plaut--33-34 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 436, 609, 656, 177.65 China
636.65

The stations of the Training and Development Bureau [EJ: established by the Chinese in 1884 to facilitate the acculturation of the Formosan natives] did not have a conspicuous success. Part of the blame may be laid on the changeable and distrusting nature of the savages, but the greed of the Chinese settlers and officials was the principal cause of the failure. For example, the natives were accustomed to bring their products into the settlements and to exchange them for wares which they [34] used for farming or for decoration. But the Chinese, who were only thinking about the momentary profit and not about the consequences, also sold them weapons. Finally the Government forbade any unrestricted trade with the savages, and it set up a market in each bureau, and said that it was the only place where barter should be permitted. However, the officials, who were entrusted to superintend this, were not reliable. They used their position for personal profit, and they permitted the natives to be cheated. It is not surprising, therefore, that this aroused the old ire among the savages, and that they used every opportunity to gain revenge by beheading some of the Chinese.

25: Plaut--34 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 654, 177.65 China
636.65

To be just to Liu-Ming-Chuan's attempts, we must remember that his civilizing activities only lasted for six years, [EJ: Liu-Ming-Chuan was Chinese Viceroy of Formosa from 1884 to 1891] and that is much too short a space of time to remedy some deep-rooted evils. It is true that he made the mistake of going too rapidly, and of trying to do too many things at once. Finally he was no longer able to pay the expenses for his undertakings, in spite of the increased taxes, and in 1891 he resigned his post. His successor was more economical, but he did not have time to accomplish very much, for the days of Chinese rule on Formosa were already numbered.

39: Wiedfeldt--16 [2] F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 153, 811, 177.65 Atayal
636.65 Japanese

The capacity of the Atayals to grasp something that has been told them is also limited. If one attempts to tell them something through the medium of an interpreter, one runs up against a complete lack of comprehension, even if it is only a question of their forming a new concept out of elements already known to them. They do not even have an idea of the power of the Japanese, of which they should have been clearly conscious in view of the bloody battles that they have had with them. In order to make them aware of this, and to scare them off from making further attacks, the Japanese have very cleverly taken a number of highly respected Atayals to Tokyo every year at the expense of the state, so that they could get an idea there by what they themselves could see of the power and the resources of Japan, and could then tell the members of their tribe. The sum total of all this is that the Atayals do not completely lack imagination...but it has been employed only in a few fields, and has not been very productive even in these...

40: Kirk--12 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 712, 725, 563, 177.71 Japanese

"As one result of this aggressive policy, the Japanese have built a 'guard line' by cutting a wide path along the crest of mountains and thus surrounding the districts in which the 'wild men' dwell. Beyond this picket line near the districts most thickly populated with savage tribes, the jungle is cleared for a distance of one hundred to three hundred feet. This open space makes it possible to detect the approach of hostile bands and gives the Japanese soldiers a good firing range. Guardhouses of wood, bamboo, earth, or stone are built at strategic points with loopholes in the walls. These tiny fortifications are further protected by wooden barricades and entrenchments. Wire fences and entanglements, charged with electricity, have encircled some districts. Mines have sometimes been sunk, grenades have been thrown during a battle, and three-inch guns have been used with telling effect. One gun, carried up steep slopes and mounted at a commanding point, will hold back many savage warriors. (1)"

1. Report on the Control of the Aborigines, Bureau of Aboriginal Affairs, Taihoku, 1911.

4:Grajdanzev--36-37 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 175, 721, 177.72 Japan
636.72

"The process of subjugation proved difficult because the terrain was mountainous and covered with tropical jungles. Many times the regular army detachments were sent into the territory of the savages and returned without achieving anything; they lost men in ambushes and from illness, and in some cases the imperial troops were actually defeated by the savages, who knew the terrain perfectly. It became clear to the authorities that the aborigines could not be conquered by a frontal assault, and so they began a constant siege. No weapon was left unused in the struggle. Barbed wire for hundreds of miles surrounded the savages and, in the regions of the most 'difficult' aborigines, electric current was used to make the barbed wire fatal. But the savages soon discovered ways of overcoming this difficulty. After the World War bombing from airplanes was used against them, but without apparent success. Their arms were confiscated, but by paying exorbitant prices they managed to buy new ones from Chinese smugglers. Hatred between tribes was exploited and Japanese policemen would return in company with triumphant tribesmen who were carrying the heads of defeated enemies. Nevertheless, this policy failed, (1) and the reason for its failure was simple; the [37] Japanese could not or

1. Owen Rutter, a British colonial administrator, who is opposed to the 'pampering of the native' and who is a partisan of 'justice and firmness' in dealings with

> the [37] natives, writes: 'I say that the Japanese have failed utterly, in their endeavors to solve the important question of bringing the natives under their influence.' Through Formosa, p. 233.

would not understand savages who were unwilling to give up their lands. Governor-General Sakuma, for example, starting his campaign in 1909 to make the savages a 'law-abiding people'—though they were quite law-abiding from their own point of view—compelled them to surrender their arms and had those who refused 'chastised'. "

4: Grajdanzev--37-38 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 659, 728, 177.72 Japan
636.72

"Twenty thousand men with primitive tribal organization and primitive weapons could not resist indefinitely the machinery of a modern state with all its attributes. But the submission was unwilling and as late as October 1930, aborigines, several thousand strong, burnt the police stations in the district of Musha, seized arms, and occupied the town. In order to suppress this rebellion the Japanese were compelled to use a considerable military force. (1) The suppression cost the Japanese

1. 'October 1930' is given by the Japan Year Book, 1939-40; in the 1933 edition it is said that the revolt took place 'in the summer of 1929.' Which is the truth we do not know, for the affair was not made public until long after it took place. Since 1929 a sum of ¥ 60,000 has been spent annually on special guards in Musha district.

160 lives and the incident shows that if the aborigines [38] should see a favorable opportunity, further trouble may follow. Now a force of 5,000 guards 90,000 aborigines, of which probably not more than 20,000 are mature men, disarmed and separated into their various tribal units by government lines."

6: Kirchhoff--31 [4] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
116, 609, 721, 177.72 China
636.72

At times the Chinese do not fear, even today, to use open force, if it is a matter of forcing the Pepo-huan off better soil. This was done with the natives inhabiting the north of the island, who are called Kabaran. They finally withdrew to the other side of the mountains, to the fruitful plain of Komalan (more popularly, Kapsulan), which stretches out on the eastern coast of North Formosa as far as Su-aô; there 4,000 of them are said to live in flourishing settlements and to extend even farther south along the coast as far as Hua-lien. Unfortunately they are constantly at odds with each other, so that there can be no question of a united opposition against the Chinese. Nor can they take flight into the neighboring mountains on the west; for there they would be met by the free Tsche-huan, who hate them as renegades.

6: Kirchhoff--31 [5] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 563, 177.72 China
636.72

The geographical distribution of Chinese, Pepo-huan and Tsche-huan is not so simple as often described: in the plain, the hilly country and the mountains, respectively. The only thing right about this is the fact that the free savages live alone in the mountains, protected by the forests. The Chinese push on step by step even into the mountains of the interior and fell the forests.

40: Kirk-- 12-13 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborogines
116, 726, 177.72 Japanese

"The repeated campaigns to subdue the savages by force of arms in the years following 1895 met with slight success. The Japanese soldiers knew so little about the geography of the country and were so poorly equipped to deal with the guerilla warfare of the savages that they not only were defeated again and again but were often forced to beat a disorderly retreat and leave their weapons behind to fall into the hands of the enemy. The Japanese had to [13] grope through creeping vines and underbrush because they did not know the trails, while the savages could run like deer and climb like monkeys.

The Japanese gradually learned through costly experience how to stretch out and defend the guard line successfully."

40: Kirk--17 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 788, 177.78

"The worship of the shrine in every household is a part of the larger program to transform 'wild savages' into good imperialistic Japanese."

21: Asai--6 [5] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 872, 882, 177.87 Japan
636.87

"After the Japanese came in, the children were sent to school for four years and learned Japanese. The Japanese put the Formosans on reservations and restricted the number of visitors and also restricted the movements of the Formosans. At present young men's clubs are strongest among the Tsou."

7: Joest--62 [7] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 178, 787, 791 Chin-hoan

In former times soothsayers stayed in the public sleeping and assembly houses when they were consulted and wore no clothes. Today, however, they wear their holiday attire and all their ornaments and stay on a platform which usually consists of a few boards placed over a barrel. The women and girls of the village form a circle around her and join hands; they go around the platform, first slowly, and then faster and faster, and sing at the same time. The soothsayer begins to dance, slowly at first and gradually faster and more violently until she is attacked by a fit and falls off the platform. Then they catch her and carry her to the nearest hut where they try to make out, from her confused ravings, what the oracle signifies. This is often employed for less important occasions, to find out whether it will rain or whether it is time to cultivate the fields.

16: Müller--235 [7] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 372, 178

For firemaking the natives for the most part use firestone, but they also have matches which they obtain through barter. The aborigines on Botel Tobago obtain fire by rubbing two sticks of wood together. This method was used on the main island in former times and among the Tsarisen and Vonum tribes is still employed today for certain religious festivals, especially for lighting the sacred flame. Many of the Tsarisen and Paiwan aborigines also use a fire drill.

31; Hofmann--621 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 178, 609, 721 Tsou

It is strange that, although the Tsou tribe supposedly has given up headhunting long ago, the natives preserve large numbers of human heads in nets; in Tappan I saw about 140 of these. Judging from their age and condition I would say that this tribe practiced headhunting until quite recently; I believe they have ceased to engage in this sport only from motives of self-preservation and from fear of the Chinese and Japanese. The respect with which they treat these trophies of war indicates that, if a war breaks out again, this old custom will be revived. The Tsou are the enemies of the neighboring tribe, the Hosha (cf. Fig. 6) these are a more savage people and I was not able for that reason to observe their villages as much as those of the Tsou. The presence of the Chinese and Japanese, and the guards posted along the boundaries of the latter, prevents warfare between these two tribes. I learned that the reason for the feud is that both claim the same hunting grounds.

34: Del Re--23 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan--Aborigines
116, 625, 437, 178, 415, 396, 531 Yami

"Besides acting as schoolmasters and, when necessary, as doctors, the police control (as in the case of other tribes) the exchange of local products against implements imported from Formosa, which are replacing the primitive stone and shell ones used for cultivating the land, or for working wood out of which they make their domestic utensils, some of which are very handsomely carved. The Yami are particularly skilful in building canoes, no less graceful than swift and seaworthy, decorated with elaborate designs and painted sometimes in red, white and black."

40: Kirk--11 [2] S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 178

"In 1903, according to Takekoshi, several savage girls were taken to the Domestic Exhibition at Osaka. After a few months stay in Japan, they had changed their manners and appearance so much that they looked at first glance like Japanese girls. When they returned home, their mothers did not approve of the way in which they wore their hair, Japanese fashion of course, and angrily declared that the foreign styles, including facial powder and rouge, were most unbecoming. The girls laughed and replied, 'You only say so because you are savages.' The Japanese have often used this incident to prove that the aborigines may be tamed and 'Japanized.'"

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

purified through fasting, symbolical washing of hands, and shamanistic expulsion of disease. The structure of the Ami universe is at this time stated as a hierarchy in which each rank of seniority hands down precepts to be obeyed by the next lower rank [see Figure 2]. At the top level, for among the Ami the spiritual world is continuous with the material, are the sun goddess, the moon god, and *maratau*, the tutelary deity who instructed men in the order of things on earth. With them are the *tatakusan*, the ancestral gods who are to be respected as elders and whose way of life is to be followed. Under these were the *kakita:n*, the priestly families who carried out the will of the gods in this world. The rest of the Ami were arranged by seniority into a system of age-grades, each with its chosen monitor, and each harkening to the instructions passed down from the next senior age-grade. Acting as intermediaries between the priests and the laity were the *saparaŋau*, leaders of proven ability selected from the ranks of the elder grades. This structure was annually affirmed symbolically in the *irisiŋ*, and it clear that it was basically gerontocratic in nature, in that the real power was in the hands of old men.

All this is of course now passing away, and element after element of the old Ami way of life is either disappearing or being reinterpreted to meet new conditions. In the realm of social organization, for instance, there is a definite drift in Tavarong and other Ami areas towards patrilineal descent and neolocality, a change fostered by Japanese and Chinese pressure. Ami religion is fast changing, and the *kakita:n* house itself is an unused, half-forgotten relic of interest primarily only to ethnographers. Shamanism for some as yet unexplaind reason has persisted; this is a field for further study.

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4:Grajdanzev--35 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 174, 181, 609

"The aborigines formerly occupied the whole island, but in more than three hundred years of ceaseless war they were driven from the best lands. It is no wonder that they began to look on newcomers with suspicion and even hatred. But all who have had closer contact with them emphasize their good nature, open-heartedness, and other qualities which do not warrant the treatment they received first from the Chinese and later, from the Japanese."

7: Joest--63 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 181, 609, 857 Chin-hoan

The character of the Chinwans has been described by all who have come into contact with them as good-natured and unassuming; they have never killed a white man who has approached them in good faith. Although my appearance aroused great curiosity, I was never annoyed by the natives here as I had been among the Hakkas or the Chinese. While the children of the latter always ran away from me and cried, the children of the Chinwans were easily persuaded to make friends with me.

They did, it is true, touch me or pull my beard. One of the natives thought that the fork I had brought with me was a comb and used it to scratch the lice from his body, and sometimes the natives rubbed my body with a wet finger to make sure that this was my natural color, but there was always one among them who had known me longer and told the rest to desist, lecturing them about me...

11: Haguenauer--42 [2] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 181, 186, 577, 609 Atayal

The Tayal race is a very proud one, much more so than you would suspect. It is industrious, but only in so far as the task concerns the whole community. The men are calm, but if they get angry nothing can stop them. An unbounded curiosity and feeling of suspicion with regard to all strangers are two more traits of the Tayal mentality. He has full confidence in his comrades, but as soon as he is with people of another tribe, he becomes suspicious and reserved. The Tayal have some fine virtues too; they have a highly developed sense of honor, are not greedy, do not steal and rarely tell lies.

14: Tamai--96 [19] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 181, 577 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwans are a bold and courageous people; they always keep their promises and never cheat another man.

20: Alvarez--255 [2] (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 131, 181, 101 Ami

"The fertile eastern sea-shores, about forty leagues in extent, form the home of the Amis. The latter generally are of friendly manners and peaceful customs. This section of the island is still to be invaded by the Chinese and Japanese."

20: Alvarez--257 [4] (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 181, 884, 583, 721

"All the savages are extremely warlike, bold and fanatic of unbounded freedom. They were always disposed to take up arms in defence of their liberty. The bride price is a head of an enemy (head hunters), which at the same time is a proof that the youth has become man. When he has brought home the head of his first slain enemy, the young man thereafter is regarded as adult."

20: Alvarez--257 [6] (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 181

"The Amis and Pyuma are a quiet and peaceful people. The same may be stated of the tribes called Sick-huan, viz., mature savages, by the Chinese, in opposition to the Che-huan, viz., green, not yet mature savages, of the central range."

20: Alvarez--257-258
116, 181, 609

(no date) 1927

Formosan Aborigines
Paiwan

"Of a ferocious nature are also the Paiwan, who are exceedingly averse [258] to any kind of trade with their neighbours. The Paiwan are revengeful in the highest degree."

22: Wiedfeldt--39 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 156, 181, 241, 433 Atayal

Atayal domestic economy produces no surplus which they could give up. Every family plants just as much land as it needs for its own maintenance. Besides, who would take a surplus off their hands, since every family produces the same thing and has enough for itself? The impulse to make a profit, which now dominates our whole life, is completely lacking....Furthermore, the Atayals have no competition, that motive power of economic life. Indeed, the effort to produce more than the other fellow and thus to distinguish oneself may be seen only in the skull hunt. Finally, they do not know how to aim at the greatest possible production with the smallest possible expenditure of strength.

31. Hofmann--622 [2] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 181, 609 Tsou

On the whole the aborigines are good-natured, sociable, and gay. When they are together indoors they talk a great deal and they love to sing and to make noise. When they are outside, however, they are shy and their behavior toward strangers, even toward Malayans of another tribe, is modest and reserved.

31: Hofmann--625 [3] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 181, 774, 802 Tsou

The aborigines believe in a life after death. They believe that everyone has two souls; one of these remains in the house after death, while the other lives in the jungles on Arisan. The natives therefore enter this region with all signs of awe and reverence. They seem to be an intelligent people on the whole; one indication of this is that they have terms for high numbers such as hundred, thousand, and million. There would be no difficulties in giving them instruction except that they value their freedom and their own customs above everything else and thus fear and avoid the fetters of civilization.

31: Hofmann--625-626 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 181, 555, 609 Tsou

On our way back from the Arisan Mountain to Kagi a native, an older man, carried our baggage all the way. This is not the custom ordinarily; most of the natives offer their services only within their own region and return home as soon as they see the first houses of a Chinese settlement. In this case, however, the man wanted to call for his son, a good-for-nothing who had left the leisure of his native village in order to obtain work in Kagi. In another case, a young man had made friends with the Japanese and joined the police force. His work was very satisfactory; [626] he learned to read and write Japanese. After two years, however, he let himself be persuaded by the other members of his tribe to leave the police force and was chosen as a local chief. Thus, although relations between the Japanese and the Tsou natives are fairly good, there is a tendency among the latter to live apart and to retain their freedom. It is only natural that the Japanese scheme for exploiting the island, including the forests sacred to the natives as well as game, is not favored by the natives. While on the surface the Tsou natives now seem by no means hostile to the Japanese, it is not certain that these peaceful conditions will prevail in the future; it is possible that the Tsou natives may ally themselves with the other Malayan tribes against the foreign conquerors. It must be emphasized, however, that these are not bloodthirsty savages; rather they have the mentality of children and are easily swayed by an impulse of the moment. Their gay, happy mood may change in a moment to fear and distrust; then they cry like children. These sudden changes in temperament are frightening to a stranger.

34: Del Re--15-16 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 161, 181, 625, 177.16 Yami

"On the whole they appear to have preserved almost intact their traditional social organization and religious beliefs which the Japanese not only did not attempt to modify, except in certain minor points, but took care that the natives should not be contaminated by outside contacts. These were infrequent, partly by reason of the island's inaccessibility, and partly because the authorities following a policy of segregation and in order to avoid exploitation, did not encourage casual visitors, whether Japanese or foreign. The same was true, to a lesser degree, in the case of the 'wild' savages of the interior. One of the results of this policy was an increase in the savage population. The relations between the latter and the specially chosen police force were on the whole very harmonious. Some of these policemen indeed, elected to make their permanent home among the savages [16] rather than be transferred elsewhere. The unfortunate Musha insurrection (1930) which cost the lives of a considerable number of Japanese women and children as well as policemen, and was ruthlessly suppressed, was due to the conduct of individual policemen and not the result of government policy."

34: Del Re--16 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 181, 609, 674, 829 Yami

"According to the reports published by scientific expeditions, the Yami live in a kind of idyllic natural state which might, indeed, have served as model for some of the 'naturist' utopias beloved of XVIIIth century philosophers, the essential features of which may be seen practised on Botel-Tobago. To give one instance. As far back as the oldest inhabitant is able to recollect, or at least since forty years ago when the Japanese first stationed a couple of policemen on the island, there has been no record of a single case of theft or violence among the natives. The wholesale execution of the crew of an American vessel wrecked there a few years previously of whom only two managed to escape, can hardly be considered as an exception since it appears to have been due to ritual reasons. Apart from the naturally peaceful temper of the Yami, the absence of crime is attributable less to the fact that these and other misdemeanours such as adultery are considered as crimes in themselves or as immoral actions, than to the fact that the tribe looks upon them as undesirable."

37: Steere--306 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 181, 224, 411, 226 Sek-hoan

"They are great lovers of hunting and fishing, and are very skillful in making snares for deer and other kinds of game. They generally hunt and fish in large bands, for the sake of protection from the savages, from whom they are always liable to attack. They frequently surround a space of country and drive the deer and other game through a ravine or some other place, when they are easily shot. They use fire-locks quite generally for defense and for hunting, though some of the poorer ones still carry bows and arrows, and many go to their fields or from one village to another armed with lances. They have a curious but very effectual way of fishing the shallow streams that flow through their country, this by damming them and turning the water to one side of the channel, leaving most of the bed of the stream dry, and the fish and shrimps in little pools and under rocks, where they are easily captured."

39: Wiedfeldt--22-23 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 133, 181, 501 Atayal

The Atayals live on an island but they are not a seafaring people. On the eastern coast of Formosa, where they have settled right down to the shore, navigation is so difficult, even for modern coastal steamers, as a result of an exceptionally strong current, [23] that getting from a boat to a ship even in good weather is sure to mean a ducking, as I know from experience. In bad weather it is impossible to get from a boat to a ship, or vice versa...For the Atayals, who could make only the simplest kind of boats with their few tools, such as hollowed-out tree trunks, or rafts, no navigation is possible here.

40: Kirk-- 14 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 181, 224, 177.22 Japanese

"As the Japanese have carried away all firearms found in native villages, the savages have complained that this policy of confiscation has worked an unnecessary hardship on many nonhostile groups. Without guns, the aborigines are seriously handicapped in one of the absorbing interests of their lives--bird shooting and bear hunting.

The officials have replied that hunting, after all, is 'contrary to the principles of humanity' and that the primitive should turn their attention away from warlike pursuits to tilling the soil and raising corn and potatoes. The Japanese are hoping that this plan will force the savages to adopt 'gentler ways of living.' As late as 1934, headlines in the newspapers, such as 'Rebellious Savages Found-- Leader Anatex Killed by Machine Gun Fire,' would seem to indicate that the mountain tribes are by no means entirely subjugated."

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

INVESTIGATION OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CHALA'ABUS PAIWAN, PINGTUNG HSIEN

WEI HWEI-LIN
Translated by CHEN CHI-LU

121 70 This is a preliminary report of the field-works among the Chala'abus Paiwan of Pingtung Hsien. Members who participated were Messrs. Ho Ting-jui, Tang Mei-chun, Huang Hsün-ch'eng and the present writer.

Chala'abus village was chosen because: it is one of the important and old tribes of [62] the Central Paiwan, and, is the center of the Chimo racial group of the Paiwan. We have noted after the field-session that the village had other significances: (1) The village consisted of twelve aristocratic households whether of the Chimo or of the [34] Paiwan groups. The village organization was thus rather complicated in structure. (2) The dwelling houses and their arrangement had been well preserved in their original form. (3) Old traits in material culture, such as stone-engraving, wood-carving, [81] designed weaving, and embroidery, had been also well kept. (4) The ethnic character [77] is rather conservative. They have been comparatively less influenced by the Japanese and the Chinese as compared to the other groups of the tribe.

Because of the limitation of time and investigators, we emphasized tribal organization and chieftanship of the village. Our field-work was undertaken from Feb. 1 to 15. Because of the complexity of the culture, the investigation is by no means a complete one.

SETTLEMENT TYPE AND DUAL ORGANIZATION

[131] Chala'abus village is situated on the south-eastern slope of Mt. Nan-ta-wu and stands on the northern bank of the Lai-i River or the Upper Lin-pien River. The 101 population of Chala'abus village was 158 households and 948 persons at the time of 621 our investigation. With the Exception of 12 households who had moved to Chinasan 361 which lies between the village site and the plain below it and formed a separate hamlet by themselves, all the other 146 households were concentrated on the two adjacent fan-shaped slopes which in the present report are referred to as the village site. The village of Chala'abus hence consisted of two parts: the south and the north-parts. Each of them occupied a fan-shaped slope. The south-part was called Chinimoan or "the living land of the Chimo", and the north-part Pinaiwanan or "the living land of the Paiwan". The village site was on a slope of 30 degree to 45 degree inclination, [342] with the width north to south 80 M., and length east to west 100 M. Dwelling houses, including floors and roofs, were built of slate. All these houses had small front yards 361 paved with slate. A continuous row of houses of the same level had their yards adja- 621 cent on the same level; but communication between two rows of houses was by means of narrow stair-ways, because the front yards of houses in the rear row were always on a level with the roofs of the front houses. The village is thus in a terrace form. Chinim[illegible] consisted of eight terraces, and Pinaiwanan ten. Each terrace had a row

22: Wiedfeldt--8 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 182, 582, 619 Atayal

As things are now, one can become well acquainted only with the tribes living on the frontier. Nevertheless, as far as I have been able to observe, the members of other tribes resemble them in stature, clothing and tattooing, and are said to resemble them also in mode of life and customs. Just as all the Atayal tribes are distinguished as a unit from the other savages of Formosa because they do not have the common dormitory for the young men, or because they are not acquainted with the custom of chewing betel, etc., so they are united by similar customs. They have the same type of money, they can understand each other, although their language shows dialect variations, since it does not have the benefit of the restraining influence of a written form. Neighboring tribes of the Atayals intermarry and have occasionally undertaken joint military expeditions, two things which are unheard of between branches of different tribes. Conditions among the Schimptonoff and the Taroku may hence be taken as typical of the Atayals, especially since both tribes, in spite of their frontier location, have lost very little of their tribal peculiarities, and have lost that little very recently, apparently.

22: Wiedfeldt--33 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 182 Atayal

In this modest study of the life and activity of the Atayals it has often been apparent that their needs and their means of satisfying them dovetail neatly... with their institutions and their customs. The Atayals have a narrow, but well integrated culture, and despite centuries of contact with the pervasive influence of a superior Chinese culture, they have up to now taken over from it only a few non-essentials. In all the essentials, however, unlike the other peoples of Formosa, they have remained aloof from its influence. That these peculiarly stratified cultural conditions, with which the Atayals still are perfectly satisfied today, existed before they had any contact with the Chinese, and the reasons why they have remained stationary so long can only be explained if we can bore a special hole in this petrified culture on another occasion. For our purposes it is sufficient to assume that Atayal culture is not an isolated pocket, but a stratum of considerable extent.

22: Wiedfeldt--37 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
182 Atayal

Together with language and customs, money [MC: ornamented cloth used as money] is the only tangible bond that unifies all the tribes of the Atayals.

Every tribe is independent of the other tribes, or is even hostile to them. This attitude was adequate, as long as they did not have any dealings with opponents who were superior to them in strength, as is now the case with the Japanese, and it has naturally given the individual tribe and the chief of the tribe a greater measure of freedom and independence than if a portion of his rights and duties had been transferred to a superior institution. To create social organizations without subjection and on a footing of equal rights seems uncommonly difficult in political life as well as in cooperative labor; even for [48]primitive individuals it seems almost impossible, especially if one considers how much scientific effort and practical work has now been directed at this goal. Even under the pressure of the need to defend themselves against Japanese penetration, the Atayal tribes have not been able to unite. Only individual tribes have been able to unite for minor undertakings, and that not particularly satisfactorily. Nevertheless, some of the chiefs have not spared any effort to bring this about. In the tribes in the interior, the union of the clans in the tribe is so slight, that it is not sufficient to enable them to wage war as a joint effort. In their case, it might even be doubtful whether the social bond between the families by means of their clans in the tribe is so strong that they feel themselves to be members of the same tribe, or whether the tribe is only a union of the clan heads. The tribal feasts which are celebrated in common, the uniform and simple legal procedure of tribal decisions, and the fact that they actually seldom take the liberty to absent themselves from tribal wars, make the first assumption seem more probable,

especially since there is no doubt that this is the situation which prevails among the border tribes.

22: Wiedfeldt--48-49 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 64, 182, 614, 631 Atayal

The natural reason for the existence side by side of two superior social institutions, i. e., the clan and the tribe, is space, together with the functions which naturally are incumbent upon them. The tribe occupies 8 to 10 times as much territory as the clan. It would not be feasible to eliminate one of the two organizations, and to give the remaining one all of its functions. The territory occupied by the tribe would be too large to enable the tribe to handle the economic functions of the clan, and to act as owner of all the land. Also, the solidarity of the members of the clan would be impaired by being spread out over too large an area. Reversing the situation, the territory of the clan would be too small to enable the clan to render military and political service. Even the territory covered by the tribe has now proved to be too small for this purpose. The carrying out of their legal customs and their legal procedure would in both cases meet difficulties which could only be overcome by far-reaching changes in the entire social structure. In the organization of society for political functions, the simultaneous existence of two institutions, one of which is subordinate to the other, one of which is regional and the other local, is a logical and necessary thing, which can not be avoided without impairing or even crippling the entire organism. A social organism springs up, however, as soon as we have several people living together. Not only do [49] controversies arise, which must be settled, but there are matters which demand community cooperation and a superior order.

39: Wiedfeldt--13 [2] F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 153, 182, 622 Atayal

Some of them, of course, are able to think further agead. For years, some of the tribal chiefs have understood and have attempted to make the others understand that individual fights against the Japanese on the part of different tribes mean useless shedding of blood, and that their only hope lies in common action by all the tribes. They have not achieved a great measure of success, due largely to the difficulty of introducing new ideas into the mind of the Atayals, who do not follow their heads, but the prize skulls. ...They are capable of observing closely, and often make slow but correct deductions from their observations...

40: Kirk--16 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 182, 177.18

"With the introduction of agricultural pursuits and Japanese clothing, the primitives are going through a social revolution. In the mountain homes the women have done the weaving for centuries, and the native garments were all homespun. Now the Japanese are taking raw materials from the villagers, and the women who have been transplanted to the lowlands must learn new ways of doing things 'down on the farm.' "

40: Kirk-- 17-18 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 182, 511, 177.51 Ami

"The Ami to a greater extent than any other tribe have become assimilated or 'Japanized,' and it may be more than a coincidence that this East Coast group seems to have the best physique and enjoy the best health and cultural conditions.

The Ami have schools for their children, a young men's association for their youth, and credit organizations in several villages. Some of the more prosperous natives are in possession of more than ten ko, i.e. hectares, of cultivated fields, while others have annual incomes of one thousand yen or more in currency. Some villagers also [18] have postal savings. 'The Ami are now enjoying their life as subjects of the Japanese Empire,'

> With regard to the natives living on the West Coast plains it can be said that they have practically adopted the tenents of ordinary civilization. The aborigines in the mountainous districts still remain impervious to the light of civilization, and their districts, thus debarred from the beneficence of civilization, are still under special administrative control. In general, the aborigines are not put under legal control, and are accordingly living their own lives in consonance with their own traditional customs. At present, however, most of the aborigines have come to obey the order of supervisory police officials, and have in other ways become law-abiding people ready to

submit to administrative authority. (5)

5. Kokusai Nippon Kyokai, op. cit., pp. 7, 9-10.

11: Haguénauer--43-44 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 156, 183 Atayal

The savage does not reason to any great extent, although he shows initiative during a hunt or a battle. But his other actions are governed by tradition, or by the command of the village chieftain. The science of the Tayal is purely empirical, and it is limited to a few observations concerning atmospheric phenomena, the properties of certain plants and the habits of the wild animals. If the intellectual life of the Tayal is on such a low plane, it is not because they are entirely absorbed by the necessities of their vegetative life; it is rather that they do not see any need for thinking. If you ask a Tayal a question, he will give you the traditional [44] answer which he got from his ancestors. He never tries to explain anything.

22: Wiedfeldt--30 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
183 Atayal

In the Atayal concept, the members of the tribe are the only ones who should be protected. They are permitted to hunt only savages of other tribes, Japanese, and Chinese, and quite understandably, Europeans, but the number of these is very small.

22: Wiedfeldt--40 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 183, 626, 671 Atayal

There is no Atayal system of laws, in the modern sense of the word, for the fall of man in the development of laws, as Savigny calls the codification of legal usages, has not yet made its appearance in these tribes which can not write. For all that, they do not act with complete freedom of the will in their legal paradise, but move in the fixed grooves of traditional and generally observed rules which govern their relations with each other, not merely in the case of infractions of the legal usage, but in their community life as a whole.

22: Wiedfeldt--40 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 183, 627, 684 Atayal

An Atayal, unlike a modern cuckold, can not disregard this offence, but the clan, with its strict conception of marriage, will demand that the offence be punished, and if need be, will intervene in his place. Their simple and consistent legal principles are part of the flesh and blood of every Atayal, and are apparently more closely observed and less frequently violated than the individual regulations which are turned out by our parliamentary paragraph factories, which are a matter of concern to virtually only the parties interested for the moment. The penal law, civil law, and legal procedure of the Atayals, if I may be permitted to use these terms for the sake of brevity, could be put into the form of laws, if it were worth the trouble, and if, in so doing, their most characteristic features would not be lost. For this entire legal system consists of nothing but basic principles, from which one may safely deduce the necessary procedure for every individual case.

34: Del Re--19-20 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 619, 621, 183, 577, 421, 437 Yami

"The above [MLB: reluctance of Yami youths to enter government service] follows naturally from the basic principle of [20] their community life, namely that all members of the tribe have full and equal rights and freedom of action limited only by tribal custom which represents the collective will of the community freely accepted by and identifired with that of the individual. This also finds practical expression in their communal attitude towards all except a very few strictly personal belongings such as small canoes and ornaments. Everything else is held in common by the village. Uncultivated land, or land that has ceased to be cultivated, is the property of the community, but anyone who so wishes may take and cultivate it and in this sense it may be called his. Should he allow it to run wild, however, he cannot prevent another from cultivating it and enjoying its fruits. The large canoes and articles of clothing are also communal. In the event of a native wishing for something in the temporary possession of another he need only ask the present owner for it, but is in turn expected, as a matter of course, to do likewise. Such transactions are not necessarily in the nature of an exchange nor is a regular system of barter practised except for goods from outside."

34: Del Re--20-23 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 183, 421, 577, 627, 777 Yami

"The real secret of the smooth working of their system of life may be attributed to the absence of any selfish possessive feeling in respect of things and persons based on deep-rooted 'natural' ethical principles which allow the reciprocal claims of the individual and the community to be harmoniously adjusted in a spirit of freedom and equality. An illuminating instance of [pages 21 and 22 contain illustrations] [23] the application of these principles (6) is seen in the custom, which still persists though

6. According to VF (Pt. I, p. 9) community of property is not usual among other Formosan savages.

frowned upon by the police, of settling every community dispute by means of a wrestling match followed, in cases where the two parties are not satisfied, by a bloodless duel. When this occurs, the two opponents armed with bamboo lances and wearing rattan armour proceed to the seashore accompanied by their seconds and there fight it out. It rarely happens that either is seriously injured or killed, because this would be considered highly unlucky and must therefore be avoided."

34: Del Re--29-30 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 586, 595, 562, 831, 183 Yami

"The Yami are strictly monogamous in so far as they may only have one wife at a time. Divorce, however, is easy and merely determined by the wish of the party concerned, nor does it carry any stigma for the woman who, in this respect, has equal rights with the man. There are among the islanders women who have been divorced as [30] many as fifteen times. Contrary to what might be thought, this does not lead to laxity of morals. The level of morality in this tribe is very high notwithstanding, or perhaps because of, the conspicuous absence of any sense of moral or social guilt attached to sexual intercourse."

39: Wiedfeldt--13-14 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 184, 535 Atayal

...The extent to which the Atayals possess imagination may be deduced from their accomplishments in those fields in which imagination is freest: in art forms and in religious concepts. In the field of the simplest artistic endeavor, the dance, [14] the Atayals have the round dance, in which men and women join hands and walk, rather than dance, about... They have no pantomime dances, nor do the individual dancers execute varying rhythmical movements....

22: Wiedfeldt--39[2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 185, 224, 251 Atayal

They do not understand how to accumulate means for definite purposes. They do not store up any provisions for bad seasons, which, to be sure, is difficult in view of the damp, hot climate and the danger of destruction by termites. In general, it would be unnecessary, also, since nature is extraordinarily fertile. Because of the same lack of foresight, they know nothing about closed seasons in hunting. On the grounds of this lack of care for the future, the thrifty Chinese among whom the failure of the crops always means famine and widespread death consider the Atayals animal-like creatures.

39: Wiedfeldt--13 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 153, 185 Atayal

After a period of years in which many Atayals were killed by coming in contact with the wire of the Aiyu line, which is charged with 2,000 volts, they have now found out that they can slip between the wires without harming themselves by holding them apart by long bamboo sticks, to the ends of which they have attached empty sake bottles. To think beyond immediate necessities to more remote ends and to provide for these in advance, seems too difficult to most of the Atayals. In spite of occasional crop failures, they accumulate no stores of provisions, nor do they observe a closed season in hunting or spare the young game.

"At the close of 1934 there were 536 stations with 5,509 policemen, whose duty it is to maintain peace and order, to give industrial and agricultural training to the villagers, especially the young folks, and to provide medical care. The chief objectives of this work may be briefly summarized: an invigoration of the national spirit, diffusion of the national language, abolition of long-standing evil customs, cultivation of a love for labor, of thrift, and of settled farming. (3)

3. Kokusai Nippon Kyokai, A Record of Taiwan's Progress, Taihoku, p. 62.

This ambitious program to assimilate the aborigines of Formosa, 154,255 strong, is entrusted to a Bureau of Aborigines Affairs within the Police Affairs Section of the Government General. The work of the policeman among the Takasagozoku, as the primitives are called, is in many respects decidedly unique. This guardian of the law, to repeat, is teacher, counselor, financial and agricultural adviser, doctor, nurse, and religious leader all in one. To educate the savages in Japanese manners and ideals, to [15] destroy native customs, beliefs, and traditions, and to accelerate the process of ko-min-ka (i.e., change to Imperial people) are the policeman's main duties in each village. Notwithstanding certain difficulties which have arisen in the past because of unfortunate relations of some policemen with native women, high officials, report that the teacher-policemen, assigned to the special task of savage administration, seem to

have done creditable work.

In addition to schools, young men's associations are formed to stimulate an interest in the study of the Japanese language."

11: Haguenauer--42 [2] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 181, 186, 577, 609 Atayal

The Tayal race is a very proud one, much more so than you would suspect. It is industrious, but only in so far as the task concerns the whole community. The men are calm, but if they get angry nothing can stop them. An unbounded curiosity and feeling of suspicion with regard to all strangers are two more traits of the Tayal mentality. He has full confidence in his comrades, but as soon as he is with people of another tribe, he becomes suspicious and reserved. The Tayal have some fine virtues too; they have a highly developed sense of honor, are not greedy, do not steal and rarely tell lies.

22: Wiedfeldt--7 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 173, 186, 609 Atayal

According to their traditions, they are the noblest and oldest kind of people on the island. Their ancestors took refuge on the mountains after a severe typhoon, and from there they slowly returned to the plains. Later, other savages came to the island; then came the Chinese, the whites, and finally the Japanese. They consider all of these people as illegal intruders, but they especially hate the Chinese, with whom they have been longest in contact. The boundaries of their territory consist of mountains thickly wooded with virgin forest. The interior is said to be similar, as far as foreign observers have penetrated. To be sure, that is not very far. No foreigner has as yet set foot on Mt. Sylvia.

35: Collingwood --143 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 144, 157, 186 Sek-hoan

"In conclusion, I think it is evident that the race of people inhabiting this village is distinct from the Chinese. Among the women, particularly, there was scarcely one who had a Chinese feature, and their habits and modes of life also differ considerably. The feet were in no instance bandaged, as is universally the custom among the neighbouring Chinese. With regard to the men, it was not always so easy to discriminate, although in many, or rather most, instances, the Kibalan man was bigger and more stalwart, and with a cast of features superior to that of the Chinese. Some of them may have been half-castes, but I am of opinion that the majority of the inhabitants were of pure aboriginal descent, though how they became separated from the mountain savages, and the process and reason of their domestication, I have no means of knowing. Their present isolation in their own special village in a great measure accounts for the apparent purity of their blood. They were in all respects a more intelligent and more engaging people than the Chinese of Formosa, though these latter affect superiority. Thus, when I inquired of a man in the Chinese village of Sano, who I imagined had a dash of Kibalan in his face, if he belonged to that race, he replied, 'No, I am a man' (that is, a Chinese), 'not a foreigner.' "

39: Wiedfeldt--25 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 157, 186, 609 Atayal

I have not been able to determine the basic reasons for their reserve. Perhaps it is rooted in excessive pride of race, not to say, haughtiness of race, as some of the Japanese maintain... It is also partly due to a certain shyness. In the presence of people who belong to other races, the Atayals drop their voices to a whisper, and display a prudent reserve in spite of the curiosity of the others. The sources of this attitude, however, continue to be a mystery; the only thing that is clear is their attitude of reserve.

16: Müller--229[5] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 191, 197

Among the Pepo the Saisiett tribe is the only one which has retained the old language. The others speak Chinese, the Amoy and Hakka dialects, using only a few Malayan terms. Most of them have forgotten their original language almost entirely, although it was still spoken little more than a century ago. Only those Pepo tribes listed under Pazzehe and Kareowan speak both languages.

37: Steere--305 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 191, 174, 142, 292 Sek-hoan

"The Lek-whan call themselves Paijek in their own tongue, which all speak in their families, though all, but the very old, speak Chinese also, and some of the younger ones can write it with some readiness. There seem to be no manuscripts or other proofs that they formerly had any connection with the Dutch, and their position at nearly equal distances from Taiwanfu and Tamsni, the two points occupied by the Dutch, would have made them among the last visited by them, and the least influenced. Their language shows them to be closely connected with the savage tribes of the island, and with the Pepo-whans of the south. They are large and strongly framed as compared with the Chinese, but their faces are coarse, and the teeth of the women protrude; but their countenances show much good nature and kindly feeling. Their dress is much that of the poorer classes of Chinese, though for weddings and great ceremonies they use a national dress, consisting of two or three long sleeveless mantles, open in front, and the under one reaching to the heels, while those above are shorter. These are ornamented with a large amount of red embroidery about the bottom. They raise a species of nettle, from which they make a coarse but lasting cloth."

7: Joest--58 [8] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 192, 201

To signify surprise the Chinwans put their hand in front of their mouth and say Wáō. They did this when I shot my revolver, which they called boom-boom-boom, or when I showed them lice, with which they were covered, under a microscope.

7: Joest--62 [5] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 192, 784, 826 Chin-hoan

The Chinwans seem to have some form of taboo. Thus no one may enter a village in which the inhabitants are fasting; to signify that an object may not be touched or that they do not want to give it away, they say hiang. It is for them a great shame to let someone even touch their head. The bags in which they keep the heads of their enemies, the pig-tails of Chinese, etc., are also haing.

11: Haguenauer--33 [2] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 192, 194, 576 Atayal

The relations between the Tayal are not governed by a ceremonious code of etiquette. When one Tayal meets another, he does not bother about making any complicated salutations. The Tayal language does not have any polite expressions, or any honorific prefixes, and the intimate form of address is the only one known. "Musa su ino pe" (Where are you going?) replaces our Good Day. The pronunciation is energetic and harsh: ao (yes), yats (no), skuriek (man), reliax (mountain), bauniax (arrow), alakè (child), kesia (water), etc.

14: Tamai--95 [8] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 197, 212, 192 Chin-hoan

All the sounds of the Tschinwan language can be expressed by the Japanese Kana, alphabet, while the alphabets of European languages would not be adequate. The following are some words from the Tschinwan language:

Maraou (necklace)
Kaigai (ear ornaments)
Rafui (design tattooed on the forehead)
Raju (apron) [MS: loincloth?]
Wien (dog)
Saragui (cloth wrapped around the calves of the legs)
Patashi (design tattooed on the cheeks)
Tsuit (pipe for smoking)
Kuitsu (undershirt)
Nigao (cat)

The only Japanese syllables not found in the language of the Tschinwans are da, zi, zu, ze, and zo.

37: Steere--320-321 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosans
116, 126, 193

"Lists of words were procured of the native tribes. The first list belongs to the Tsui-whan. The second list belongs to the Lek-whans, [321] who have their principal settlement at Posia and two neighboring villages.

The Che-whans, from whom the third list was procured, inhabit the adjoining district. The Pepo-whans, from whom the fourth and fifth lists were taken, occupy the large track of country to the east of Takao and Taiwanfu; while the Kale-whans are among the mountains further east. From these was procured the sixth list of words."

11: Haguenauer--33 [2] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 192, 194, 576 Atayal

The relations between the Tayal are not governed by a ceremonious code of etiquette. When one Tayal meets another, he does not bother about making any complicated salutations. The Tayal language does not have any polite expressions, or any honorific prefixes, and the intimate form of address is the only one known. "Musa su ino pe" (Where are you going?) replaces our Good Day. The pronunciation is energetic and harsh: ao (yes), yats (no), skuriek (man), reliax (mountain), bauniax (arrow), alakè (child), kesia (water), etc.

35: Collingwood--142 [2] D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 123, 194, 562 Sek-hoan

"The attempt to learn some of their words, and to form as good a vocabulary of their language as the time would permit, was met by perfect good will on their part; and many words, as well as their mode of counting, were obtained, chiefly from the women, who appeared to take considerable interest in imparting the information. Considerable amusement, too, was excited by our mistakes in pronunciation, etc., and our efforts elicited a considerable show of intelligence on their part. We found the women much more serviceable than the men for this purpose, chiefly on account of their clear pronunciation, which was much more distinct than that of the men. Thus, for example, the attempt of the women to pronounce English words was much more successful than that of the men. The word 'flint,' for instance, being given them, a man would not approach it nearer than plin-iss, while the women at once said fil-lint. The voice of the women was remarkably agreeable, having a plaintiveness and softness which were really striking, and sometimes sounded more like a gentle singing than speaking."

7: Joest--57 [3] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 197

There are only a few traces of the Malayan language in the dialects of the Chinwans, while in the languages of the Shekwan the similarity is striking. Thus the numbers from one to ten in those languages correspond almost exactly to those in the Tagalog language; the languages of the Shekwan in the south, however, differ from those in the north. Thus, fire among the Shekwans in the north is ramár, among those in the south sabui; the word for stone is batu (Malayan) in the north, achilai in the south; moon is wulan (Malayan) in in the north, hélas in the south. Among 400 words which I studied there were, with the exception of numerals, only three that were similar in both groups, and those three words were found to be of Malayan origin.

7: Joest--57 [4] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 197

I compared the language of the Shekwans in the south with that of the Chinwans in the north, basing my studies on a vocabulary compiled by Schetelig; Mr. Dodd, the only European familiar with the language of the Chinwans, was kind enough to check my work. After making this comparison I found only two words which seem to be related: the term for foot, χapul in the language of the Chinwans and kalup in the south, and for hand, kabbá among the Chinwans and gabi-an in the south. I was told that Mundt-Lauff had published a study based on his visit to Formosa.

14: Tamai--95 [8] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 197, 212, 192 Chin-hoan

All the sounds of the Tschinwan language can be expressed by the Japanese Kana, alphabet, while the alphabets of European languages would not be adequate. The following are some words from the Tschinwan language:

Maraou (necklace)
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Tsuit (pipe for smoking)
Kuitsu (undershirt)
Nigao (cat)

The only Japanese syllables not found in the language of the Tschinwans are da, zi, zu, ze, and zo.

15: U.S. Navy --26 [3] (no date) 1944 Formosan Aborigines
116, 197

"Dialects of the aborigines and Pepohoans.

(1) Atayal (Taiyal) (Northern and Southern Taiyal)
(2) Bunun
(3) Tsuo of the Niitaka district
(4) Pyuma
(5) Tsalisen
(6) Paiwan
(7) Ami
(8) Botel-Tabago Yami

A number of these aboriginal dialects show affinity to some common early language stock to which the Philippine dialects bear relation. They are sometimes called 'proto-Malay' or 'Filipino-Formosan.'

The Pepohoans speak modified forms of the aboriginal dialects. Most Pepohoan peoples understand a little Hakka or Fukien Chinese."

16: Müller--228 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 144, 171, 174, 197

While we have no tangible evidence concerning the origin of the aborigines of Formosa, we may assume from their physical appearance, customs, language, and level of intelligence that they belong to the racial group of the Malayans. We may therefore conclude that they originally came from the Malayan Archipelago. Although they have numerous traits in common, as a result of their derivation from one single group, their development has proceeded along different lines, partly because the chains of huge mountains have split them into different groups. Their language especially shows so many divergencies that some of the tribes cannot understand each other.

16: Müller--229 [4] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 197

Their language belongs to the Malayan group of languages....

16: Müller--229[5] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 191, 197

Among the Pepo the Saisiett tribe is the only one which has retained the old language. The others speak Chinese, the Amoy and Hakka dialects, using only a few Malayan terms. Most of them have forgotten their original language almost entirely, although it was still spoken little more than a century ago. Only those Pepo tribes listed under Pazzehe and Kareowan speak both languages.

16: Müller--238 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 197

[MC: A comparative table of numbers from 1 to 10 in the various Formosan Aboriginal dialects has been omitted from the files. However, the tribal classification system on which this table was based has been included below. This table was obtained by Müller from a Japanese who lived in the interior of Formosa and is not the result of Müller's own research.]

Ataiyal	A)	Ataiyal	(W)
	B)	"	(O)
	C)	"	(Taroko)
Vonum	D)	Vonum	
	E)	"	
	F)	"	
Tso'o	G)	Tso'o	(N)
	H)	"	(S)
	I)	"	
Tsarisen	J)	Tsarisen	
Paiwan	K)	Paiwan	
Pyuma	L)	Pyuma	
Tsarisen	M)	Taroma	
Amis	N)	Amis	
Pepo	O)	Saisiett	
Yami	P)	Yami	

Pepo	Q)	Makattao
	R)	Siraiya
	S)	Loa
	T)	Poavosa
	U)	Arikun
	V)	Vupuran
	W)	Pazzehe
	X)	Taokas
	Y)	Ketanganan (1)
	Z)	Kareowan
	A)	Kuvarawan
	B)	Pepo

(1) Ketangapan?

19: Guérin and Bernard--549 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 197

One important point is the localization of the tribes on the soil to which they retreated. With the exception of slopes which are used for cultivation, and the thickets which are in the immediate vicinity of the villages and hamlets, the territories of the aborigines are very confused. Several clans use them for hunting; those in the east have a right of passage, which enables them to approach the Chinese frontier. And yet there are certain boundaries, which are rarely crossed. These barriers are essentially of a moral nature, and they are due to the linguistic differences existing between neighboring tribes. Let us add that there are always water-courses which form a corresponding frontier. However, these were purely a nominal obstacle at the beginning ....

The distinctive characteristic of the savage state is a wide diversity of language in a small area, and we find this on Formosa. But in spite of this diversity, and a few differences in costumes and customs which are really due to typography or surroundings, the family characteristics stand out in relief.

19: Guérin and Bernard--550 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 197

In general each tribe has its dialect on Taïwan which is often incomprehensible to the neighboring clan, but there is one notable exception. [MC: see succeeding notes in 101 for discussion of Tayal.]

19: Guérin and Bernard--551 [4] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 197, 609, 619

The language of the Kalapaï is unlike that of the Tayal, and the two tribes are separated by a water-course; but they cross it whenever they like, for they are on friendly terms with each other, and with the Maraïkoun, a tribe whose language is derived from the Tayal.

19: Guérin and Bernard--551-552 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 197, 304

The Bouiok are in the interior, and they only have some frontier camps. Their dialect is a peculiar one, so they use the Tayal idiom when they want to talk with the Chinese. Their women only have their foreheads tattooed, while the men are the first ones that we have seen with a supplementary tattooing pattern on each side of the chest. [552] We had been told that the Bouiok were a scaly people, and it is true that a great many of them have skin diseases.

21: Asai--1 [2] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 174, 197

"Each of these tribes [MC: 13 Formosan aborigine tribes. See preceding paragraph in category 116] uses a different dialect, but the dialects belong, of course, to the common Indonesian language. The dialectical differences are great enough, however, so that the individuals of different tribes cannot understand one another. This indicates that since they immigrated into the Island, they have lived in separate communities and there has not been much communication between the groups. There are also divergent cultures in the different tribes."

21: Asai--9-10 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 101, 197

"[MC: linguistic subdivisions of Formosan Aborigines]
a. Living Languages:

1.	Ataiyal	Northern
2.	Sedeq	Northern
3.	Saisiyat (or Saiset, Saisirat)	Northern
4.	Bunun	Central
5.	Tsou	Central
6.	Kanakanavu	Central
7.	Saaroa	Central
8.	Rukai	Southern
9.	Paiwan	Southern
10.	Puyuma	East coast
11.	Ami	East Coast
12.	Yami	Botel Tobago Is.

'b. Half-dead Languages: These people are bi-lingual: speaking Chinese and their proper Indonesian languages. They speak their proper Indonesian languages among the tribesmen to a limited extent and it is feared their languages will disappear in the near future.

1.	Kavalan	Northern
2.	Pazeh	Central west coast

3. Thao	Central [10]
'c. Dead Languages:	
1. Ketagalan	Northern
2. Taokas	Northern west coast
3. Papora	Northern west coast
4. Babuza	West coast. It is called Favorlang by the Dutch missionaries.
5. Siraya	Central west coast. It is the language of the Bible translation of Gravius and the vocabulary of Utrecht MS Makatao and Taivoan belong to this group."

21: Asai--10 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 197

" 'It is indisputable that these Formosan languages. . . belong to the Indonesian group of the Austronesian family, though some of them show traces of language-influence of non-Austronesian races, but the phonological, morphological and lexical differences between some of them are fairly great and it may be surmised that various strata of the Indonesian peoples immigrated to Formosa which lies at the northern end of the Indonesian district. For example, the northern languages Taiyal, Sedeq and Saisiyat show an interesting phenomenon in t´ (Brandstetter s)>h. Peculiar non-Indonesian suffixes exist in Ataiyal and Sedeq. Tsou, Kanakanavu and Saaroa are open-syllabled and Tsou has a complex system of the tense-expression."

21: Asai--10-11 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 197

"Our present knowledge of the Formosan languages does not permit us to construct a full table showing the affinity of each language definitively, but in view of the reciprocal relation of their phonology, morphology and vocabulary, the following table, though it is very rough, can be suggested.' [11]

- Northern Group
  - Original Ataiyal
    - Ataiyal Proper
      - Taikei-Dialect
      - Taiko-Dialect
      - Bunsiu-Dialect
      - Hakku-Dialect
      - Bandai-Dialect
      - (mixed with Sedeq)
    - Sedeq
      - Taroko-Dialect
      - Musha-Dialect
  - Saisiyat
- Bunun Group
  - Bunun
    - Northern Dialect
    - Central Dialect
    - Southern Dialect

- Tsou-Paiwan Group
  - Tsou
    - Arisan Dialect
    - Ruftu Dialect
  - Original Saarua-Kanakanavu
    - Saarua
    - Kanakanavu
  - Original Paiwan
    - Paiwan Proper
      - Southern Dialect
      - Central Dialect
      - Northern Dialect
    - Puyuma
  - Original Rukai
    - Rukai Proper
    - Taromaki
    - Tordukana-konadavanu
    - Mantaulan
- Ami Group
  - Ami
    - Northern Dialects
    - Central Dialect
    - Southern Dialect
- Batan Group
  - Batan
  - Yami

Proper (Philippine Islands)"

34: Del Re--8 [2] U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 197 Yami

"The creation-myths which will be dealt with are, in the main, peculiar to the Yami and differ considerably from those of the inland tribes, while having a certain affinity with those of the Puyuma. The latter, as well as those of the Ami, seem to be related to myths found among other Indonesian peoples. In the case of the Yami, it has been ascertained that their language is allied to that of the inhabitants of the islands of Batan or Basay (Vasay), Itbayat and Satung situated in the Phillippine group. (2)"

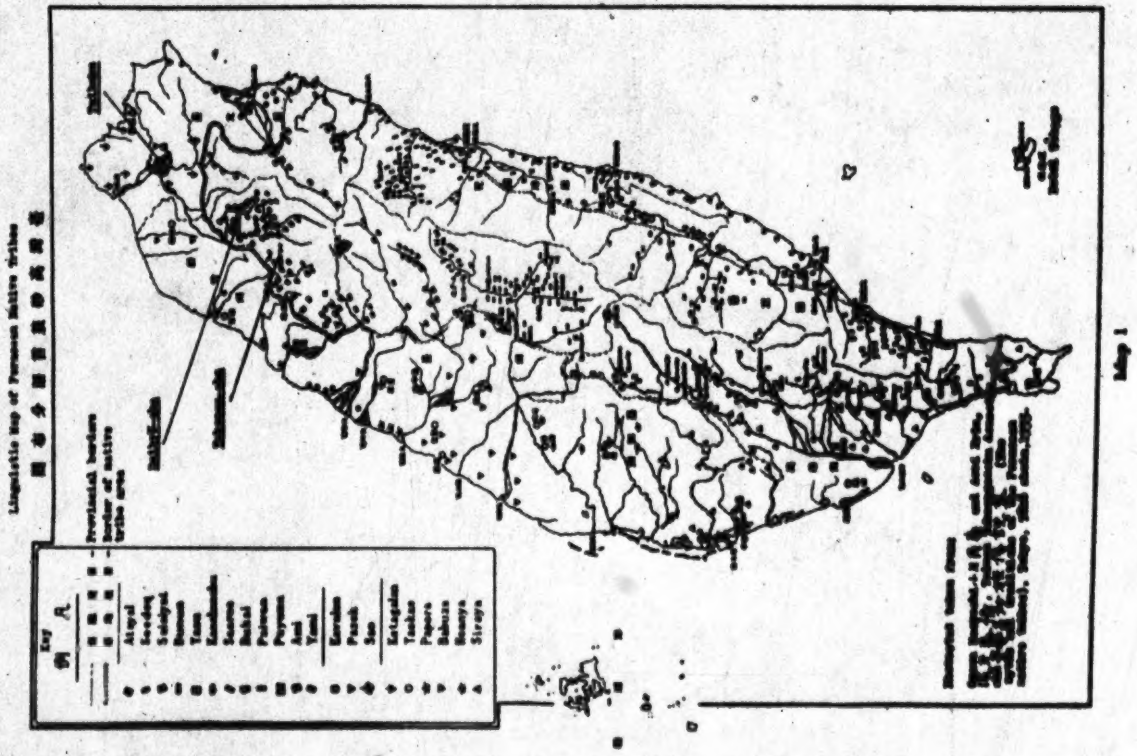
2. see Dr. E. Asai, A Study of the Yami Language, spoken on Botel-Tobago Island (subsequently cited as AYL) Leiden, Universiteitsboekhandel J. Ginsberg, pp. 4, 9ff. That some direct and, possibly, frequent intercourse existed between the Yami and the Batanese and Ibatanese is further substantiated by the internal evidence of text 5 (p. 73) and text 1 (p. 55 ff.) appended to AYL. See also the important article on this subject contributed by the late Dr. N. Utsurikawa (Director of the Ethnological Institute, Taihoku, Imperial University) to Ethnological Journal of South Eastern Asia and Oceania, Taihoku. Vol. I, n. 1 (1931).

37: Steere-303-304 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 162, 171, 177, 197, 212 Pepo-hoan

"The Pepo-whans of the south part of the island occupy a large tract of country to the east of Takow and Taiwanfu. They inhabit the villages of Kongana, Kamana, Alukang, Backsa, Lakuli, Baukimseng, etc., and they may number five thousand people, while there is a large colony formed from them on the east coast of the island. They no longer speak their aboriginal language, using Chinese instead, and the Fuh-kien dialect of this, though they are in contact with the Hak-kas on the south and south-east. I procured the two lists of words, [MLB: see category 194, pp. 332-333.] Nos. 4 and 5, from very old women, No. 4 at Kongana and No. 5 at Baukimseng. They both said that their language was very little spoken, even in the time of their parents, Chinese having already become general. The two lists are not identical, and seem to show that there has been a coalescing of tribes, the supposition being strengthened by differences in dress, etc., still apparent among them. I found in existence among them a number of old manuscripts in Roman letter, most of them apparently business papers, such as deeds and contracts. The Pepo-whans still preserve these among their valuables, though no one can read them. Some of them have Chinese pawnshop marks upon them. They seem to be indubitable proofs and remains of the Dutch occupation, when many teachers and missionaries were employed among the aborigines, and many thousands of them are said to have become Christians. When the Dutch were driven out, and the teachers and missionaries murdered by the Chinese, the whole work was supposed to have gone out in darkness, but these manuscripts seem to show that for

nearly a hundred and fifty years afterward, these poor people, oppressed and driven back to the hills by the Chinese, still kept enough of the knowledge taught them to read and write their [304] own language, and almost necessarily books and a knowledge of the Christian religion also. The manuscripts are in the ancient Pepo-whan language, spelled out in Roman letters, the dates generally being in Chinese, spelled out in the same way. Of the manuscripts procured, a few of them are of the reign of Young Ching, who reigned from 1723 to 1736; the most of them are of the reign of Keen Lung, who reigned from 1736 to 1796; and there is one of the reign of Kaking, who began to reign in 1796. Curiously, the oldest of the documents are dated eighty years after the Dutch were driven out. There may yet be found books and manuscripts giving some account of the struggles of this people with the Chinese."

17: Norbeck--facing 12 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 102, 198



7: Joest--58 [8] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 192, 201

To signify surprise the Chinwans put their hand in front of their mouth and say Wáō. They did this when I shot my revolver, which they called boom-boom-boom, or when I showed them lice, with which they were covered, under a microscope.

7: Joest--62 [2] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 151, 201 Chin-hoan

I was frequently struck by the excellent vision of the Chinwans. Once a native told me that he could see a large number of people from his tribe; I myself was not able to see a trace of this crowd. He told me this in sign language, by raising his hands and opening and closing them quickly several times.

7: Joest--62 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 202, 619 Chin-hoan

When a native approaches the village of a friendly tribe, he usually fires his rifle, and those in the village answer with smoke signals. At the same time both parties call out Wao.

22: Wiedfeldt--31 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 646, 622, 202 Atayal

The full assembly of all clan heads and honorary chiefs meets at the invitation of the tribal chief. The time and the place, in case it should be held somewhere else but in the hut of the tribal chief, as well as the agenda, are announced to the nearest clan heads by swift runners. These clan heads, in turn, similarly inform the clan heads who live near them.

22: Wiedfeldt--38 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
202, 487 Atayal

The fact that there is no means of communication would not be an insuperable obstacle, [MC: to trade] but would only make things more difficult. The means of communication now in use, such as the fire signals of distress, or the sending of messengers,... are destined only for military and political purposes, and it seems improbable to me that the suspension bridges are made for any other purpose.

24: Anonymous--91-92 U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 202, 484

For long journeys, they use a cart drawn by cattle. If they come to a steep mountain path they slide down a rope made of rattan. They cross brooks on large rocks which they have placed in them to take the place of bridges. [92] Messengers who carry public notices wear bells attached so that they ring when they are shaken; these messengers run at incredible speeds.

11: Haguenauer--42-43 T-3 (no date) 1929 **Formosan Aborigines**
116, 212, 802 **Atayal**

The Tayal are practically uncivilized. The Tayal do not have any means of writing, and when they want to do some arithmetic, they use strings of knotted straw or little sticks; [43] addition, subtraction, multiplication and division are done by means of little sticks, which are laid on the ground.

14: Tamai--95 [8] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 197, 212, 192 Chin-hoan

All the sounds of the Tschinwan language can be expressed by the Japanese Kana, alphabet, while the alphabets of European languages would not be adequate. The following are some words from the Tschinwan language:

Maraou (necklace)
Kaigai (ear ornaments)
Rafui (design tattooed on the forehead)
Raju (apron) [MS: loincloth?]
Wien (dog)
Saragui (cloth wrapped around the calves of the legs)
Patashi (design tattooed on the cheeks)
Tsuit (pipe for smoking)
Kuitsu (undershirt)
Nigao (cat)

The only Japanese syllables not found in the language of the Tschinwans are da, zi, zu, ze, and zo.

16: Müller--229 [6] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 212

The aborigines of Formosa do not have a system of written symbols.

22: Wiedfeldt--29 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
212 Atayal

The Atayals have no written records.

24: Anonymous--92 [5] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 212, 622, 695

The chiefs of one tribe are divided into the head chief and assistant chiefs. There are five or six of these in a community, depending upon the number of families. Trials in one tribe are held in the community house; minor feud are settled elsewhere. Among the clerks of court, there are some who know the Dutch writing; these are called chiao-ts'ê (registrars), and they count all those who go in or out. They dip a goose feather quill into the ink and they write across the page from left to right, instead of up and down. It is said that in recent times, the aborigines have adopted Chinese customs, and that private teachers are trying to teach the children Chinese literature, customs, and music.

36: Dodd--70 U-2 1865 (1885) Formosan Aborigines
116, 142, 212

"The Hill Savages of North Formosa are, without doubt, exactly like other human beings in the shape of their bodies and number of their limbs, and although they are as wild as the animals which roam about their country, have no written language of their own, and live in a most primitive style, yet there are no signs of a Darwinian tail, neither do they at all give you the idea that their progenitors were of the monkey species."

37: Steere-303-304 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 162, 171, 177, 197, 212 Pepo-hoan

"The Pepo-whans of the south part of the island occupy a large tract of country to the east of Takow and Taiwanfu. They inhabit the villages of Kongana, Kamana, Alukang, Backsa, Lakuli, Baukimseng, etc., and they may number five thousand people, while there is a large colony formed from them on the east coast of the island. They no longer speak their aboriginal language, using Chinese instead, and the Fuh-kien dialect of this, though they are in contact with the Hak-kas on the south and south-east. I procured the two lists of words, [MLB: see category 194, pp. 332-333.] Nos. 4 and 5, from very old women, No. 4 at Kongana and No. 5 at Baukimseng. They both said that their language was very little spoken, even in the time of their parents, Chinese having already become general. The two lists are not identical, and seem to show that there has been a coalescing of tribes, the supposition being strengthened by differences in dress, etc., still apparent among them. I found in existence among them a number of old manuscripts in Roman letter, most of them apparently business papers, such as deeds and contracts. The Pepo-whans still preserve these among their valuables, though no one can read them. Some of them have Chinese pawnshop marks upon them. They seem to be indubitable proofs and remains of the Dutch occupation, when many teachers and missionaries were employed among the aborigines, and many thousands of them are said to have become Christians. When the Dutch were driven out, and the teachers and missionaries murdered by the Chinese, the whole work was supposed to have gone out in darkness, but these manuscripts seem to show that for

nearly a hundred and fifty years afterward, these poor people, oppressed and driven back to the hills by the Chinese, still kept enough of the knowledge taught them to read and write their [304] own language, and almost necessarily books and a knowledge of the Christian religion also. The manuscripts are in the ancient Pepo-whan language, spelled out in Roman letters, the dates generally being in Chinese, spelled out in the same way. Of the manuscripts procured, a few of them are of the reign of Young Ching, who reigned from 1723 to 1736; the most of them are of the reign of Keen Lung, who reigned from 1736 to 1796; and there is one of the reign of Kaking, who began to reign in 1796. Curiously, the oldest of the documents are dated eighty years after the Dutch were driven out. There may yet be found books and manuscripts giving some account of the struggles of this people with the Chinese."

37: Steere--306 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 797, 212 Sek-hoan

"The Lek-whan first learned something of Christianity a little over two years ago, when one of the tribe, an old hunter, strayed down to Taiwanfu, and into the missionary hospital there, where he was cured of an ulcer, and took back with him some idea of the Christian religion. This rapidly spread among the Lek-whans, and there are now four or five hundred church members among them, with many more who have thrown away their Chinese idols and their own idolatry, and have become regular attendants upon the Christian services. There are five or six chapels established among them, and the same number of schools, where the Romanized coloquial is taught them, and I saw many girls and boys who had learned to read and write it. This Romanized colloquial is Chinese of the Fuh Kien dialect, spelled out in Roman letters, with certain marks to show the Chinese accents. There is a lack of school-books, there being nothing but the new testament and a hymn book yet translated into this dialect,"

39: Wiedfeldt--12 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 212, 811, 821 Atayal

The Atayals know nothing about fields of knowledge which are somehow connected in thought, or have some sort of a slight connection. They have not yet progressed to the point of having written characters, or even to the point of having definite marks. ... Even a rudimentary knowledge of astronomy... is foreign to the Atayals. They know nothing about the moon and its phases, and they have no names for constellations... The only celestial phenomenon that they are acquainted with and have spun fancies about is the rainbow. They think it is a bridge which connects the island with the mainland for their dead. ...

22: Wiedfeldt--15-16 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 221, 226, 476, 527 Atayal

Since there are no implements for catching fish, fish are caught only once a year, in spite of the great wealth of fish in the mountain streams. This is a cooperatuve undertaking in which the whole tribe takes part. The chief of the tribe sets a day for the gathering of the chiefs of the clans, and also for catching fish in the large river. It is in the fall, when the trout has reached its full growth and the millet is ripe. Every clan sends at least one representative, and the women and children [16] also come. Every man brings along some poison which he has prepared himself from a species of bindweed. When it is dropped into the river, the fish are supposed to come to the surface immediately and even to hurry to shore, so that the participants in the celebration are able to catch them by splashing their hands in the water, amid laughter and joking. They are divided into as many piles as the number of clans represented, in which process the chief of the tribe sees that justice is observed. The same procedure is followed in dividing the clan allotments among the families participating. Since the fish are immediately roasted on the fire and consumed, this fish festival is a convenient way of feeding the people attending the meeting of the tribe.

22: Wiedfeldt--34 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 462, 221 Atayal

Whether the Atayal man merely keeps himself busy, or whether he works, may be doubtful. Still, the annual clearing of the arable land should be considered a regularly recurring, conscious effort directed toward a definite and vital purpose. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the Atayal woman really works in the economic sense of the word, with her planting, harvesting, and preparation of meals, her spinning, dyeing, and weaving. In any case, in contrast to modern conditions, the woman is more of a worker than the man.

24: Anonymous--92 U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 221, 411

The spears of the aborigines are more than five feet long. They can hit a target from a distance of a hundred paces without error. Their bows are made of bamboo, the string of hemp; the arrows are long and pointed, but they have no feathers. Those who work in the fields consider the last day of the harvest as the end of the year.

34: Del Re--34-37 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 221, 226, 241, 796 Yami

"In the Yami calendar the months of May, June and July (i. e. November, December and January) are almost wholly given up to catching flying-fish, the greater part of which are dried. The fishing is done by night, from small canoes and in large ones during the first two months, but, on the third, only by day. During the fourth month however, fishing by night and by day and with small canoes is permitted. Meanwhile the womenfolk collect the fibrous bark of certain shrubs, mainly the abaka, which they dye, spin and weave on primitive handlooms into cloth with admirably decorative designs in colour. When the flying-fish season is over, and during the months of August and September (February, March) the crops of taro and suli are gathered in and the fields worked over. October (April) is the month set aside specially for the making of the earthenware dishes and pots used in the flying-fish ceremony. During November (May) they finish eating their store of dried flying-fish, while December (June) is mainly devoted to preparing the lime the savages chew with their betel-nuts, used for both medical and dyeing purposes. In January (July) they cut down the onigaya (misacanthus) out of which they fashion torches for the flying-fish ceremony, and celebrate the mil-[pages 35 and 36 contain illustrations] [37] let harvest. Millet, suli and taro are sown in February (August), while March (September) is principally given up to catching mamibiki, a largish flat fish which is found in considerable quantities in these waters."

22: Wiedfeldt--10[5] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 262, 222 Atayal

They are fond of wild honey, together with which they eat the bees and the nests. At night, the men go wherever they have seen bees during the day, and by the light of a burning log enveloped in dry grass they take the nests from the blinded bees with no difficulty at all.

4:Grajdanzev--37 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 721, 177.17 Japan
636.17

"But arms were necessary for the aborigines, not only to fight the Japanese, but also to hunt for food. The Japanese authorities may have been sincere in their desire 'to civilize' the savages, but civilization as they understood it meant the turning of hunters into cultivators of rice fields. From the warrior and hunter they were taking away his lands and his gun and were granting him a hen for egg production. Savage 'superstitions' were 'eradicated', but the savages were expected to believe in the Japanese goddess, Amaterasu Omikami, with her million deities and the Son of Heaven. The natural consequence of this 'civilizing' was war. This war with the savages cost 7,083 lives and more than 4,100 wounded. For the time being their resistance may be considered to have been overcome, but this has been due to overwhelming force, and not to the beneficent influence of rice fields and shinto shrines."

7: Joest--55 [4] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 286, 437

The chief articles of exchange are Chinese products such as rifles, powder, brandy, knives, glass beads, and sometimes red flannel, from which the native women pull out the threads to use in their own woven garments. In exchange for this the aborigines offer camphor, the skin of certain animals, dried and smoked meat from deer, boars, and bears, as well as antlers and their native woven cloth which is extremely durable.

11: Haguenauer--45 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 773 Atayal

The Tayal stories explain everything, the origin of the animals and that of the various deeds of men. Here is the explanation of the hunt:

Formerly men did not need to hunt, and they simply called the animals. The latter approached, and permitted the men to cut a slice of meat off their backs. But one day a poor fool had the idea of killing an animal, and after that the beasts were suspicious, and so they refused to let men gash them. Ever since that time people have had to hunt.

They followed the course of the brook and crossed the steep mountain of Kremiuashuya, where there are large numbers of bears, deer, and monkeys; the hunt for these animals forms the chief occupation of the Tschinwans, and hunting lodges were seen everywhere along the brook.

14: Tamai--95 J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
224, 609 Chin-hoan

... The men again crossed a steep mountain and arrived in Tanku, where the Tschinwans had several hunting lodges. 16 Tschinwans, both men and women, were staying there. At the beginning the women seemed to be somewhat afraid of the Japanese.

14: Tamai--96 [5] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 281, 262, 437 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwans use the hide of the animals they eat as raincoats or for barter with the Formosans and Chinese. They cut off only the hair of bears and monkeys and eat the skin.

16: Müller--241 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 721, 727

The method used for headhunting is the following:

As a rule the hunter hides near a road and there waits for a victim; often he must wait for days and has little food with him. He knows from experience that whoever approaches this region will scent danger at the slightest sound and take precautions, and therefore uses the following ruse: he steps on a twig and shoots his victim at the moment when the latter stops to find out where the noise came from. If the victim is hit, the hunter rushes out of his hiding place and cuts off the head.

The natives either keep the heads on racks which are made for that purpose, or they suspend them from the roof of the huts. Some tribes preserve the skulls of animals which they have killed in the same way.

19: Guérin and Bernard--552-553 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 141, 224, 341, 576 Tsou

Between the rivière Noire and the Pakan are the Tsoo, who are also called the Tibou-la, as that is the name of their largest village. The Tsoo are the unique example of a tribe of savages that are allied with the Chinese, and they are not tattooed at all. But they have little pity for their Ata-bou neighbors, and those of Sibou-koun. There is another language here, and we find that the race has become smaller, more thick-set, more southern, in a word. The house is round with a conical roof, instead of being square. The native no longer bids you welcome by laying his hand flat on your chest; he presses your forearm instead. (These observations apply to all the southern tribes). The Tsoo have replaced the Chinese head trophies by [553] enormous piles of wild-boar skulls.

19: Guérin and Bernard--555 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 411, 714

The apparatus for fighting or hunting is more dignified; it consists of a bread knife, whose sheath is of wood which has been painted red, and this is slipped through the belt; there is a long gun with a fuse, and in front of it two or three powder-horns are suspended from strings of false pearls; in back the man carries a coat which is folded into the net, a bag for balls, a parchment case containing eight powder charges in eight bamboo holders; then around his wrist is a cord, a lighter with a fire-stone, and some banana marrow instead of a tinder; sometimes the hunter has a bow, and in that case he always uses it with consummate skill.

19: Guérin and Bernard--557 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 349

The aborigines have places to rest when they are hunting or traveling; they are huts which are fashioned of tree branches and ferns.

19: Guérin and Bernard--559 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 262, 281

The aborigines are hunters both by inclination and necessity. They track the boar and the deer, although the latter is also captured in traps. The hunters perch in trees, and then lie in wait for leopards and bears. Bear skins are prepared in the south, but in the north they are roasted along with the animal, and only the four paws are removed.

20: Alvarez--256
224

(no date) 1927

Formosan Aborigines
Tayal

"The Atayal, seems to be averse to any kind of manual labor. The latter are hunting tribes. Of course, there are some of them engaged in agricultural work; yet, generally, they prefer to walk about the vast forests in search of game, honey and so forth."

21: Asai--3 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224 Atayal

"In Atayal, besides the ritual league gaga, there is the hunting league. These groups are not parallel to the ritual leagues [MC: see preceding paragraph in category 116]. The members of the hunting league always go together for hunting and each league has its own hunting area. They hunt for deer, fox, leopard, bear."

21: Asai--7 [3] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 462

"Agriculture is carried on by the women, the men hunt. Use bows and arrows and spears for hunting. They hunt deer, pigs, fox, bear, leopards."

21: Asai--7 [4] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 582, 621 Bunun

"The Bunun have a clan organization. Takeshi is the word for 'family' name (i.e., clan name). The Bunun have such family names, the other tribes don't. Cannot marry within the same clan. The clan is important in ceremonials, social functions. In the Bunun, each clan has common ceremonies; members of the same clan go hunting together."

22: Wiedfeldt--14-15 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 177, 224, 721 Atayal

Each Atayal makes his bows [15] out of the flexible wood of the Katsura. He makes his arrows out of bamboo reed. Nowadays most of them have metal tips, which he gets from the Chinese, but formerly they had nothing but wooden tips which had been hardened by fire. He still uses arrows with three wooden tips for shooting birds and as fire-bolts, the destructive effects of which on Japanese houses were demonstrated by the last Schimptonoff war. He also makes himself a spear two meters long, with a tip of wood, antelope horn, or recently of metal forged for this purpose by the Chinese in Amoy. Shields and helmets are unknown. Instead of them, one always carries a net which he has woven himself of ramie, for the purpose of carrying home the game which he has captured or the skulls he has taken.

22: Wiedfeldt--16 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 423, 224 Atayal

The antelope hunt and the wild boar hunts are not carried on by individual clans, but as a joint adventure of several clans in their common hunting-ground. For reasons similar to those which now require a minimum size for the formation of a private hunting preserve, the hunting-grounds of the Atayals are not distributed among the individual families, but to dekane, that is, hunting associations of from four to five clans. They are not permitted to hunt on the hunting-grounds of strange dekane. The hunters lie in wait for the game, attempt to wound it by arrows or bullets, and then pursue it until it collapses under the onslaught of blows from the spears. Speed and endurance in running are among the virtues of the Atayals.

22: Wiedfeldt--16 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 177 Atayal

Formerly, the dekane [MC: hunting associations composed of several clans] were supposed to have hunted once a month, and thus to have observed a kind of closed season. Since the introduction of guns, they, like the savages, have cut loose, so that now they can only serve in the hunt once every quarter year. About a third of the hunters are armed with guns, and the others have bows and spears.

22: Wiedfeldt--16 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 281, 437 Atayal

Every hunt lasts about a week, during which time the hunter lives off his booty. In general, they bring back little meat, which is then consumed at once, for the most part. They throw away the skins, which they do not need in their climate, and which they do not know how to tan, either. Recently, a few tribes near the frontier have begun to use them for barter with the Japanese.

22: Wiedfeldt--16 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 226, 517, 868 Atayal

Fishing and hunting, especially, are of little use in providing food, but serve as a sport for the purpose of training them in the use of weapons and as a diversion for the leisure time of the Atayal men.

22: Wiedfeldt--26 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 476, 614, 736 Atayal

In the hunts, the heads of the clans who take part act as directors and leaders for the members of their clans, for the dekane [MC: hunting association] has no head. If a family belonging to the clan is in distress because of wounds received in war, illness, or death, the neighbors help out, for the clan is a solid unit in aiding each of its members. Poverty or even begging is unknown.

22: Wiedfeldt--35 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 476, 463, 224 Atayal

Several women never work together. If several men work together, as for example in making bridges, fishing, or in war, there is no division of labor, but each one does the same thing as his neighbor. They have no ability to organize their occupations. If in hunting, 1/3 of them have guns and act as shooters, while 2/3 of them have old-style weapons and are busier as beaters and runners, without their knowing it the lack of guns has become an advantage.

22: Wiedfeldt--39[2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 185, 224, 251 Atayal

They do not understand how to accumulate means for definite purposes. They do not store up any provisions for bad seasons, which, to be sure, is difficult in view of the damp, hot climate and the danger of destruction by termites. In general, it would be unnecessary, also, since nature is extraordinarily fertile. Because of the same lack of foresight, they know nothing about closed seasons in hunting. On the grounds of this lack of care for the future, the thrifty Chinese among whom the failure of the crops always means famine and widespread death consider the Atayals animal-like creatures.

22: Wiedfeldt--51 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 262, 721 Atayal

If several of the men of a tribe are working together in the assembly, or in the hunt, or in a war, they are absent from their huts for days. In the first case, they are fed on the results of the community fishing expedition, and in the second, on the results of the hunt. In the third case, each man brings with him a supply of millet for several days. This is prepared by the women who live nearby. When the millet was consumed, the war was also at an end, as long as they were dealing with other "savages". In the long drawn-out campaigns waged by the Japanese, they had to suspend operations after a few days, in order to procure new food.

25: Plaut--41-42 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 423, 578, 628

Settlement of quarrels. Quarrels naturally arise from many sources, the most frequent being hunting, slander and, among bachelors, love. Each tribe has its hunting territory, which it has possessed for a long time, and it has definite boundaries which members of other tribes are not permitted to cross. If anyone is found hunting in a preserve where he has no right to be, he has to pay a fine [42] to the offended tribe. If his statement contradicts that of his accuser, his own chief forces him to fight a duel with the other man in order to avoid a general quarrel.

26: Honda--473
241, 224, 461

N-3

(1896) 1897

Formosan Aborigines
Bunun

The aborigines are by no means hunters. Only the chiefs and a few of their subjects go hunting. The main occupation of the people is agriculture. In particular, sweet potatoes and millet are important products. In addition tobacco and a variety of pea are grown. The system of agriculture is communistic. Its advantages are that nothing is stolen because nobody is permitted to have private property. Both work and harvest are arranged on a cooperative basis.

The men were willing workers and like to use axes, which makes me believe that they would be good forestry workers.

31: Hofmann--620 [2] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 241

The aborigines of Formosa are not a nomadic people, nor do they live by hunting alone, although they are passionate hunters. They are an agricultural settled people and they move to another locality only when they are driven out of their homes. Their agricultural methods are quite primitive. Millet is cultivated chiefly; there is also a kind of rice plant which does not require irrigation, as well as the Colocasia antiquorum, a tuberous fruit of the Aroidea family which is very popular among the Japanese....

31: Hofmann--623 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 261, 411 Tsou

Although the natives consume great quantities of food and drink at banquets, they are able to go without food for days. When they are hunting, they often lie in wait for a whole day and night; they shoot the game only when they are very close. They are therefore not very good marksmen; they get their guns, which are not of a very good quality, from the Chinese. Since powder is difficult to get they are forced to use it sparingly. They do not hunt for beasts of prey such as bears (Ursus malayanus), leopards, wild cats, etc., and they seldom shoot birds.

37: Steere--306 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 181, 224, 411, 226 Sek-hoan

"They are great lovers of hunting and fishing, and are very skillful in making snares for deer and other kinds of game. They generally hunt and fish in large bands, for the sake of protection from the savages, from whom they are always liable to attack. They frequently surround a space of country and drive the deer and other game through a ravine or some other place, when they are easily shot. They use fire-locks quite generally for defense and for hunting, though some of the poorer ones still carry bows and arrows, and many go to their fields or from one village to another armed with lances. They have a curious but very effectual way of fishing the shallow streams that flow through their country, this by damming them and turning the water to one side of the channel, leaving most of the bed of the stream dry, and the fish and shrimps in little pools and under rocks, where they are easily captured."

37: Steere--308 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 342, 352, 592 Chin-hoan

"They are good hunters, and I saw several bear's skulls among them, and many of deer and wild boar. They generally hunt in bands, and surround their game. Their houses are made by digging a little below the surface of the ground, and then building up heavy stone walls to a height of two or three feet, in which are planted upright posts, and limbs and trunks of trees are interwoven among these to the proper height, and then all is covered with grass. There are no windows, the low door serving for the entrance of light, and an outlet for smoke. One house generally serves for two families, a fire being built at each end, and a couple of low banks of bamboo that serve for seats and beds."

40: Kirk-- 14 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 181, 224, 177, 22 Japanese

"As the Japanese have carried away all firearms found in native villages, the savages have complained that this policy of confiscation has worked an unnecessary hardship on many nonhostile groups. Without guns, the aborigines are seriously handicapped in one of the absorbing interests of their lives--bird shooting and bear hunting.

The officials have replied that hunting, after all, is 'contrary to the principles of humanity' and that the primitive should turn their attention away from warlike pursuits to tilling the soil and raising corn and potatoes. The Japanese are hoping that this plan will force the savages to adopt 'gentler ways of living.' As late as 1934, headlines in the newspapers, such as 'Rebellious Savages Found-- Leader Anatex Killed by Machine Gun Fire,' would seem to indicate that the mountain tribes are by no means entirely subjugated."

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

of five to twelve houses. Chinimoaŋ had 55 houses and Pinaiwanaŋ 101. The cultivated fields around the village were possessed by the aristocratic households (*usam na mamatsayiran*) of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. By annexing and transition of these fields, their state of possession had become rather complicated. The distribution of aristocratic households had also become rather complicated too. The village had 12 aristocratic households, 9 of them belonged to the Chimo. Among them was the *ruvaniau* household which was of the highest rank. The *ruvaniau* also in charge of the *satsilapan* household which was saved as a village temple in time of our investigation. These two households were both situated on the upper part of Chinimoaŋ. The other 8 Chimo aristocratic households were equally distributed in the two hamlets. The *tʃaluŋi*, the *matsiliai*, the *gumul*, and the *voto* were in Chinimoaŋ, while the south *tʃalas*, the north *tʃalas*, the *tarapatea*, and the *tʃalusaŋiu* were in Pinaiwanaŋ. Two of the Paiwan aristocratic households, the *lusiguan* and the *alijulan* were in *Pinaiwanan*, and the *atsinajan* was in southeast end of Chinimoaŋ. From the distribution of those households, therefore, we may say that the significance of the distinction of Chinimoaŋ and Pinaiwanaŋ has been lost. But by their possession of hunting grounds (*aluliapan*), the existence of dual organization in the early days has been revealed. The village had 6 localities of hunting grounds, two lay south and east of the village, *pasulaval* and *vuit*, and belonged to the Chimo chiefs, four lay in west and north and belonged to the Paiwan chiefs. At the time of investigation, *alulialiav* and *pasulaots* belonged to the *lusiguan* household; *patsavatsavan*, south *tʃalas*; *pasupaots*, north *tʃalas*. The latter two may have been annexed by the Chimo. The fishing grounds were similar in condition to hunting grounds. The Lai-i River (or the *pasulaval* river as it is called by the natives) was the fishing grounds of the Chimo. Most of the lower part belonged to the *atsinajan*, *lusiguan*, north *tʃalas*, *gumul*, *tara'atea* and the south *tʃalas* respectively. The tributary of the Lai-i River, which is called *pasuivelin* by the natives, was originally the fishing grounds of the Paiwan but it was then divided into two parts and is owned by the *atsinajan* and the north *tʃalas*. The Chimo though they predominated over the Paiwan in hunting grounds, and equalled the Paiwan in fishing grounds, had less influence on aspects of religious and ritual. *Para'aree*, the priest of the most important religion rite *malɔvo*, the five-years-feast, was a member of the *atsinajan* household of the Paiwan. The ceremonies of *malɔvo* was initiated in the *lusigunan* and *atsinajan* of the Paiwan and then performed in Chimo households. Two of the three *puliŋao* or priestesses who sang songs for inviting gods were Paiwan. But the *pusao* or the six-years-feast was performed by the Chimo priest and priestesses. The *para'aree* and *puliŋao* of these two groups have acquired their techniques from their own group. This teaching had been kept secret from each other.

By the above mentioned facts, we may assume that the Paiwan are the natives and the Chimo came later. The Chimo though predominated over the Paiwan in economic and political power, but the Paiwan have maintained their position in religious life.

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
Atayal AD4

721 the rack, which is called *ui*(s). Another signal which is made of a kind of plant (aralia papyrifera) will be hung high on the tree to boast to the other villages, which is called *wawaja*(m) or *peila*(s). In *tapilas*, the sacrificial rite is directed by the chief. The chief will put sediment and stick a tobacco pipe into the mouth of the victim's head and pray to it" You have enjoyed our offerings of wine and tobacco. To let your campanions have the same kind of enjoyment, please ask them to join you." The villagers will do the same thing one by one. Women who have young sons will take out a small amount of the sediment from the mouth of the head to feed their sons. They believe that by eating this the young boys will become brave.

13. Ritual hunting and rattan pulling

The next day, all participants of the expedition will go out again to hunt beasts on the mountain. After they have returned, they first offer the game to the head, and then divide it in the feast among their relatives and friends. That day, the *tapilas* also hold a *pisiax-coani* or rattan pulling game. Each end of a piece of rattan about nine meters in length is tied to a piece of wood about four meters in length; this makes the whole thing I-shaped. The villagers divide themselves into two groups. Each group holds one end or one piece of wood of this I-shaped thing. When the game is started, they begin to sing, dance and jump. And then, they pull the rattan until it is broken. The group which has the longer piece of broken rattan will be considered as the winners. They believe that by doing this they will have good fortunes.

721 766 14. Defeated

If they got no head in the expedition, or if somebody of the expedition was killed or injured, the expedition will be regarded as a failure. It is believed that members who are killed in the expedition will be transferred into evil spirits. Their corpses will be deserted in woods or caves and cannot be brought back to the village. On this occasion, the head they have gotten will be deserted too. No sacrificial ritual will be held though sometimes the head has been brought into the village. The members must leave all their clothes and personal effects outside the village and return back to their own homes with naked bodies at night. Evils must be removed from those thing left outside the village by their shamans. The *siaqalo*, in this case, always demolish the house of the dead and build a new one for the family of the deseased because they are afraid of the evil spirits.

IV. FOOD

[224] 262 241 Most of the Atayal are agriculturists, though sometimes Atayal men chase game. The most important crop in their former days was millet, but today they depend mostly on sweet potatoes and rice.

1. The following kinds of plants and animals are used for food by the villagers:

Cereals—rice, millet, maize, etc.

Rhizomes—sweet potato, taro, radish, etc.

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Atayal

Vegetables—eggplant, cabbage, onion, garlic, wild tomato, pumpkins, gourd, beans (Pisum sativum, L.), etc.

Fruits—peach, pear, orange, persimmon, longan fruit, banana, (sugar cane), etc.

Eggs, meats, and fish—hen-eggs, duck-eggs, pork, beef, chicken, duck, turkey, meat of wild boar, monkey, and fox, and many kinds of birds and fishes.

Others—mushrooms, and other kinds of edible fungus.

Among the above list, rice, millet, sweet potato, and taro are staples; and the others are subsidiary articles to diet. They are generally prohibited from eating snakes, cats, dogs, rats, and frogs.

2. Preservation and storage of food

Methods of preserving food are (1) salting [*sintemoay*]; (2) drying [*mapci*]; and (3) baking [*aqaqaf*]. Cabbage and radishes may be dried first and then salted, or may be salted first and then dried; they are stored in wooden baskets or pots. The salting method of monkey's meat is as follows: The monkey is killed by a wooden club, and then roasted at a fire to burn off the hair. After the hair has been burned off, the entrails will be viscerated and the whole monkey will be cut into small pieces. Then they will be stored with rice and salt in a pot. Pork is always roasted. Sometimes they roast or salt the meat while they are still on the expedition when game is plenty.

Cereals are stored in the grain-storage house. The grain storage house is a kind of pile-building constructed of bamboo (see IV House). Rhizomes are stored in their kitchens.

3. Preparation of food

Their methods of preparing food are mostly very simple. Every morning they pound the amount of rice they need for the day. Rice is pounded in the wooden mortar with a wooden pestle. Winnows are used to hold grains which overflow from the mortar and to winnow away the husks.

Their oven is constructed by sticking three knives or laying three pieces of stone on the earth like a tripod. In the former days, fire was made by drilling a piece of wood on another piece of wood. The strike-a-light method of making fire was introduced into the Atayal more lately, and today most of them use matches.

Meat is mostly boiled with water. Fish and small animals may be roasted.

Rice-cake and millet-cake are made by the same processes. Glutinous rice [*naisaini*] or glutinous millet [*tulaqis*] is used. It is washed, steamed, and then pounded.

Bananas are smoked on the fire or stored in a pit, which is covered by tree leaves and clay, to become ripe. To take away the acrid taste of the persimmons, they are stored inside a pot with water which has been boiled with longan leaves and unripe persimmons.

4. Condiments

Salty (of salt), pungent or hot (of ginger or cayenne pepper) is called *qomtox*. Sweet (of sugar), is called *sisiβin*. Acrid (of a unripe persimmon) is called *mapaya*.

They use only a few kinds of seasoning: salt, ginger, and oil. Salt is gotten by

7: Joest--60 [10] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 226, 278 Chin-hoan

For fishing the Chinwan men use nets and fishhooks as well as a poison made from the root of a creeping plant which is called lo-tin.

21: Asai--3 [2] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 226, 396, 476 Yami

"Among the Yami there is a fishing league. (The Yami live between Formosa and the Philippines on a very small island.) The Yami live on fishing—not much agriculture. They are very skillful in constructing boats. There are one-man, two-men, and the largest are 10-men boats. In the construction of 10-men boats, 10 members are necessary. They form a union. Sometimes it takes more than a year to build a 10-men boat. The men who have built the boat always fish in that boat and always together. The fish is divided among them. Such groups are voluntary rather than hereditary."

Since there are no implements for catching fish, fish are caught only once a year, in spite of the great wealth of fish in the mountain streams. This is a cooperatuve undertaking in which the whole tribe takes part. The chief of the tribe sets a day for the gathering of the chiefs of the clans, and also for catching fish in the large river. It is in the fall, when the trout has reached its full growth and the millet is ripe. Every clan sends at least one representative, and the women and children [16] also come. Every man brings along some poison which he has prepared himself from a species of bindweed. When it is dropped into the river, the fish are supposed to come to the surface immediately and even to hurry to shore, so that the participants in the celebration are able to catch them by splashing their hands in the water, amid laughter and joking. They are divided into as many piles as the number of clans represented, in which process the chief of the tribe sees that justice is observed. The same procedure is followed in dividing the clan allotments among the families participating. Since the fish are immediately roasted on the fire and consumed, this fish festival is a convenient way of feeding the people attending the meeting of the tribe.

22: Wiedfeldt--16 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 226, 517, 868 Atayal

Fishing and hunting, especially, are of little use in providing food, but serve as a sport for the purpose of training them in the use of weapons and as a diversion for the leisure time of the Atayal men.

34: Del Re--30[2] U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 262, 226 Yami

"The Yami are economically self-sufficient. They live mainly on tarð (a species of sweet potato), suli (yams), millet (sometimes referred to as Chinese corn in their poems), fish (fresh and dried), besides poultry, eggs, pork and goat. The last three, however, may not be eaten except during festival seasons, while the eating of flying-fish (exocoetus) is taboo between July and October. During several months of the year ordinary fishing is practically impossible owing to bad weather, while at others is forbidden "

34: Del Re--33 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 796, 805, 622, 756, 226 Yami

"The ceremony of 'calling' the flying-fish opens the year which begins, according to the Yami system, in April corresponding, in the solar calendar, to October. It is accompanied by most elaborate ritual observances the purpose of which is to secure a good season and to celebrate the arrival of the fish. On this occasion the tribe annually chooses the man whom it considered best fitted to exercise the role of high priest and to represent it. It may be noted in passing that, contrary to what occurs in other tribes, the Yami have no medicine-women, all ritual observances being restricted to men alone."

34: Del Re--33-34 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 784, 562, 823, 226, 793 Yami

"So great is the importance attributed to the visit of the flying fish, that during this period fishermen are required to observe a large number of prescriptive taboos, as well as others connected with the numerous rituals observed during the actual ceremonies. These are summed up in the following commandments:---'When you go fishing, do not look down into the water.' 'Do not spit into the sea: spit into the air so that your spittle may fali upon the sea like rain.' 'Do not cast stones into the sea' ---and many others of a like nature. Another important taboo connected with the sea and most stringently enforced at this time, is that no woman shall touch or have anything to do with the flying-fish ceremony, or approach close to, much less enter, the sea. It would appear that this is related to the early creation myth in which a pregnant woman by enter-[34]ing the sea was the cause of the great flood which covered the island and destroyed all life upon it. (11)"

11. See Legand of Imulud, AYL, p. 92 lines 1 ff.

34: Del Re--34-37 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 221, 226, 241, 796 Yami

"In the Yami calendar the months of May, June and July (i.e. November, December and January) are almost wholly given up to catching flying-fish, the greater part of which are dried. The fishing is done by night, from small canoes and in large ones during the first two months, but, on the third, only by day. During the fourth month however, fishing by night and by day and with small canoes is permitted. Meanwhile the womenfolk collect the fibrous bark of certain shrubs, mainly the abaka, which they dye, spin and weave on primitive handlooms into cloth with admirably decorative designs in colour. When the flying-fish season is over, and during the months of August and September (February, March) the crops of taro and suli are gathered in and the fields worked over October (April) is the month set aside specially for the making of the earthenware dishes and pots used in the flying-fish ceremony. During November (May) they finish eating their store of dried flying-fish, while December (June) is mainly devoted to preparing the lime the savages chew with their betel-nuts, used for both medical and dyeing purposes. In January (July) they cut down the onigaya (misacanthus) out of which they fashion torches for the flying-fish ceremony, and celebrate the mil- [pages 35 and 36 contain illustrations] [37] let harvest. Millet, suli and taro are sown in February (August), while March (September) is principally given up to catching mamibiki, a largish flat fish which is found in considerable quantities in these waters."

37: Steere--306 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 181, 224, 411, 226 Sek-hoan

"They are great lovers of hunting and fishing, and are very skillful in making snares for deer and other kinds of game. They generally hunt and fish in large bands, for the sake of protection from the savages, from whom they are always liable to attack. They frequently surround a space of country and drive the deer and other game through a ravine or some other place, when they are easily shot. They use fire-locks quite generally for defense and for hunting, though some of the poorer ones still carry bows and arrows, and many go to their fields or from one village to another armed with lances. They have a curious but very effectual way of fishing the shallow streams that flow through their country, this by damming them and turning the water to one side of the channel, leaving most of the bed of the stream dry, and the fish and shrimps in little pools and under rocks, where they are easily captured."

37: Steere--310 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 304, 411, 226, 501 Chin-hoan

"The dress of the men is a hunting shirt made of deer or monkey skins, that does not protect the arms nor legs. The women wear a sort of tunic of Chinese cloth, and protect the fore-part of the leg with a sort of close-fitting gaiter from the thorns and spines with which the forest is filled. They do not tattoo, but have a custom of knocking out the eye-teeth of the boys, so that they reminded me of squirrels. They are not warlike, but use rude bows and arrows for hunting and protection when they are too poor to get firelocks. They are great hunters, and large strings of monkeys' and bears' skulls hung about their dwellings. I saw them fishing with small dip-nets among the pond-lily roots and leaves, and catching a species of cat-fish (Silurus). They also fish with rude spears. They use, in navigating the lake, huge hollowed trunks of camphor trees, that look as if they may have been in use a hundred years. They are very awkward and heavy, and appear to have been hollowed with fire. They are open at both ends, the water being kept out with earth and sods."

37: Steere--313 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 251, 226, 343 Chin-hoan

"Like the Che-whan at the north they build granaries raised upon posts crowned with flat disks of slate stone to keep squirrels and rats from climbing up. These little grass-thatched structures, apparently perched upon stilts, formed the most conspicuous part of the villages. The Kale-whan seem to do little hunting but make out to add a few small fish and shrimps to their stock of food from the stream that flows through the valley below. We saw some of the young men fishing with a curious little circular net with pockets in several places for the fish to enter. They would inclose one of the large boulders, with which the bed of the stream was filled, with the net and then pry up the stone with poles and let it drop back into its place, scaring the fish that sheltered under it out into the pockets of the net. This style of fishing did not appear to be very productive, as they had caught but two or three small fish and a few shrimps."

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

of five to twelve houses. Chinimoaŋ had 55 houses and Pinaiwanaŋ 101. The cultivated fields around the village were possessed by the aristocratic households (*usam na mamatsaŋiran*) of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. By annexing and transition of these fields, their state of possession had become rather complicated. The distribution of aristocratic households had also become rather complicated too. The village had 12 aristocratic households, 9 of them belonged to the Chimo. Among them was the *ruvaniau* household which was of the highest rank. The *ruvaniau* also in charge of the *satsilapan* household which was saved as a village temple in time of our investigation. These two households were both situated on the upper part of Chinimoaŋ. The other 8 Chimo aristocratic households were equally distributed in the two hamlets. The *tʃaluŋi*, the *matsiliat*, the *gumul*, and the *voto* were in Chinimoaŋ, while the south *tʃalas*, the north *tʃalas*, the *tarapatea*, and the *tʃalusaŋiu* were in Pinaiwanaŋ. Two of the Paiwan aristocratic households, the *lusiguan* and the *alijulan* were in *Pinaiwanan*, and the *atsinajan* was in southeast end of Chinimoaŋ. From the distribution of those households, therefore, we may say that the significance of the distinction of Chinimoaŋ and Pinaiwanaŋ has been lost. But by their possession of hunting grounds (*aluliapan*), the existence of dual organization in the early days has been revealed. The village had 6 localities of hunting grounds, two lay south and east of the village, *pasulaval* and *vuit*, and belonged to the Chimo chiefs, four lay in west and north and belonged to the Paiwan chiefs. At the time of investigation, *alulialiav* and *pasulaots* belonged to the *lusiguan* household; *patsavatsavan*, south *tʃalas*; *pasupaots*, north *tʃalas*. The latter two may have been annexed by the Chimo. The fishing grounds were similar in condition to hunting grounds. The Lai-i River (or the *pasulaval* river as it is called by the natives) was the fishing grounds of the Chimo. Most of the lower part belonged to the *atsinajan*, *lusiguan*, north *tʃalas*, *gumul*, *tara'atea* and the south *tʃalas* respectively. The tributary of the Lai-i River, which is called *pasuivelin* by the natives, was originally the fishing grounds of the Paiwan but it was then divided into two parts and is owned by the *atsinajan* and the north *tʃalas*. The Chimo though they predominated over the Paiwan in hunting grounds, and equalled the Paiwan in fishing grounds, had less influence on aspects of religious and ritual. *Para'aree*, the priest of the most important religion rite *malɔvo*, the five-years-feast, was a member of the *atsinajan* household of the Paiwan. The ceremonies of *malɔvo* was initiated in the *lusigunan* and *atsinajan* of the Paiwan and then performed in Chimo households. Two of the three *puliŋao* or priestesses who sang songs for inviting gods were Paiwan. But the *pusao* or the six-years-feast was performed by the Chimo priest and priestesses. The *para'aree* and *puliŋao* of these two groups have acquired their techniques from their own group. This teaching had been kept secret from each other.

By the above mentioned facts, we may assume that the Paiwan are the natives and the Chimo came later. The Chimo though predominated over the Paiwan in economic and political power, but the Paiwan have maintained their position in religious life.

51: Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

105 different localities, so that their cultures, though similar, are not uniform. The native tribes also differ considerably in the degree to which they have been acculturated and in the type of culture change that has taken place.

The Ami

[10] [13] [16] The Ami live in the Taitung Rift Valley, which runs in approximately a north-south direction for 150 kilometres along the east coast of Formosa. Some Ami live on the east coast proper. The Ami tribe is the largest on Formosa. They are divided into five groups by dialect and cultural differences. The number of households and population of each group, based on the census of 1937, are as follows:

Group	No. of households	Population
Pei-nan	859	9546
Heng-ch'un	461	4403
Hai-an	1159	11760
Hsiu-ku-luan	2008	15861
Nan-shih	1713	8436
Total	6200	50006

[241] [226] [345] [611] [591] The chief traits of the Ami are intensive agriculture and fishing; pile dwellings; paddle-and-anvil pottery; long wooden shields; feather headdresses; clans[1]; matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence; classificatory or Malayan kinship terminology; parent-child nymic linkage; and age-grades.

Tavarong is a town of 5,000 population situated in the central part of the Taitung Rift Valley, in Hualien Hsien. It belongs to the Hsiu-ku-luan group and is regarded by the Ami themselves as the oldest settlement in the whole Ami area. About one per cent of the Tavarong townsmen are Christians; the rest hold to their native religion. 361

Gods, spirits, and souls

776 The Ami term for gods, which include also spirits and souls, is *kawas*. The Tavarong Ami believe in two kinds of *kawas*. The first kind, which may be considered natural gods, include *maratau*, *tšidar*, *borar*], and others. *maratau* is a male tutolary deity who resides in heaven. According to informant Maran-Namo?, *maratau* is the god of "politics and strength". In former days, when the Ami were at war with their neighbors, the Atayal, they prayed to *maratau* for protection[2]. *tšidar* is the female sun goddess, and *borar*] the male moon god. The sun goddess is held to be more powerful than the moon god. Maran-Namo? while explaining the designs on the houseposts of the house of the *kakita:n* (priest), stated that *tšidar* is the almighty deity and holds the supreme position over

1. Utsurikawa [1935] reported about 55 clan names for the Ami, but he gave no clan names north of the Vataan, Tavarong, and Karuran areas.
2. According to Furuno [1954:3-42], *maratau* is connected with headhunting and is the god of crops and game, as well as being the war god.

7: Joest--60 [13] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 231 Chin-hoan

Dogs, the only domestic animals of the Chinwans, are always treated well and get a portion of the meat.

19: Guérin and Bernard--555 [3] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 231

The dogs of the savages are coupled and held by rush thongs; these valuable animals are one of the sources of the tribal wealth. Some of the clans cut off the tails, but most of them respect this appendage.

19: Guérin and Bernard--558 [4] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 231

You miss the noise of the farmyard around the savage dwellings. But the savage feels that he has enough trouble finding food for himself, and he is unable to comprehend that domestic cattle can be a valuable source of food.

21: Asai--7 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 231, 241, 243, 177.24 Japan
636.24

"Agriculture. Grow chiefly sweet potatoes, millet, peanuts. The fields are on the slopes of hills. They keep pigs—used originally for sacrifice. They grew dry field rice, but the Japanese started them growing wet rice. This was bad for their health as malaria would start up."

22: Wiedfeldt--18 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 231, 177, 262, 857 Atayal

If the Atayals may be said not to practice agriculture in the proper sense of the word, it may also be said that they do not do any cattle-farming. They have not domesticated any animal, nor do they need any, either for draught animals or for food. In the regions along the frontier, they have recently learned from the Chinese to raise the small black pigs, and they have also become acquainted with the Chinese method of keeping wild boars, according to which the family which raises boars gets a young pig from every litter. From the same source they have introduced the few chickens that they have, which are kept as a luxury... since they, like the Chinese, do not eat eggs. Even the dog, which one now finds in almost every hut, the Atayals are said to owe to the Chinese, and to get them from them by barter. The dog is not used for hunting nor for guarding the hut, but is a playmate of the children. It is apparently more attached to the woman, whom it helps to pass the time, than it is to the man.

22: Wiedfeldt--35 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 463, 177, 231 Atayal

If the keeping of boars has recently produced a kind of side-line for individual Atayal families, this is a case of a recent innovation borrowed from Chinese economy.

31: Hofmann--620 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 161, 231, 701 Tsou

They have domestic dogs of a small black breed which guard the houses and are used in hunting.

Another domestic animal which is found everywhere is a small black pig. There are also chickens in the village, but there are no cattle. The entire tribe comprises 1,500 members, including 400 men able to bear arms; all the men know how to shoot.

37: Steere--305-306 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 286, 241, 231, 621 Sek-hoan

"They irrigate and cultivate the soil in the same way as the Chinese do, using buffaloes for plowing and for drawing rude carts, that are used in all parts of the island, and are said to be of Dutch origin. They live like the [306] Chinese, gathered together in villages of huts made of adobes and covered with grass roofs."

37: Steere--312 [3] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 352, 286, 231 Chin-hoan

"The interior of the houses was clean and paved with slate, with low stone banks running around the sides for beds and seats. These were covered with mats, and such of the family as were not in the fields were sitting upon them, the women engaged in weaving mats and an open sack that is much used by them for containing burdens to be carried on the back. Many swarms of honey bees entered through crevices in the walls to cells made for them beneath these banks, and the savages make quite an article of trade of the honey and wax. They keep a few pigs and chickens beside."

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AM
Atayal

Vegetables—eggplant, cabbage, onion, garlic, wild tomato, pumpkins, gourd, beans (Pisum sativum, L.), etc.

Fruits—peach, pear, orange, persimmon, longan fruit, banana, (sugar cane), etc.

Eggs, meats, and fish—hen-eggs, duck-eggs, pork, beef, chicken, duck, turkey, meat of wild boar, monkey, and fox, and many kinds of birds and fishes.

Others—mushrooms, and other kinds of edible fungus.

Among the above list, rice, millet, sweet potato, and taro are staples; and the others are subsidiary articles to diet. They are generally prohibited from eating snakes, cats, dogs, rats, and frogs.

2. Preservation and storage of food

Methods of preserving food are (1) salting [*sintemoay*]; (2) drying [*mapci*]; and (3) baking [*aqaqay*]. Cabbage and radishes may be dried first and then salted, or may be salted first and then dried; they are stored in wooden baskets or pots. The salting method of monkey's meat is as follows: The monkey is killed by a wooden club, and then roasted at a fire to burn off the hair. After the hair has been burned off, the entrails will be viscerated and the whole monkey will be cut into small pieces. Then they will be stored with rice and salt in a pot. Pork is always roasted. Sometimes they roast or salt the meat while they are still on the expedition when game is plenty.

Cereals are stored in the grain-storage house. The grain storage house is a kind of pile-building constructed of bamboo (see IV House). Rhizomes are stored in their kitchens.

3. Preparation of food

Their methods of preparing food are mostly very simple. Every morning they pound the amount of rice they need for the day. Rice is pounded in the wooden mortar with a wooden pestle. Winnows are used to hold grains which overflow from the mortar and to winnow away the husks.

Their oven is constructed by sticking three knives or laying three pieces of stone on the earth like a tripod. In the former days, fire was made by drilling a piece of wood on another piece of wood. The strike-a-light method of making fire was introduced into the Atayal more lately, and today most of them use matches.

Meat is mostly boiled with water. Fish and small animals may be roasted.

Rice-cake and millet-cake are made by the same processes. Glutinous rice [*naisaini*] or glutinous millet [*tulaqis*] is used. It is washed, steamed, and then pounded.

Bananas are smoked on the fire or stored in a pit, which is covered by tree leaves and clay, to become ripe. To take away the acrid taste of the persimmons, they are stored inside a pot with water which has been boiled with longan leaves and unripe persimmons.

4. Condiments

Salty (of salt), pungent or hot (of ginger or cayenne pepper) is called *qomtox*. Sweet (of sugar), is called *sisiβin*. Acrid (of a unripe persimmon) is called *mapaya*.

They use only a few kinds of seasoning: salt, ginger, and oil. Salt is gotten by

4:Grajdanzev--38 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 433, 454, 511, 464

"The Japanese sources quote the following figures as proofs of their economic progress: in 1938 the aborigines produced 34,079 koku of rice, they received ¥ 230,253 for sugar cane raised on their fields, and ¥ 52,713 for silk cocoons; they had 29,247 pigs, 8,142 water buffalo, 3,964 cows, and 11,766 goats. Eighteen thousand aborigines had deposits in post offices to the aggregate amount of ¥ 414,000 (1937). Let us examine these figures: 34,079 koku of rice for the population of 90,000 give about 0.3 lb. of rice per person per day, less than one-third the average for Japan, and it should be remembered that rice is the aborigines' foremost crop. When the same division is made of the 29,247 pigs and 11,766 goats, there is little more than one sen per day per capita. If one takes into considera-[sic] crops on the average brought ¥ 13 per year per family, or less than one sen per day per capita. If one takes into consideration the fact that numerous tribal chiefs have many more pigs, goats, savings, etc. than the average native, one may understand the poverty in which most of these 'former savages' now live in the new conditions. Here lies the real cause of their rebellious spirit. They cannot exist on what they have. They have no choice but to work for the Japanese, and the Japan Year Book informs us that there are now 32 per cent of them who 'are able to understand Japanese to the extent of performing some simple work'. "

7: Joest--60 [4] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 361 Chin-hoan

The Chinwans like to build their villages within the forest, preferably on a small hill so that they are protected from sudden attacks. They burn the trees around the settlement and the women plant rice, millet, hemp, and tobacco. Sometimes they harden pointed pieces of bamboo by holding them over a fire and placing these along the narrow paths which lead to their village.

10: Schumacher--225 [8] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 314, 438 Chin-hoan

The inhabitants of the mountains subsist mainly by agriculture, hunting, the sale of camphor wood and the trade of camphor. The latter is obtained by means of extraction with water and a very simple system of distillation.

11: Haguenauer--40 [2] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 695, 721, 769 Atayal

Head hunting was such a sacred practice that it could only be carried on under certain circumstances:

1. to please the spirits of the departed ancestors, and to ensure their protection;
2. to be able to enter the abode of the souls after death;
3. so that the community would have a good harvest;
4. to determine the innocence of an accused man, or to decide which one of two adversaries was right; the spirits will permit the innocent man to get a head while the guilty person will not succeed.

16: Müller--234 [4] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 361

The aborigines of Formosa cultivate millet, rice, and vegetables, but on the whole they do little work on their fields. They rely on the beneficent spirits of their ancestors to further the growth of plants, and they neither clear the fields nor fertilize them. If the soil ceases to be fertile, they leave their land and settle somewhere else. They have no agricultural implements save a hoe with a short shaft. Added to this is the poor soil in most regions, the steep mountains, and the rocky ground, so that the total agricultural produce is lamentably small.

16: Müller--234 [5] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 437

Since the amount the aborigines harvest falls far short of the amount they need, they are dependent to a large extent on barter with the Chinese. The articles which they are able to offer in exchange consist of the antlers and hide of stags, as well as cloth which they themselves have made; for these the Chinese give them rice and other articles of nourishment.

16: Müller--238-240 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 796, 769 Tsuo

Among the Tso'o aborigines there are three festivals to propitiate beneficent spirits every year. The most important of these at the same time marks the time when the harvest of millet begins; it is held under the sacred tree [239] which is the habitat of the spirits. To prepare for this festival the women brew the wine made from millet with many ceremonies, using millet which they have chewed beforehand to ferment it. On the day of the festival the unmarried young men ring a bell and all the heads of families start out for the sacred tree. They carry a bunch of Calamus reeds [MC: the sweet flag (Acorus Calamus)] tied together with fiber; the Calamus must be grown under the sacred tree. When they have arrived at the tree, the village elder sacrifices a bamboo cup filled with wine made of millet, murmuring incantations at the same time; during this time the others kneel down. After this everyone plants his Calamus under the sacred tree. On the following day [240] the young men again ring the bell and all the inhabitants, dressed in their holiday attire, assemble in the house of the chieftain. The oldest man in the village and the chieftain then sing a song in praise of the ancestral spirits. After this, all the participants form a solemn procession and march to the hut of the unmarried men where they dance around a fire. On the last day of the festival a banquet and a drinking bout are held.

18: Kakyo--68 E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 241.

The Formosan aborigines are familiar with agriculture....
In cultivating the fields they no longer use implements of stone or horn, but iron implements.

18: Kakyo--68 [3] E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241

For two reasons in particular the economic development of uncivilized peoples is generally slowed down:

1. because of firmly rooted superstition.
2. because of the unfavorable nature of the soil.

...The Ainus have the superstition that manuring the soil arouses the anger of the earth gods. Fortunately the Formosa savages do not share this superstition; they believe that they owe the fruits of the soil to the favor of the spirits of their ancestors. Their failure to use manure is due, not to superstition, but to custom.

As for the nature of the soil, in the districts inhabited by the savages it is particularly poor for agricultural uses owing to the steepness of the mountains and the stoniness of the ground; in addition, the savages have only the most primitive tools, do not use manure and do not hoe the weeds. So the results of their labors are so scanty that they cannot even nourish themselves.

19: Guérin and Bernard-- 558 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 311, 727

Around the savage house are several fields of sweet potatoes, hemp and Aralia papyfera (rice paper plant). At the end of these cultivated lands there is an area with some high grasses, but the passer by avoids it. If you go into this region, you will understand the reason for this repugnance for the green conceals a set of crude wooden shelves which have rows of Chinese heads; they are arranged as if they were in an anatomical museum, and there are always some new ones.

19: Guérin and Bernard--558 [3] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 276, 311

Cereals are harvested by the savages on the slopes or plateaus which are near the dwellings. Fertilizer comes from the ashes of large tree trunks that lie flat on the ground and are burned every year. In the spaces between them you see turnips, a kind of dandelion which is a remedy for intoxication, and tobacco. Although the soil is carefully cultivated by hand, these plants are frail and do not grow close together; they look like the agricultural attempts of a people that is still in its infancy. The rice grains are very large, but that is the only successful crop. The tobacco leaves are stripped from the plant as needed, and are dried in the fire. Several tribes in the south prepare them in the shape of carrots.

19: Guérin and Bernard--558 [5] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 462

Women do the work in the fields among the savages, and men help them when they are not hunting or taking trips.

19: Guérin and Bernard--563 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 273, 796

The aborigines celebrate three annual feasts which correspond to the sowing or harvesting of rice, millet and chickweed. The Tayal call them by the picturesque name of work of the cups. As a matter of fact, there is a great deal of drinking, and according to a custom which is fraternal rather than convenient, people drink two by two out of the same vessel. There is some preliminary hunting, so the natives always have an ample supply of venison. The guests get drunk, fight, and then when the ceremony is over, they limber up their muscles in a hunt.

20: Alvarez--255-256 (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 361, 166, 241

"The Amis, Pyuma and several other branches have been influenced by owing [sic] and assimilated to their Chinese neighbours, [MC: owing] to the close and permanent contact with the invading race. They pursue some agriculture and have also a [256] little home industry, while others, especially the Atayal, seem to be averse to any kind of manual labor. The latter are hunting tribes. Of course, there are some of them engaged in agricultural work; yet, generally, they prefer to walk about the vast forests in search of game, honey and so forth. Authors of the past century asserted, incorrectly however, that the aboriginal inhabitants of Formosa had but temporary shelters, for they were always wandering abouth [sic] the woods. There were, undoubtedly, transmigrations since the arrival of the Chinese in 1683. It is for instance, almost sure that the ancestors of the Amis, Pyuma, Paiwan, Atayal and Tsalisen had been driven out from their primitive home by the Chinese. But nomads, in the strict sense of the word, we think have never existed in the island."

20: Alvarez--258 (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 461, 241

"The Igorrotes, in general, are averse to every kind of manual labour, excepting the Amis, who build fine houses and have a handsome home industry. During the agricultural season, they as well as their Pyuma neighbours engage in agricultural work."

21: Asai--3 [3] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116/ 171, 241, 622 Paiwan

"In the village of the Paiwan there is a chief. The villagers are all subjects of the chief. All land belongs to him and he has absolute power. Labor is performed by the order of the chief. The workers are given a portion of the crops. (This is similar to Marshall Islands.)"

21: Asai--4-5 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 241, 769, 796

"A special ceremony takes place just after the harvest. In such ceremonies, wine and foods are offered to the souls of the ancestors, who live in the land of the dead. The people chant [5] ceremonial songs to make the souls come to the village. The dances last sometimes 24 hours in one week successively in Saisiyat. This is called the period of pastaai. The people bring rice and cooking utensils. The festival usually takes place in November. Through Chinese influence, there are sometimes two festivals, spring and autumn."

21: Asai--7 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 231, 241, 243, 177.24 Japan
636.24

"Agriculture. Grow chiefly sweet potatoes, millet, peanuts. The fields are on the slopes of hills. They keep pigs—used originally for sacrifice. They grew dry field rice, but the Japanese started them growing wet rice. This was bad for their health as malaria would start up."

22: Wiedfeldt--9 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 262, 241, 252, 527 Atayal

The main article of food of the Atayal is millet. They celebrate tribal and clan festivals in connection with the planting and the harvesting of this crop. It is ground by the women in a stump of wood in which a hole has been burned out, or on a stone, by means of a solid round piece of wood. They also eat yams and wild bananas, and more recently they have learned from the Chinese to eat rice and beans, and from the Japanese, sweet potatoes. With this vegetable diet they seldom eat meat, but occasionally they eat large quantities of it; for example, they eat antelope after a successful hunt, or at a wedding feast, and when they eat up the sacrifices. Recently they have begun to eat chickens and pigs, which they have obtained from the Chinese. Fish is eaten in large quantities once a year at the tribal feast.

22: Wiedfeldt--10-11 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 241, 276 Atayal

Tobacco smoking is general among men, women, and children. As a pipe they use two sticks of bamboo, thrust one into the other. [11] According to their traditions, they received the "tamako" from the savages of the plain, who in turn got it from the whites. Although it is only recently that they have taken over the planting of tobacco from the Chinese, today there are a few tobacco plants by every hut. Everyone picks a leaf as he needs it, sticks it in his hair or lays it on the ground to dry, and then packs it in his pipe when it is still half green.

22: Wiedfeldt--17 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 311, 241, 177 Atayal

They do not select the fertile valleys, [MC: for purposes of cultivation] but the parcels of land which lie on the slopes and are easier to work. Even in the cases in which individual families have taken over from the Chinese the raising of rice, together with the proper tools, they pay no attention to the unfavorable results of experience and avoid the places that are best adapted and that have a good supply of water, for they lack the ability to stay at a piece of work, which is necessary in raising rice.

22: Wiedfeldt--17 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 827, 462 Atayal

When a family has selected a piece of land, the man first pulls off or cuts off the branches of the trees on the land, so that the trees will die. The following year he burns off the dry trunks, together with the underbrush and the grass. The Atayals think it ridiculous to claim that these ashes encourage plant growth, and they find the Chinese custom of using human excrement as fertilizer repugnant. When the Formosa maple has red shoots, the woman loosens the ground with a stick or a spear and sows millet. The next year she plants mountain potatoes, or sweet potatoes and beans, and sometimes she plants millet again in the third year.

22: Wiedfeldt--17 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 423, 311, 241 Atayal

As long as the family is making use of its plot of ground, their possession of it is protected. As soon as they leave it, which happens after two, or sometimes three crops, because the soil will not produce anything any more, any other family of the clan can take possession of it. This does not generally happen, however, before seven years have passed, and the field has become covered with a luxuriant growth of bushes and trees.

22: Wiedfeldt--17 [5] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 461, 311 Atayal

The Atayals have only one crop a year, and they consider the efforts of the Chinese to get two crops a year from the soil as a proof of poor work, because they have to work twice instead of once for their food. The fields are protected against the depredations of antelopes and wild boars mostly by means of a bamboo hedge, which is considered a logical part of the man's work. Corresponding to the rotation of crops, every family has three or four non-contiguous pieces of land.

22: Wiedfeldt--17-18 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 177 Atayal

Some 30 to 40 are[MC: an are 0.02471 acre] are planted with millet, 20 are with mountain potatoes or sweet potatoes, and 10 are with bananas and beans. At harvest time, the woman picks the millet [18] and treads it out with her feet, or digs the potatoes with a stick. The activity of the Atayals in securing their food consists, thus, in burning off the stand of trees, sowing the seed, and garnering the fruit. Thus it is really only a process of facilitating the activity of nature. It seems questionable to me whether one may use Hahn's designation of hoe cultivation, since the tool which is characteristic of this type of cultivation, the hoe, is lacking. There are only isolated instances in which the Atayals have adopted the Chinese method of hoeing to a depth of 5 cm.

22: Wiedfeldt--18 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 412, 482 Atayal

Their chief [MC: agricultural] tools are a stick, a spear, or an antelope horn. These are used for loosening the ground and for removing the product. The stick also serves as a support and for carrying loads on their shoulders. Aside from this, they also use the hunting net for transporting products. The long knife which we have already mentioned is carried nowadays by most of the men. They use it as a hatchet, a sickle, or a hoe.

22: Wiedfeldt--21 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 584, 241, 585, 177 Atayal

If the son of a family wishes to marry, the family plants a larger piece of land with millet. At the time of the millet harvest, when there are enough provisions on hand for a year, the marriage takes place without any religious celebration. The head of the clan in which the couple will live in the future, and the members of the clan are invited to it. First they accompany the parents of the bridegroom to the bride's hut, where her parents serve them millet wine. Then all of them go to the new hut for the wedding feast, to which each guest contributes millet or millet wine... Recently they have begun to follow the Chinese custom of slaughtering a pig or killing a hen for the marriage feast. After a few hours, generally after a round dance has been danced and sung, the guests leave the hut wishing the couple many children.

22: Wiedfeldt--33 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 412, 241, 372 Atayal

If man, as Franklin says, is an animal that makes tools, then the Atayals, with the implements and weapons that have been enumerated, are well past that boundary, although they lack hoes, fishing-rods, and all kinds of metal tools. They have mastered fire, and they can clear the land for planting by using fire.

22: Wiedfeldt--39 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 156, 181, 241, 433 Atayal

Atayal domestic economy produces no surplus which they could give up. Every family plants just as much land as it needs for its own maintenance. Besides, who would take a surplus off their hands, since every family produces the same thing and has enough for itself? The impulse to make a profit, which now dominates our whole life, is completely lacking....Furthermore, the Atayals have no competition, that motive power of economic life. Indeed, the effort to produce more than the other fellow and thus to distinguish oneself may be seen only in the skull hunt. Finally, they do not know how to aim at the greatest possible production with the smallest possible expenditure of strength.

26: Honda--473 N-3 (1896) 1897 Formosan Aborigines
241, 224, 461 Bunun

The aborigines are by no means hunters. Only the chiefs and a few of their subjects go hunting. The main occupation of the people is agriculture. In particular, sweet potatoes and millet are important products. In addition tobacco and a variety of pea are grown. The system of agriculture is communistic. Its advantages are that nothing is stolen because nobody is permitted to have private property. Both work and harvest are arranged on a cooperative basis.

The men were willing workers and like to use axes, which makes me believe that they would be good forestry workers.

31: Hofmann--620 [2] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 241

The aborigines of Formosa are not a nomadic people, nor do they live by hunting alone, although they are passionate hunters. They are an agricultural settled people and they move to another locality only when they are driven out of their homes. Their agricultural methods are quite primitive. Millet is cultivated chiefly; there is also a kind of rice plant which does not require irrigation, as well as the Colocasia antiquorum, a tuberous fruit of the Aroidea family which is very popular among the Japanese....

31: Hofmann--620 [3] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 462 Tsou

Most of the natives have small fields on the slopes. I did not see any traces of agriculture near the houses; in the depressions, because of the debris washed down by the rivers, there are few places fit for cultivation. Most of the labor in the fields is done by the women. Within the tribe or tribal village, both labor and profit are regulated according to the communistic principle. Hunting and agriculture are both communal undertakings and the profit is divided equally among all; the children get the same share as the adults.

34: Del Re--34-37 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 221, 226, 241, 796 Yami

"In the Yami calendar the months of May, June and July (i.e. November, December and January) are almost wholly given up to catching flying-fish, the greater part of which are dried. The fishing is done by night, from small canoes and in large ones during the first two months, but, on the third, only by day. During the fourth month however, fishing by night and by day and with small canoes is permitted. Meanwhile the womenfolk collect the fibrous bark of certain shrubs, mainly the abaka, which they dye, spin and weave on primitive handlooms into cloth with admirably decorative designs in colour. When the flying-fish season is over, and during the months of August and September (February, March) the crops of taro and suli are gathered in and the fields worked over October (April) is the month set aside specially for the making of the earthenware dishes and pots used in the flying-fish ceremony. During November (May) they finish eating their store of dried flying-fish, while December (June) is mainly devoted to preparing the lime the savages chew with their betel-nuts, used for both medical and dyeing purposes. In January (July) they cut down the onigaya (misacanthus) out of which they fashion torches for the flying-fish ceremony, and celebrate the mil-[pages 35 and 36 contain illustrations] [37] let harvest. Millet, suli and taro are sown in February (August), while March (September) is principally given up to catching mamibiki, a largish flat fish which is found in considerable quantities in these waters."

37: Steere--305-306 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 286, 241, 231, 621 Sek-hoan

"They irrigate and cultivate the soil in the same way as the Chinese do, using buffaloes for plowing and for drawing rude carts, that are used in all parts of the island, and are said to be of Dutch origin. They live like the [306] Chinese, gathered together in villages of huts made of adobes and covered with grass roofs."

37: Steere--309 [1] S-5 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 415, 311, 313, 241 Chin-hoan

"Their household utensils consist of a Chinese iron pot, and a few gourds and water-tight baskets of rattan for holding water. The light they furnished us was a pine torch. I saw no native pottery among these or other savages of the island. They seem to possess no cultivable valleys, so that they are compelled to cultivate hill sides so steep that we were compelled to use both hands and feet in climbing them. They cut down the timber and let it lie until dry, and then set fire to it, burning off the leaves and small limbs, leaving the trunks and stumps upon the ground. They then build low irregular terraces of the small pieces of slate with which the hills are covered, to keep the soil and crops from washing away. They plant sweet potatoes, and a kind of rice that needs no irrigation, but their principal food is millet. After a couple of years or more of use, they allow the lands to grow up again, the second growth generally being a species of alder. After a few years of rest, the land is again ready to be cleared and planted. Their implements are their knives and sharpened sticks, the very steepness of the land cultivated, rendering it more easily cultivated with such poor tools. A mis-step would often send a hundred pounds of stones and earth sliding down."

37: Steere--312-313 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 137, 313, 311, 241 Chin-hoan

"The mountains all about the villages of the Kale-whan are almost entirely free from timber, there being only a little in the deep ravines, where it is almost inaccessible. The timber has probably been [313] cut off and sold by the savages to the Pepo-whans. Coarse grass and reeds have spring up, and this, by giving food for annual fires during the dry season, keeps a new growth of timber from springing up. The only timber that we could see, of any extent, was upon a high ridge that showed a few miles to the east and which we supposed must be the water-shed of the island. This timber appeared to be pine, and probably the common Chinese pine which we saw growing farther north. The Kale-whan were cultivating the steep hill-sides, much as the Che-whan of the north, by drawing weeds and bits of slate stone together into little ridges to keep the soil and crops from going down hill with the first rain. Their principal crops were millet and sweet potatoes. They also raised a small species of taro that grows without irrigation, though the large plant cultivated by the Chinese must be continually covered with water. While we were among them, toward the end of February, they were planting their millet. Their agricultural implements are sharpened sticks, some of them two or three pronged, like pitch forks, and some of them shod with iron. Many mango trees just in blossom were scattered over the hills among their little plantations, and had apparently been planted or at least protected by the savages. Their villages were nearly hidden in trees, among them oranges and plantains and betel nut palms, for which latter the savages have a great liking."

37: Steere--314 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 583, 241, 533, 784, 609 Chin-hoan

"The Kalè-whan, in times of scarcity, frequently sell their daughters to the Chinese and Pepo-whans, who take them as supplementary wives and make them useful as interpreters in thus bartering with the savages. While we were among the Kale-whan the chief offered to sell us three girls of the tribe at twenty dollars each, or its equivalent, in barter on fee simple. The poor girls were dressed up in all the finery the tribe possessed, one of them having a beautiful stem of wild red lilies in her hair, and were kept singing nearly all night before our door. They are a very musical people, and at night a large number collected in the house of the chief and the women would sing a monotonous but musical chant apparently as long as they could hold their breath, and then the men would answer in the same strain, winding up every time with a loud inspiration. We went among them during their seed time, and there seemed to be some taboo connected with it that forbade them entering their houses, and we found them all sitting around outside with closed doors, or at least with the slabs of slate that served for doors in their places. About midnight the taboo passed off enough so that they entered their houses, but there was still something that forbade them trading with us or assisting us, they even refusing at first to give us fire. Whenever one of the tribe, led by the display of cloth, scissors, etc., that we had with us, was tempted to trade us a pipe or an ornamented knife-scabbard, some one would pronounce the fatal word parici, and the trade was immediately dropped. There were,

some rare plants and land shells in the ravines which I wished to collect, but the savages seemed to think that it would bring some great evil upon them if they allowed me to take away any thing, and they almost compelled me by force to desist, pulling me by the arms and shouting parici in my ears. We were told that this taboo would pass off within four or five days, but we had no time to wait and so did not see them in their usual state."

39: Wiedfeldt--10-11 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 581, 805, 822 Atayal

The concept of time... is not strange to the Atayals, although they also lack a system of measuring time. They have no word or idea for month or for day. They only have two designations for hot time and cool time. Some tribes have words for sunrise, the zenith of the sun, and sunset, but as far as I have been able to ascertain they have no word for midnight. [11] For their practical needs they make use of other means. The length of time that it is possible to plant a field is given in the terms of the number of harvests obtained from the field. Since none of them know how old they are, marriageability is indicated by tattooing. When I asked if one could give his age according to the number of harvests, there being only one harvest a year, I was always told... that one could only obtain three harvests from one field, and that their people had experienced many more harvests. In summoning their clan and tribal assemblies, as well as in negotiations with the Japanese, the day is fixed according to the number of times they would normally sleep up to that time, and by the nodes in a bamboo staff, or the Japanese indicate the time by the knots in a string. According to the Japanese, it is not unusual for an Atayal to turn up a day early, because, for example, he slept twice in one day when he was hunting, and hence had counted two knots. Harvest time is easily recognized by the ripening of the fruit. The time to plant millet is determined according to the time when the Formosa maple has young red shoots... Rice is planted when the tse-tung-non, a tree of average size, is covered with white blossoms.

39: Wiedfeldt--15-16 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 769, 778 Atayal

There is a trace of ancestor worship in the tribal celebrations and also in the clan celebrations, which...are held for such members of the clan as can not attend the tribal celebration. Members of other tribes are not permitted to attend these celebrations, which unite all the members of the tribe, even if they were members before marriage. In the festival of the millet planting the chief of the tribe is said to thrust four bamboo stakes into the ground in a field that has been cleared of weeds early in the morning. Into the square thus formed he pours millet wine and millet mush, and standing in the middle, he says: "According to old customs and usages handed down to us we celebrate today, as our ancestors in this land have always celebrated. We thank our ancestors that we and our children are well. We wish that the millet which we are planting may bring us a rich harvest. We wish that our ancestors would protect us against illness. We thank our ancestors from the bottom of our hearts." Then he says to the assembled members of the tribe] "Everything is done", and they drink to gether the millet wine which they have brought with them. The harvest celebration is the same, except that the wish for a rich harvest is replaced by a prayer of thanks. In spite of my efforts, I have never been able to find out how they think their ancestors will protect them against illness or just how they procure them a rich harvest. I have also not been able to determine whether any special festivals or religious acts take place on Mt. Sylvia, which according to the Japanese is sacred to the Atayals. [16] The Atayals themselves say nothing about it, and foreigners have not yet penetrated that far into Atayal territory.

40: Kirk--15-16 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 311

"Since the savage is in the habit of burning off the grass and then planting the seed, there is constant danger of forests fires in the mountains. The soil is soon exhausted [16] under this rough treatment, and the native then moves to a new area and repeats the process of setting fire to the underbrush and sowing the seed. The Japanese hope to teach the aborigines how to use fertilizers on their new lands and to cultivate one plot or field from season to season."

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
Atayal AD4

721 the rack, which is called *ui*(s). Another signal which is made of a kind of plant (aralia papyrifera) will be hung high on the tree to boast to the other villages, which is called *waiwaja*(m) or *peila*(s). In *tapilas*, the sacrificial rite is directed by the chief. The chief will put sediment and stick a tobacco pipe into the mouth of the victim's head and pray to it" You have enjoyed our offerings of wine and tobacco. To let your campanions have the same kind of enjoyment, please ask them to join you." The villagers will do the same thing one by one. Women who have young sons will take out a small amount of the sediment from the mouth of the head to feed their sons. They believe that by eating this the young boys will become brave.

13. Ritual hunting and rattan pulling

The next day, all participants of the expedition will go out again to hunt beasts on the mountain. After they have returned, they first offer the game to the head, and then divide it in the feast among their relatives and friends. That day, the *tapilas* also hold a *pisiax-coani* or rattan pulling game. Each end of a piece of rattan about nine meters in length is tied to a piece of wood about four meters in length; this makes the whole thing I-shaped. The villagers divide themselves into two groups. Each group holds one end or one piece of wood of this I-shaped thing. When the game is started, they begin to sing, dance and jump. And then, they pull the rattan until it is broken. The group which has the longer piece of broken rattan will be considered as the winners. They believe that by doing this they will have good fortunes.

721 14. Defeated
766

If they got no head in the expedition, or if somebody of the expedition was killed or injured, the expedition will be regarded as a failure. It is believed that members who are killed in the expedition will be transferred into evil spirits. Their corpses will be deserted in woods or caves and cannot be brought back to the village. On this occasion, the head they have gotten will be deserted too. No sacrificial ritual will be held though sometimes the head has been brought into the village. The members must leave all their clothes and personal effects outside the village and return back to their own homes with naked bodies at night. Evils must be removed from those thing left outside the village by their shamans. The *siaqalo*, in this case, always demolish the house of the dead and build a new one for the family of the deseased because they are afraid of the evil spirits.

IV. FOOD

[224] Most of the Atayal are agriculturists, though sometimes Atayal men chase game.
262 The most important crop in their former days was millet, but today they depend
241 mostly on sweet potatoes and rice.

1. The following kinds of plants and animals are used for food by the villagers:

Cereals—rice, millet, maize, etc.

Rhizomes—sweet potato, taro, radish, etc.

501 Rucy E-5 (1955) 1955

Formosa Atayal

Vegetables—eggplant, cabbage, onion, garlic, wild tomato, pumpkins, gourd, beans (Pisum sativum, L.), etc.

Fruits—peach, pear, orange, persimmon, longan fruit, banana, (sugar cane), etc.

Eggs, meats, and fish—hen-eggs, duck-eggs, pork, beef, chicken, duck, turkey, meat of wild boar, monkey, and fox, and many kinds of birds and fishes.

Others—mushrooms, and other kinds of edible fungus.

Among the above list, rice, millet, sweet potato, and taro are staples; and the others are subsidiary articles to diet. They are generally prohibited from eating snakes, cats, dogs, rats, and frogs.

2. Preservation and storage of food

Methods of preserving food are (1) salting [*sintemoay*]; (2) drying [*mapci*]; and (3) baking [*aqaqaff*]. Cabbage and radishes may be dried first and then salted, or may be salted first and then dried; they are stored in wooden baskets or pots. The salting method of monkey's meat is as follows: The monkey is killed by a wooden club, and then roasted at a fire to burn off the hair. After the hair has been burned off, the entrails will be viscerated and the whole monkey will be cut into small pieces. Then they will be stored with rice and salt in a pot. Pork is always roasted. Sometimes they roast or salt the meat while they are still on the expedition when game is plenty.

Cereals are stored in the grain-storage house. The grain storage house is a kind of pile-building constructed of bamboo (see IV House). Rhizomes are stored in their kitchens.

3. Preparation of food

Their methods of preparing food are mostly very simple. Every morning they pound the amount of rice they need for the day. Rice is pounded in the wooden mortar with a wooden pestle. Winnows are used to hold grains which overflow from the mortar and to winnow away the husks.

Their oven is constructed by sticking three knives or laying three pieces of stone on the earth like a tripod. In the former days, fire was made by drilling a piece of wood on another piece of wood. The strike-a-light method of making fire was introduced into the Atayal more lately, and today most of them use matches.

Meat is mostly boiled with water. Fish and small animals may be roasted.

Rice-cake and millet-cake are made by the same processes. Glutinous rice [*naisaini*] or glutinous millet [*tulaqis*] is used. It is washed, steamed, and then pounded.

Bananas are smoked on the fire or stored in a pit, which is covered by tree leaves and clay, to become ripe. To take away the acrid taste of the persimmons, they are stored inside a pot with water which has been boiled with longan leaves and unripe persimmons.

4. Condiments

Salty (of salt), pungent or hot (of ginger or cayenne pepper) is called *qomtox*. Sweet (of sugar), is called *sisiβin*. Acrid (of a unripe persimmon) is called *mapaya*.

They use only a few kinds of seasoning: salt, ginger, and oil. Salt is gotten by

51: Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

105 different localities, so that their cultures, though similar, are not uniform. The native tribes also differ considerably in the degree to which they have been acculturated and in the type of culture change that has taken place.

The Ami

101 131 161 The Ami live in the Taitung Rift Valley, which runs in approximately a north-south direction for 150 kilometres along the east coast of Formosa. Some Ami live on the east coast proper. The Ami tribe is the largest on Formosa. They are divided into five groups by dialect and cultural differences. The number of households and population of each group, based on the census of 1937, are as follows:

Group	No. of households	Population
Pei-nan	859	9546
Heng-ch'un	461	4403
Hai-an	1159	11760
Hsiu-ku-luan	2008	15861
Nan-shih	1713	8436
Total	6200	50006

241 226 342 611 591 The chief traits of the Ami are intensive agriculture and fishing; pile dwellings; paddle-and-anvil pottery; long wooden shields; feather headdresses; clans[1]; matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence; classificatory or Malayan kinship terminology; parent-child nymic linkage; and age-grades.

Tavarong is a town of 5,000 population situated in the central part of the Taitung Rift Valley, in Hualien Hsien. It belongs to the Hsiu-ku-luan group and is regarded by the Ami themselves as the oldest settlement in the whole Ami area. 361 About one per cent of the Tavarong townsmen are Christians; the rest hold to their native religion.

Gods, spirits, and souls

776 The Ami term for gods, which include also spirits and souls, is *kawas*. The Tavarong Ami believe in two kinds of *kawas*. The first kind, which may be considered natural gods, include *maratau*, *tšidar*, *borar*], and others. *maratau* is a male tutolary deity who resides in heaven. According to informant Maran-Namo?, *maratau* is the god of "politics and strength". In former days, when the Ami were at war with their neighbors, the Atayal, they prayed to *maratau* for protection[2]. *tšidar* is the female sun goddess, and *borar*] the male moon god. The sun goddess is held to be more powerful than the moon god. Maran-Namo? while explaining the designs on the houseposts of the house of the *kakita:n* (priest, stated that *tšidar* is the almighty deity and holds the supreme position over

1. Utsurikawa [1935] reported about 55 clan names for the Ami, but he gave no clan names north of the Vataan, Tavarong, and Karuran areas.
2. According to Furuno [1954:3-42], *maratau* is connected with headhunting and is the god of crops and game, as well as being the war god.

21· Asai--7 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 231, 241, 243, 177.24 Japan
636.24

"Agriculture. Grow chiefly sweet potatoes, millet, peanuts. The fields are on the slopes of hills. They keep pigs—used originally for sacrifice. They grew dry field rice, but the Japanese started them growing wet rice. This was bad for their health as malaria would start up."

22: Wiedfeldt--18 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 243, 251, 415 Atayal

For winnowing the millet and the rice they use bowl-shaped baskets. They store it in shallow baskets.

35: Collingwood--139-140 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 249, 276 Sek-hoan

"Nearly everyone, men and women, smoked; and almost our first greeting was a demand for tobacco, a word which they appeared [140] to have previously learned. A small plantation of tobacco grew and was in flower within the walls of the village, and in several places the leaves were laid out in the sun to dry. It is smoked by them in pipes about a foot long, which the woman sticks in her hair when she is not using it, and not unfrequently we observed them smoking a bundle of scarcely dried leaves, rolled up and forming a rude uncouth cigar."

36: Dodd--74-75 U-2 1865 (1885) Formosan Aborigines
116, 137, 249, 276

"Tobacco grows wild in many parts of the country inhabited by the savages, and in Chinese territory it is cultivated to a large extent in certain districts. The savages simply sun-dry it, then rub it in their hands and place it in their pipes. In this form it is very mild. Foreigners make it into blocks by placing the leaves one above the other; a little water is then sprinkled over them, sometimes a dash of rum, the leaves are then pressed into a compact block, or are compressed into a circular shape about the size of the wrist and tapering to a point at both ends. Tobacco made in this form is tied round tightly together with rope, and is a very good substitute for what is called ship's tobacco. Native-grown tobacco, has been often prepared in this way by sailors on board [75] British gunboats visiting Tamsui, and has been much appreciated by every one fond of a pipe.

Chinese cultivate the tobacco plant, and large quantities are exported in junks to the mainland, where it is 'cured' according to Chinese taste, and in this form is re-imported for the use of Chinese only. The plant seems to thrive in Formosa luxuriantly, and it is a wonder that no attempt has been made here to manufacture cigars and cheroots for foreign exportation. Judging from the quality and size of the leaf, there ought to be no difficulty in producing cigars equal to those made in Manila."

37: Steere--310-311 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 249, 276, 533 Chin-hoan

"The Tsui-whan raise their own tobacco, and all smoke, even little girls of six and eight years of age. They are great lovers of music, and those who were at work, harvesting and carrying home rice for their Chinese masters, were continually droning a musical but monotonous refrain. I was [311] several times awakened, while stopping in their village by their wild mountain songs, which they sang while at their feasts."

10: Schumacher--225 [6] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 252, 354, 251 Chin-hoan

The third room [MC: of the Tschin-Huan dwelling] is almost completely dark and is used for the storage of products of the fields and the entrance section is used as a fireplace. Otherwise it is likely that meals were prepared over open fires, in earthenware pans made by the inhabitants, or iron pots that must have been introduced from the outside.

19: Guérin and Bernard--558-559 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 251, 262, 264

Among the privileged tribes, the [559] family squats around a small pan of rice twice a day. Sometimes sweet potatoes and a little venison complete the repast. The flesh of the wild boar, deer and goat is preserved by cutting it in pieces, flattening the fragments and then drying them in the air.

22: Wiedfeldt--10[4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 261, 251 Atayal

The Atayals are moderate in the consumption of their daily ration of vegetable meals, but they are immoderate in their consumption of meat and fish. This may have some connection with the fact that they can keep meat for only a short time. They are not acquainted with methods of curing it, and merely scorch it over a fire, which makes the meat black and hard as dried Japanese fish. It may also be connected with the fact that they leave their millet on the field for a long time, and then store it in the small adjoining hut until the time of the next harvest.

22: Wiedfeldt--18 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 243, 251, 415 Atayal

For winnowing the millet and the rice they use bowl-shaped baskets. They store it in shallow baskets.

22: Wiedfeldt--39[2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 185, 224, 251 Atayal

They do not understand how to accumulate means for definite purposes. They do not store up any provisions for bad seasons, which, to be sure, is difficult in view of the damp, hot climate and the danger of destruction by termites. In general, it would be unnecessary, also, since nature is extraordinarily fertile. Because of the same lack of foresight, they know nothing about closed seasons in hunting. On the grounds of this lack of care for the future, the thrifty Chinese among whom the failure of the crops always means famine and widespread death consider the Atayals animal-like creatures.

24: Anonymous--91 [9] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 251, 262, 354, 415, 513

They have no blankets--when they sleep they cover themselves with their clothing. Nor do they have separate kitchens. Their stove consists of a rack three feet high on which they place a large pan. The members of the household stand around the pan on a stool and scoop out the liquids which are cooked in it, such as a soup made from rice or millet. Their spoons consist of an empty coconut shell. They eat dry rice with their hands. They crush rice in a mortar (ch'uang), preparing no more than is to be consumed at one time. They preserve millet, wheat, and clothing in a container made of a pumpkin shell (hu-lu-hu).

251

DRYING FLYING FISH ABOVE THE ROOF OF A NATIVE HOUSE

Drying flying fish above the roof of a native house

34: Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines

Yami

35

37: Steere--308-309 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 343, 251, 513 Chin-hoan

"They construct various little rat-proof granaries for storing their millet and rice. These are square, and are made of the bark of trees, and covered with grass, and raised upon four posts three or four feet above the ground. These posts are crowned with round wooden caps to keep the rats and other vermin from ascending. These little granaries are perched all about among the houses. There were in [309] the village several little huts of wattled grass, and not more than four feet square, perched upon bamboo poles twenty-five or thirty feet above ground. I inquired the use of these, but could get no other answer than that the children were sometimes put to sleep in them, perhaps connected with some superstitious custom or rite."

37: Steere--313 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 251, 226, 343 Chin-hoan

"Like the Che-whan at the north they build granaries raised upon posts crowned with flat disks of slate stone to keep squirrels and rats from climbing up. These little grass-thatched structures, apparently perched upon stilts, formed the most conspicuous part of the villages. The Kale-whan seem to do little hunting but make out to add a few small fish and shrimps to their stock of food from the stream that flows through the valley below. We saw some of the young men fishing with a curious little circular net with pockets in several places for the fish to enter. They would inclose one of the large boulders, with which the bed of the stream was filled, with the net and then pry up the stone with poles and let it drop back into its place, scaring the fish that sheltered under it out into the pockets of the net. This style of fishing did not appear to be very productive, as they had caught but two or three small fish and a few shrimps."

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955
AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines MN
Atayal

241
262
[231]
[224]

Vegetables—eggplant, cabbage, onion, garlic, wild tomato, pumpkins, gourd, beans (Pisum sativum, L.), etc.

Fruits—peach, pear, orange, persimmon, longan fruit, banana, (sugar cane), etc.

Eggs, meats, and fish—hen-eggs, duck-eggs, pork, beef, chicken, duck, turkey, meat of wild boar, monkey, and fox, and many kinds of birds and fishes.

Others—mushrooms, and other kinds of edible fungus.

Among the above list, rice, millet, sweet potato, and taro are staples; and the others are subsidiary articles to diet. They are generally prohibited from eating snakes, cats, dogs, rats, and frogs.

2. Preservation and storage of food

251

Methods of preserving food are (1) salting [*sintemoay*]; (2) drying [*mapɛi*]; and (3) baking [*aqaqay*]. Cabbage and radishes may be dried first and then salted, or may be salted first and then dried; they are stored in wooden baskets or pots. The salting method of monkey's meat is as follows: The monkey is killed by a wooden club, and then roasted at a fire to burn off the hair. After the hair has been burned off, the entrails will be viscerated and the whole monkey will be cut into small pieces. Then they will be stored with rice and salt in a pot. Pork is always roasted. Sometimes they roast or salt the meat while they are still on the expedition when game is plenty.

Cereals are stored in the grain-storage house. The grain storage house is a kind of pile-building constructed of bamboo (see IV House). Rhizomes are stored in their kitchens.

3. Preparation of food

252

Their methods of preparing food are mostly very simple. Every morning they pound the amount of rice they need for the day. Rice is pounded in the wooden mortar with a wooden pestle. Winnows are used to hold grains which overflow from the mortar and to winnow away the husks.

Their oven is constructed by sticking three knives or laying three pieces of stone on the earth like a tripod. In the former days, fire was made by drilling a piece of wood on another piece of wood. The strike-a-light method of making fire was introduced into the Atayal more lately, and today most of them use matches.

Meat is mostly boiled with water. Fish and small animals may be roasted.

Rice-cake and millet-cake are made by the same processes. Glutinous rice [*naisaini*] or glutinous millet [*tulaqis*] is used. It is washed, steamed, and then pounded.

Bananas are smoked on the fire or stored in a pit, which is covered by tree leaves and clay, to become ripe. To take away the acrid taste of the persimmons, they are stored inside a pot with water which has been boiled with longan leaves and unripe persimmons.

4. Condiments

263

Salty (of salt), pungent or hot (of ginger or cayenne pepper) is called *qomiox*. Sweet (of sugar), is called *sisiβin*. Acrid (of a unripe persimmon) is called *mapaya*.

They use only a few kinds of seasoning: salt, ginger, and oil. Salt is gotten by

7: Joest--60 [6] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 252, 323, 354 Chin-hoan

They keep a fire burning in the center of the hut day and night. Here they cook their food in clay pots which they themselves have made.

10: Schumacher--225 [6] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 252, 354, 251 Chin-hoan

The third room [MC: of the Tschin-Huan dwelling] is almost completely dark and is used for the storage of products of the fields and the entrance section is used as a fireplace. Otherwise it is likely that meals were prepared over open fires, in earthenware pans made by the inhabitants, or iron pots that must have been introduced from the outside.

16: Müller--233 [3] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 252

They cook all their food except fruits.

22: Wiedfeldt--9 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 262, 241, 252, 527 Atayal

The main article of food of the Atayal is millet. They celebrate tribal and clan festivals in connection with the planting and the harvesting of this crop. It is ground by the women in a stump of wood in which a hole has been burned out, or on a stone, by means of a solid round piece of wood. They also eat yams and wild bananas, and more recently they have learned from the Chinese to eat rice and beans, and from the Japanese, sweet potatoes. With this vegetable diet they seldom eat meat, but occasionally they eat large quantities of it; for example, they eat antelope after a successful hunt, or at a wedding feast, and when they eat up the sacrifices. Recently they have begun to eat chickens and pigs, which they have obtained from the Chinese. Fish is eaten in large quantities once a year at the tribal feast.

22: Wiedfeldt--9 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 252 Atayal

Baking and broiling are processes which are unknown to the Atayals. Meat is half roasted and half burned over a fire. Mountain potatoes are roasted in the ashes. Millet is either wrapped in large firm leaves, put into a hole in the ground, and heated by means of hot stones placed around it and on top of it, or it is put into a bamboo stick which is permitted to burn slowly, whereby the millet is cooked to suit the taste of the Atayals.

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Atayal

Vegetables—eggplant, cabbage, onion, garlic, wild tomato, pumpkins, gourd, beans (Pisum sativum, L.), etc.

Fruits—peach, pear, orange, persimmon, longan fruit, banana, (sugar cane), etc.

Eggs, meats, and fish—hen-eggs, duck-eggs, pork, beef, chicken, duck, turkey, meat of wild boar, monkey, and fox, and many kinds of birds and fishes.

Others—mushrooms, and other kinds of edible fungus.

Among the above list, rice, millet, sweet potato, and taro are staples; and the others are subsidiary articles to diet. They are generally prohibited from eating snakes, cats, dogs, rats, and frogs.

2. Preservation and storage of food

Methods of preserving food are (1) salting [*sintemoay*]; (2) drying [*mapoi*]; and (3) baking [*aqaqaff*]. Cabbage and radishes may be dried first and then salted, or may be salted first and then dried; they are stored in wooden baskets or pots. The salting method of monkey's meat is as follows: The monkey is killed by a wooden club, and then roasted at a fire to burn off the hair. After the hair has been burned off, the entrails will be viscerated and the whole monkey will be cut into small pieces. Then they will be stored with rice and salt in a pot. Pork is always roasted. Sometimes they roast or salt the meat while they are still on the expedition when game is plenty.

Cereals are stored in the grain-storage house. The grain storage house is a kind of pile-building constructed of bamboo (see IV House). Rhizomes are stored in their kitchens.

3. Preparation of food

Their methods of preparing food are mostly very simple. Every morning they pound the amount of rice they need for the day. Rice is pounded in the wooden mortar with a wooden pestle. Winnows are used to hold grains which overflow from the mortar and to winnow away the husks.

Their oven is constructed by sticking three knives or laying three pieces of stone on the earth like a tripod. In the former days, fire was made by drilling a piece of wood on another piece of wood. The strike-a-light method of making fire was introduced into the Atayal more lately, and today most of them use matches.

Meat is mostly boiled with water. Fish and small animals may be roasted.

Rice-cake and millet-cake are made by the same processes. Glutinous rice [*naisaini*] or glutinous millet [*tulaqis*] is used. It is washed, steamed, and then pounded.

Bananas are smoked on the fire or stored in a pit, which is covered by tree leaves and clay, to become ripe. To take away the acrid taste of the persimmons, they are stored inside a pot with water which has been boiled with longan leaves and unripe persimmons.

4. Condiments

Salty (of salt), pungent or hot (of ginger or cayenne pepper) is called *qomtox*. Sweet (of sugar), is called *sisiβin*. Acrid (of a unripe persimmon) is called *mapayu*.

They use only a few kinds of seasoning: salt, ginger, and oil. Salt is gotten by

22: Wiedfeldt--10[4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 261, 251 Atayal

The Atayals are moderate in the consumption of their daily ration of vegetable meals, but they are immoderate in their consumption of meat and fish. This may have some connection with the fact that they can keep meat for only a short time. They are not acquainted with methods of curing it, and merely scorch it over a fire, which makes the meat black and hard as dried Japanese fish. It may also be connected with the fact that they leave their millet on the field for a long time, and then store it in the small adjoining hut until the time of the next harvest.

31: Hofmann--623 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 261, 411 Tsou

Although the natives consume great quantities of food and drink at banquets, they are able to go without food for days. When they are hunting, they often lie in wait for a whole day and night; they shoot the game only when they are very close. They are therefore not very good marksmen; they get their guns, which are not of a very good quality, from the Chinese. Since powder is difficult to get they are forced to use it sparingly. They do not hunt for beasts of prey such as bears (Ursus malayanus), leopards, wild cats, etc., and they seldom shoot birds.

7: Joest--60 [12] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 262, 264, 562 Chin-hoan

The diet of the Chinwan natives consists of millet, sweet potatoes, rice of a poor quality, wild honey, dried meat of deer, boars, and bears, and dried fish. All the game, fish, etc. is carved and men and women receive an equal share.

14: Tamai--96 [5] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 281, 262, 437 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwans use the hide of the animals they eat as raincoats or for barter with the Formosans and Chinese. They cut off only the hair of bears and monkeys and eat the skin.

14: Tamai--97[13] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 262 Chin-hoan

The following morning Shiro [MC: the Chin-hoan host of the Japanese in Togasha village] prepared Mochi for us; this is a cake made of rice which tastes like that made in Japan.

16: Müller--233 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 262

The chief articles of food among the aborigines of Formosa are millet, sweet potatoes, and bananas. They also, but less frequently, eat venison and pork, as well as rice.

19: Guérin and Bernard--558-559 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 251, 262, 264

Among the privileged tribes, the [559] family squats around a small pan of rice twice a day. Sometimes sweet potatoes and a little venison complete the repast. The flesh of the wild boar, deer and goat is preserved by cutting it in pieces, flattening the fragments and then drying them in the air.

19: Guérin and Bernard--559 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 262, 281

The aborigines are hunters both by inclination and necessity. They track the boar and the deer, although the latter is also captured in traps. The hunters perch in trees, and then lie in wait for leopards and bears. Bear skins are prepared in the south, but in the north they are roasted along with the animal, and only the four paws are removed.

22: Wiedfeldt--9 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 262, 241, 252, 527 Atayal

The main article of food of the Atayal is millet. They celebrate tribal and clan festivals in connection with the planting and the harvesting of this crop. It is ground by the women in a stump of wood in which a hole has been burned out, or on a stone, by means of a solid round piece of wood. They also eat yams and wild bananas, and more recently they have learned from the Chinese to eat rice and beans, and from the Japanese, sweet potatoes. With this vegetable diet they seldom eat meat, but occasionally they eat large quantities of it; for example, they eat antelope after a successful hunt, or at a wedding feast, and when they eat up the sacrifices. Recently they have begun to eat chickens and pigs, which they have obtained from the Chinese. Fish is eaten in large quantities once a year at the tribal feast.

22: Wiedfeldt--10[5] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 262, 222 Atayal

They are fond of wild honey, together with which they eat the bees and the nests. At night, the men go wherever they have seen bees during the day, and by the light of a burning log enveloped in dry grass they take the nests from the blinded bees with no difficulty at all.

22: Wiedfeldt--18 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 231, 177, 262, 857 Atayal

If the Atayals may be said not to practice agriculture in the proper sense of the word, it may also be said that they do not do any cattle-farming. They have not domesticated any animal, nor do they need any, either for draught animals or for food. In the regions along the frontier, they have recently learned from the Chinese to raise the small black pigs, and they have also become acquainted with the Chinese method of keeping wild boars, according to which the family which raises boars gets a young pig from every litter. From the same source they have introduced the few chickens that they have, which are kept as a luxury... since they, like the Chinese, do not eat eggs. Even the dog, which one now finds in almost every hut, the Atayals are said to owe to the Chinese, and to get them from them by barter. The dog is not used for hunting nor for guarding the hut, but is a playmate of the children. It is apparently more attached to the woman, whom it helps to pass the time, than it is to the man.

22: Wiedfeldt--51 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 262, 721 Atayal

If several of the men of a tribe are working together in the assembly, or in the hunt, or in a war, they are absent from their huts for days. In the first case, they are fed on the results of the community fishing expedition, and in the second, on the results of the hunt. In the third case, each man brings with him a supply of millet for several days. This is prepared by the women who live nearby. When the millet was consumed, the war was also at an end, as long as they were dealing with other "savages". In the long drawn-out campaigns waged by the Japanese, they had to suspend operations after a few days, in order to procure new food.

24: Anonymous--91 [9] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 251, 262, 354, 415, 513

They have no blankets--when they sleep they cover themselves with their clothing. Nor do they have separate kitchens. Their stove consists of a rack three feet high on which they place a large pan. The members of the household stand around the pan on a stool and scoop out the liquids which are cooked in it, such as a soup made from rice or millet. Their spoons consist of an empty coconut shell. They eat dry rice with their hands. They crush rice in a mortar (ch'uang), preparing no more than is to be consumed at one time. They preserve millet, wheat, and clothing in a container made of a pumpkin shell (hu-lu-hu).

31; Hofmann--625 [2] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 262, 343, 784 Tsou

The food of the natives consists chiefly of millet, rice, and Colocasiae. This is supplemented by game, deer and boars, as well as pork and chicken. The natives also eat fish, which they obtain in abundance in the many streams on the mountains. The Tsou natives are not allowed to eat fish in their homes; the reason for this taboo is not known. If they want to eat trout, they must eat in a house built for this purpose. There is an open shed with a straw roof erected on pilework in Tappan which is used on those occasions.

34: Del Re--30[2] U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 262, 226 Yami

"The Yami are economically self-sufficient. They live mainly on tarθ (a species of sweet potato), suli (yams), millet (sometimes referred to as Chinese corn in their poems), fish (fresh and dried), besides poultry, eggs, pork and goat. The last three, however, may not be eaten except during festival seasons, while the eating of flying-fish (exocoetus) is taboo between July and October. During several months of the year ordinary fishing is practically impossible owing to bad weather, while at others is forbidden "

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
Atayal AD4

721 place to take an oath for starting their hunting trip. *joqex-etex* said that on this
722 occasion, the leader stood in front of all participants, with a wooden-spoon [*sasowai*] in his right hand and with a torch made of palm-fibre in his left hand, he prayed to their ancestor-spirits: "I hold this ceremony according to the old tradition of our tribe. This spoon and torch have been transmitted to us from our ancestors because they represent good fortune. Drinking this water in the spoon and lighted by this torch, we shall have good luck." After this, each participant moistened his right hand in the spoon and sucked it with his lips. Then, the torch was lighted. The ignition was by flint and steel. This fire had to be divided among the participants to light a new fire in their own houses. *taqun-nomin* said that the condition of the ignition revealed omens of the expedition.

4. Taboo after the new fire

721 After the new fire had been lighted, many kinds of taboo had to be observed.
784 The more important ones were: (1) prohibition from extinguishing the kitchen fire; (2)
792 prohibition from weaving (this taboo must be observed by all families of the same *qotox litan*(s) or hunting group. Other hunting groups though may be released from this taboo, but the warp beam must be filled up with cloth fragments to prevent its making a sound when weaving.); (3) prohibition from intercourse and exchange of gift with the family which is quarrelling with the other family; (4) prohibition for holding a ceremony; (5) prohibition to make a noise; (6) prohibition to steal; (7) prohibition to commit adultery (this is applied to families of the same hunting group).

5. Costumes and foods

721 The leader and other participants of the expedition dressed according to their regulation, and brought weapons, bags for transporting the hunted heads, and ear-
[262] ornaments to be used in time of returning in triumph with them. Foods prepared to be consumed for the expedition were salt, millet-cakes, ginger, etc.

72 6. Dream divination

787 In the evening before the expedition is to start, they seek for dream omens which are called *mital sapijil*(n or *mata spi*(s). If most of the participants have bad dream, the expedition will be postponed or cancelled.

7. Bird divination

If a good omen is gotten from the dream, two or three members of the expedition will be sent out early in the morning to hear the chirping of a kind of bird called *siljeq*. If an evil omen is gotten, the expedition must stay over night at the place where the bird divination had taken place, and will have another divination the following morning. If again an evil omen is gotten, they will cancel the trip.

721 8. Calling the souls of the enemy

788 If a good omen is revealed by the bird divination, the expedition will start on its way. The first thing they must do after they have reached the destination is to hold a ceremony for calling the souls of their enemies to come, which is called *somilai*. In the ceremony the leader has camphor leaves in his hands, he points these in the direction

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
Atayal AD4

721 the rack, which is called *ui*(s). Another signal which is made of a kind of plant (aralia papyrifera) will be hung high on the tree to boast to the other villages, which is called *wawaja*(m) or *peila*(s). In *tapilas*, the sacrificial rite is directed by the chief. The chief will put sediment and stick a tobacco pipe into the mouth of the victim's head and pray to it" You have enjoyed our offerings of wine and tobacco. To let your campanions have the same kind of enjoyment, please ask them to join you." The villagers will do the same thing one by one. Women who have young sons will take out a small amount of the sediment from the mouth of the head to feed their sons. They believe that by eating this the young boys will become brave.

13. Ritual hunting and rattan pulling

The next day, all participants of the expedition will go out again to hunt beasts on the mountain. After they have returned, they first offer the game to the head, and then divide it in the feast among their relatives and friends. That day, the *tapilas* also hold a *pisiax-coani* or rattan pulling game. Each end of a piece of rattan about nine meters in length is tied to a piece of wood about four meters in length; this makes the whole thing I-shaped. The villagers divide themselves into two groups. Each group holds one end or one piece of wood of this I-shaped thing. When the game is started, they begin to sing, dance and jump. And then, they pull the rattan until it is broken. The group which has the longer piece of broken rattan will be considered as the winners. They believe that by doing this they will have good fortunes.

721 766 14. Defeated

If they got no head in the expedition, or if somebody of the expedition was killed or injured, the expedition will be regarded as a failure. It is believed that members who are killed in the expedition will be transferred into evil spirits. Their corpses will be deserted in woods or caves and cannot be brought back to the village. On this occasion, the head they have gotten will be deserted too. No sacrificial ritual will be held though sometimes the head has been brought into the village. The members must leave all their clothes and personal effects outside the village and return back to their own homes with naked bodies at night. Evils must be removed from those thing left outside the village by their shamans. The *siaqalo*, in this case, always demolish the house of the dead and build a new one for the family of the deseased because they are afraid of the evil spirits.

IV. FOOD

[224] Most of the Atayal are agriculturists, though sometimes Atayal men chase game. The most important crop in their former days was millet, but today they depend mostly on sweet potatoes and rice.

262 241 1. The following kinds of plants and animals are used for food by the villagers:

Cereals—rice, millet, maize, etc.

Rhizomes—sweet potato, taro, radish, etc.

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD1
Atayal

Vegetables—eggplant, cabbage, onion, garlic, wild tomato, pumpkins, gourd, beans (Pisum sativum, L.), etc.

Fruits—peach, pear, orange, persimmon, longan fruit, banana, (sugar cane), etc.

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Others—mushrooms, and other kinds of edible fungus.

Among the above list, rice, millet, sweet potato, and taro are staples; and the others are subsidiary articles to diet. They are generally prohibited from eating snakes, cats, dogs, rats, and frogs.

2. Preservation and storage of food

Methods of preserving food are (1) salting [*sintemoay*]; (2) drying [*mapci*]; and (3) baking [*aqaqaff*]. Cabbage and radishes may be dried first and then salted, or may be salted first and then dried; they are stored in wooden baskets or pots. The salting method of monkey's meat is as follows: The monkey is killed by a wooden club, and then roasted at a fire to burn off the hair. After the hair has been burned off, the entrails will be viscerated and the whole monkey will be cut into small pieces. Then they will be stored with rice and salt in a pot. Pork is always roasted. Sometimes they roast or salt the meat while they are still on the expedition when game is plenty.

Cereals are stored in the grain-storage house. The grain storage house is a kind of pile-building constructed of bamboo (see IV House). Rhizomes are stored in their kitchens.

3. Preparation of food

Their methods of preparing food are mostly very simple. Every morning they pound the amount of rice they need for the day. Rice is pounded in the wooden mortar with a wooden pestle. Winnows are used to hold grains which overflow from the mortar and to winnow away the husks.

Their oven is constructed by sticking three knives or laying three pieces of stone on the earth like a tripod. In the former days, fire was made by drilling a piece of wood on another piece of wood. The strike-a-light method of making fire was introduced into the Atayal more lately, and today most of them use matches.

Meat is mostly boiled with water. Fish and small animals may be roasted.

Rice-cake and millet-cake are made by the same processes. Glutinous rice [*naisaini*] or glutinous millet [*tulaqis*] is used. It is washed, steamed, and then pounded.

Bananas are smoked on the fire or stored in a pit, which is covered by tree leaves and clay, to become ripe. To take away the acrid taste of the persimmons, they are stored inside a pot with water which has been boiled with longan leaves and unripe persimmons.

4. Condiments

Salty (of salt), pungent or hot (of ginger or cayenne pepper) is called *qomtox*. Sweet (of sugar), is called *sisiβin*. Acrid (of a unripe persimmon) is called *mapayu*.

They use only a few kinds of seasoning: salt, ginger, and oil. Salt is gotten by

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
Atayal AD4

263 trading with the Han people. The ginger they raise by themselves. Most of the cooking oils they use are derived from animal fat.

5. Drinks and stimulants.

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272 juice with water. This may be used as a medicine. They sometimes drink animal
[262] blood while they hunt on the high mountain where no water can be gotten.
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Wine is mostly made of glutinous millet, though today glutinous rice may be used too. *qaocao-seto* reported that she brews wine with millet and rice mixed together. After the material is washed and steamed, it is put on a bamboo tray to be cooled [*maβasao*]. Then, it is transferred to another tray which is laid with taro leaves. It is then sprinkled with some water, and some *tamolo* or yeast is added. After two (in summar) or three (in winter) days it is transferred again to a *matapa* or wine-pot. Some water is added. After another seven days this will become wine.

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Another kind of stimulant used is tobacco. Tobacco is smoked with a bamboo pipe [*totox*]. In the fomer days, everybody had a bag for keeping the pipe and tobacco, but today, most of the young people smoke cigarettes. They plant tobacco. Tobacco leaves are dried under the sun in the day time and pressed under a stone at night for two or three days. The tobacco will be consumed when it is not too dry. They are not fond of the completely dried leaves because they are easilly broken and the taste is bad.

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14: Tamai--96 [8] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 263 Chin-hoan

Instead of salt the Tschinwans use salt water to season their food.

22: Wiedfeldt--9[2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 263, 177, 824, 431 Atayal

As a condiment, they like salt best of all. If this is lacking, they use as a substitute the small, salty berries of the mabu tree. The Taroku are said to have learned how to get salt from the sea from the Chinese by way of the Amis who border them to the south. Recently there have been isolated instances of their giving this necessary condiment as a gift and also as an article of barter to the tribes in the interior, after the Japanese prevented the importation of salt. Otherwise they use as a spice a kind of ginger which they get from the root of a species of banana, and to which they attribute a strengthening effect.

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa - Formosan Aborigines AD1 Atayal

Vegetables—eggplant, cabbage, onion, garlic, wild tomato, pumpkins, gourd, beans (Pisum sativum, L.), etc.

Fruits—peach, pear, orange, persimmon, longan fruit, banana, (sugar cane), etc.

Eggs, meats, and fish—hen-eggs, duck-eggs, pork, beef, chicken, duck, turkey, meat of wild boar, monkey, and fox, and many kinds of birds and fishes.

Others—mushrooms, and other kinds of edible fungus.

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7: Joest--60 [12] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 262, 264, 562 Chin-hoan

The diet of the Chinwan natives consists of millet, sweet potatoes, rice of a poor quality, wild honey, dried meat of deer, boars, and bears, and dried fish. All the game, fish, etc. is carved and men and women receive an equal share.

7: Joest--61 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 264, 462, 574 Chin-hoan

If there is a guest in a Chinwan household, the women usually feed him; the woman tastes each bite herself first.

14: Tamai--96 [7] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 264 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwans usually have three meals a day consisting of meat, rice, and cereals. They seldom use a spoon; most of them eat with their hands.

16: Müller--233 [4] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 264

They use their third and fourth fingers for eating and wash their hands before and after meals. To take the food out of the pot they use a simple wooden spoon and a spatula.

19: Guérin and Bernard--558-559 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 251, 262, 264

Among the privileged tribes, the [559] family squats around a small pan of rice twice a day. Sometimes sweet potatoes and a little venison complete the repast. The flesh of the wild boar, deer and goat is preserved by cutting it in pieces, flattening the fragments and then drying them in the air.

22: Wiedfeldt--10[3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 264, 576, 177.26 Japanese
636.26

The Atayals have two meals a day, which serve to set a beginning and an end to their day. One is in the early morning, after they get up, and the second is in the evening, before they go to bed. Men, women, and children eat together. A guest eats with his host, while the women and children eat afterward. The hollow of the hand serves as their cup, and as knife, fork, and spoon they use the five-pronged fork with which they were born. In the Japanese school which has recently been organized the young Schimptonoff are receiving their first instructions in the use of table implements and drinking vessels.

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Atayal

but no table etiquette and taboo in eating need be followed or observed. Though they hunted human heads formerly, they were not cannibals. 264

V. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

The Atayal are famous for their wampum clothes. In the Department collections, there are many specimens. Mr. Chang Kwang-chih has given a description of twelve of them (*v.* No. 2 of the bulletin, pp. 32-34). The clothes and ornaments are of many kinds. One of the present authors (Ho) has given a description of twenty-seven specimens of Atayal clothes in the Department Collections (*v.* No. 2 of this bulletin, pp. 22-29). In this investigation, we saw eight pieces of clothes and ornaments owned by the chief's wife. they are; head band [*qaqusop*], necklace [*nili*], breast cloth [*taojax*], long gown [*sipiliaŋ*], short gown [*atan*], waist-cloth [*toxawaq*], wrist-ornament [*pao²i*], and three kinds of leg ornament (the upper, *qinulaja*; the middle, *qaqi*, and the lower, *qinuwax*). Other kinds of ornaments possessed by her have been lost. 292

Today, only people over fifty years of age wear thier original kinds of clothes; young people usually dress in modern style. 291

Body deformation such as tooth chipping, ear-lobe piercing, and tattooing have been abolished in recent years. The following descriptions are chiefly based on the narratives of *ali·jopas* (chief's wife) and *jajot·palie* (female, 73 years od age, see frontispiece) of *tapilas* and *pisei·taxos* (female, 66 years of age) of *saβulok*. 304

1. Clothes

Gowns are long or short. Long gowns are always long enough to cover the knees. Everyday clothes [*tiwajan*] have no collars and no buttons, and are with or without sleeves and single-breasted. Full dress [*sipaliaŋ*] has no collar, no buttons, and is without sleeves and single-breasted, but is always design-woven or wampum decorated. Full dress is worn in festival time. Only chiefs or head-hunters are allowed to wear clothes decorated with copper bells. Short gowns [*atan*] only cover the chest and are always above the navel. They have no collar, no buttons, and are without sleeves and single-breasted. *tajo* or toga is made of a single piece of cloth about one meter square, it is used to protect one from cold weather, and may also be used as a blanket to cover one's body at night. The other kinds of clothing are: head bands [*qajapis*], turbans [*qaqusop*], breast-cloths [*taojax*], leggings [*saolox*], the breechclouts [*pula*] of men, and the waist-cloths [*taxawoq*] of women. Rattan hats [*paβoβin na quani*] are only worn by men. A rattan hat covered with bearskin is called *qaβoβin na ŋalox*, and is worn only at festival times. 291

Women, on the ordinary days, wear togas, breast-cloths, waist-cloths, and leggings, and long or short gowns are added under the togas on cold days. Men wear togas and breechclouts, and long gowns are added under the togas on cold days. Children wear long gowns with or without sleeves and togas. Most of their everyday clothes bear no designs. Clothes worn in festival times mostly elaborately design-woven or wampum decorated; and instead of wearing leggings, they wear leg-ornaments. Except [292]

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 ADl Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
Atayal AD4

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7: Joest--61 [11] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 266, 273 Chin-hoan

I was not able to determine whether the natives are also cannibals. They did not, at any rate, eat the two Chinese which were killed during my stay. Mr. Pickering, however, who knows the customs of the Chinwans well, states that they mix the brain of an enemy with their brandy and drink it.

10: Schumacher--226 [5] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 266, 582, 609, 721 Chin-hoan

The Chinese who thus penetrated into the mountain regions [MC: in search of camphor] may have met the earlier inhabitants of these areas as enemies, and from the initial disputes, all kinds of other difficulties could develop. It is reported, for instance, that the inhabitants of the mountains, who are naturally shy, obtain courage by catching Chinese persons and eating their livers raw. Furthermore, it is said that under penalty of death, the aborigines are forbidden to marry before they have killed seven Chinese and have proof of their deaths.

17: Norbeck--34 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
773, 266 Atayal

[MC: For myth concerning the eating of children, see category 539.]

According to many sources, the aborigines are also cannibals; none of these sources, however, has advanced proof of this fact. Thus Fischer (1) tells the story of a chieftain

1. Fischer: Streifzüge durch die Insel Formosa. Berlin, 1899.

who offered his own child as food to a neighboring chieftain.

37: Steere--308 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 293, 411, 554, 721, 266 Chin-hoan

"The arms of these savages consist of a few fire-locks procured of the Chinese, and used principally in hunting, and lances and large knives used in hunting Chinese heads. They decorate these weapons with tresses of Chinese hair, and when upon the hunt for Chinese, carry highly ornamented red bags for carrying home the captured heads. They make regular expeditions every year down to the border land, where they lie in wait for the Chinese who come into the forest after rattan, bamboo shoots, etc. Human heads have a recognized value among them, and a man's importance depends upon the number of heads he has taken. The base of the skull is cut off, and the brain extracted, and the head then thoroughly dried, the teeth being generally knocked out--to make necklaces. We saw twenty-four of these skulls upon one small platform, and apparently the property of one man. I could find no proof that they are cannibals, though this charge is frequently laid to them. They may drink the blood of their enemies, as I saw the Lek-whan drinking warm deer's blood, but the bodies of the Chinese killed by them are generally left lying where they fell."

22: Wiedfeldt--10 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 271, 312, 415 Atayal

Their staple drink is fresh water, which is generally brought to their huts in partially slit bamboo trunks from the nearby brook. They also use hego, a kind of elder, for this purpose. If the stream is farther away, the water is brought to the hut in bamboo staffs.

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
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Atayal AD4

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7: Joest--55 [2] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 164, 273

The aboriginal population is also frequently decimated by smallpox epidemics. They suffer from the damp and cold; they produce few children and indulge in quantities of Chinese brandy, so that it is likely that they will soon either become extinct or be assimilated by the Chinese immigrants.

7: Joest--61 [2] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 273 Chin-hoan

In former times the Chinwan natives distilled a beverage from fermented rice or millet. Rice meal took the place of yeast, this had to be chewed by a woman who was past her menopause. Today the Chinese Samshu has taken the place of the native drink and both men and women drink it in large quantities.

7: Joest--61 [3] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 123, 273, 572, 609 Chin-hoan

I gained the confidence and friendship of the Chinwans through this brandy [MC: Chinese samshu] which they consumed in pailfulls until men, women, and children were lying unconscious on the ground; it was, however, considerably diluted. The Chinwan natives also have the custom of establishing the bond of friendship by drinking. They squat on the ground in the usual manner and put their arms around each other's shoulders; they make a short speech, vowing eternal friendship, and then drink together from the pumpkin shell which holds the brandy until it is empty. I drank in this way with both men and women.

7: Joest--61 [11] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 266, 273 Chin-hoan

I was not able to determine whether the natives are also cannibals. They did not, at any rate, eat the two Chinese which were killed during my stay. Mr. Pickering, however, who knows the customs of the Chinwans well, states that they mix the brain of an enemy with their brandy and drink it.

10: Schumacher--226 [7] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 273, 721 Chin-hoan

Another man who had spent quite some time in the mountains of Formosa told me that he and two of the chiefs had drunk to one another. On that occasion he had to take off some of his clothes and his back was rubbed with mutton fat, while he and his co-drinkers, and the others present, drank some intoxicating beverage out of the crania of some Chinese. I myself can only repeat that the inhabitants of the mountains appeared to me as peaceful and almost shy people and that I had no occasion whatsoever to get a glance of anything which would have incited the most vivid imagination to present such confusing statements.

14: Tamai--98 [2] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 273 Chin-hoan

Since the Tschinwans are a very greedy people they often come to the officials and say: Taeskin (Sir), Mima (to drink), shinon (Sake), that is, sir, I should like a drink of Sake.

16: Müller--233 [5] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formoşan Aborigines
116, 273

They make alcoholic beverages, of which they consume quantities, out of millet. For fermentation they use the pollen of the Chenopodiaceae or white yeast which they get from the Chinese. Among some tribes saliva takes the place of yeast: the women chew the millet before the wine is prepared.

16: Müller--239 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
273 Tsou

To prepare for this festival, [MC: at the beginning of the millet harvest]the women brew the wine made from millet with many ceremonies, using millet which they have chewed beforehand to ferment it.

19: Guérin and Bernard--558 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
273, 757

Fertilizer comes from the ashes of large tree trunks that lie flat on the ground and are burned every year. In the spaces between them you see turnips, a kind of dandelion which is a remedy for intoxication, and tobacco.

19: Guérin and Bernard--559 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 273

The Formosan savages ferment barley and thus obtain a sourish drink which produces an inoffensive type of intoxication.

19: Guérin and Bernard--563 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 273, 796

The aborigines celebrate three annual feasts which correspond to the sowing or harvesting of rice, millet and chickweed. The Tayal call them by the picturesque name of work of the cups. As a matter of fact, there is a great deal of drinking, and according to a custom which is fraternal rather than convenient, people drink two by two out of the same vessel. There is some preliminary hunting, so the natives always have an ample supply of venison. The guests get drunk, fight, and then when the ceremony is over, they limber up their muscles in a hunt.

22: Wiedfeldt--10 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 273, 177 Atayal

On special occasions they drink a fermented millet. The women salivate and masticate thoroughly a mouthful of millet, and place the result in a hollow stump of wood, where it ferments after a time. It stays there until it is mixed with water and drunk. Recently they have begun to make rice-whiskey in the same way. They also like slightly salty water, in which ginger has lain. Since they have been restricted to the Aiyu line, many Schimptonoff have become fond of sake and whiskey without soda, which they drink from the bottle. Immoderate drinking is said to have been unknown among them formerly. After all, it was difficult to keep large amounts of intoxicating drinks on hand in view of their laborious method of preparing them.

24: Anonymous--91 [10] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 273, 574

They are very fond of wine. This is made of rice which they chew and then place in a hollow bamboo cane for a few days so that it will ferment. If they have a visitor they go out of the house and both parties pay their respects to each other. The guest must first taste of the wine and then is led into the house.

25: Plaut--60-61 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 273, 585, 721 Atayal

There are a good many different marriage customs. The Atayal celebrate the wedding in the bride's house, and then the guests accompany the couple to the husband's home. The western Atayal have no ceremony other than the drinking feast; the eastern Atayal, on the other hand, have the curious custom of erecting in the open a scaffolding about twenty feet high; [61] the newly weds have to sleep on this platform the first five nights after the marriage.

Occasionally two young men woo the same girl. Then there is a race between them; they go out on a head hunting expedition, and the first one who returns home with his booty gets the bride.

25: Plaut--61 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 273, 583, 787

The Vonum still observe the practice of kidnapping the bride. The young man goes to her house with a large group of his friends, he has a mock war with her relatives, then seizes her and carries her off to his house. After she has lived with him for several days, the relatives on both sides gather and celebrate the wedding with drinking and singing. During the feast the so-called Shui-sha-lien-hua-Vonum stage a mock battle, and it is considered a lucky omen for the marriage if blood flows. The Vonum also have exchange marriage, for a young man may wed the sister of his friend, and give him his own sister as a wife.

25: Plaut--61 [2] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 273, 583 Tsou

Among the Tsoo a young man carves a hair pin of stag antlers, and then sends it to the girl he is courting. If she accepts the gift, she is engaged. The marriage consists in a kidnapping, which the groom accomplishes with the aid of his friends. Custom decrees that after the girl has spent one night with the groom, she must slip away and return to her parents; then after three days he comes in a ceremonious fashion to get her. The end of the festival is a drinking party.

31: Hofmann--621-622 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 273, 292, 517 Tsou

When I visited the bachelors' quarters a festival was in progress. The chieftain was wearing a red jacket made of cloth; the other participants had taken off their deerskin garment and were squatting on the floor of the hall wearing nothing but a simple loincloth made of fiber. There were 60 men in all. All were drinking remi, a fermented beverage, in great quantities. They prepare this from rice and millet which has been chewed by the women; they spit this into a trough and the paste is left there to ferment. When this process is complete the paste is mixed with water and the drink is ready. The men used cups made of pieces of bamboo; one of them was drinking from a [622] beer bottle. They emptied the bamboo cups in a single draught. Some of the men went around to fill the cups and urged those who were slow to drink more. The men embraced each other and tried to empty their cups to the last drop.... They ate sugar with the Remi; the younger boys were given sugar without the beverage, although, when I tested the drink, I found that it had a very low alcoholic content. The men must have consumed large quantities, however, for late at night, when we retired, we heard them shouting and stamping their feet.

34: Del Re--15 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
273, 276 Yami

"Another peculiarity is that they neither smoke nor drink any kind of intoxicating beverage."

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
Atayal AD4

trading with the Han people. The ginger they raise by themselves. Most of the cooking oils they use are derived from animal fat.

5. Drinks and stimulants.

They drink water when thirsty. Their favourite drink is made by mixing ginger juice with water. This may be used as a medicine. They sometimes drink animal blood while they hunt on the high mountain where no water can be gotten.

They like wine very much. When one gets drunk, he will not be punished even if he commits a crime. In time of a festival, they will drink up all the wine which the host has provided. A man with a good capacity can drink five or six catties of wine. Two persons drink from one cup of wine at the same moment to show their friendship. No taboo need be observed in time of drinking.

Wine is mostly made of glutinous millet, though today glutinous rice may be used too. *qaocao-seto* reported that she brews wine with millet and rice mixed together. After the material is washed and steamed, it is put on a bamboo tray to be cooled [*maβasao*]. Then, it is transferred to another tray which is laid with taro leaves. It is then sprinkled with some water, and some ***tamolo*** or yeast is added. After two (in summar) or three (in winter) days it is transferred again to a ***matapa*** or wine-pot. Some water is added. After another seven days this will become wine.

In the former days, they produced their own yeast. Yeast made of glutinous millet is called ***pinixeloŋ***, and of glutinous rice ***patinani saixo***. It is made by putting steamed millet or rice into a tray which is laid with taro leaves and also covered by taro leaves for two or three days and then drying.

Another kind of stimulant used is tobacco. Tobacco is smoked with a bamboo pipe [*totox*]. In the fomer days, everybody had a bag for keeping the pipe and tobacco, but today, most of the young people smoke cigarettes. They plant tobacco. Tobacco leaves are dried under the sun in the day time and pressed under a stone at night for two or three days. The tobacco will be consumed when it is not too dry. They are not fond of the completely dried leaves because they are easilly broken and the taste is bad.

6. Consumption of food

They consume food as a necessity to maintain their lives, therefore vegetables, meats, and eggs are of very little importance, because their staples are rice, millet, sweet potato and taro. They always eat only these kinds of staples without anything to take with, not even salt. No refreshment is taken besides their meals.

Formerly, they ate twice a day, now, they eat three times. Breakfast [*qumunama*] is taken in the early morning, lunch [*qumuliax*] at noon, and supper [*qumucaβiaŋ*] after dark. A family of twelve persons (the family of the Chief: four adults, eight children) consume four pints of rice each meal. Men and woman, old or young, eat together. Food is contained in a dish [*supiax*] which is put on the floor. The family members squat around it and eat with their hands. Soup, if any, is eaten with a wooden or bamboo spoon. Today, most of them use tables, chairs, and chopsticks,

14: Tamai--97[11] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 562, 276, 283, 574 Chin-hoan

All the women and girls, and even very small children, [MC: in the village of Togasha] smoke a great deal. . . Our hostess talked to us for several hours, and all this time she was spinning hemp. . .

Our host and interpreter, Shiro, had obtained the hide of stags for us to sleep on, but we were so cold that it was impossible for us to sleep.

Our hostess asked us why two of the soldiers (sentries) were standing outside in the rain and cold instead of coming in to get warm. The Lieutenant told her that this was a Japanese custom.

Since we could not sleep. . . our hostess again entertained us by playing the flute.

16: Müller--233 [6] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 276, 857

The natives grow their own tobacco, but they use the leaves without any preparation. All the aborigines of Formosa smoke a great deal. Even very young boys and girls constantly have a pipe in their mouth. The pipes are made of bamboo.

Many of the natives also chew betel, which is treated with a solution of lime. This practice blackens the teeth, which is considered an attractive feature.

19: Guérin and Bernard--558 [3] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 276, 311

Cereals are harvested by the savages on the slopes or plateaus which are near the dwellings. Fertilizer comes from the ashes of large tree trunks that lie flat on the ground and are burned every year. In the spaces between them you see turnips, a kind of dandelion which is a remedy for intoxication, and tobacco. Although the soil is carefully cultivated by hand, these plants are frail and do not grow close together; they look like the agricultural attempts of a people that is still in its infancy. The rice grains are very large, but that is the only successful crop. The tobacco leaves are stripped from the plant as needed, and are dried in the fire. Several tribes in the south prepare them in the shape of carrots.

20: Alvarez--257 [5] (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 276

"They [MC: the Formosan Aborigines] are very fond of brandy, yet without being immoral, or degenerated."

22: Wiedfeldt--10-11 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 241, 276 Atayal

Tobacco smoking is general among men, women, and children. As a pipe they use two sticks of bamboo, thrust one into the other. [11] According to their traditions, they received the "tamako" from the savages of the plain, who in turn got it from the whites. Although it is only recently that they have taken over the planting of tobacco from the Chinese, today there are a few tobacco plants by every hut. Everyone picks a leaf as he needs it, sticks it in his hair or lays it on the ground to dry, and then packs it in his pipe when it is still half green.

31: Hofmann--622 [3] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 276, 323 Tsou

All the natives smoke; the native term for tobacco is tamako. They have small pipes made of clay. They do not have the custom of chewing betel nuts, however....

34: Del Re--15 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
273, 276 Yami

"Another peculiarity is that they neither smoke nor drink any kind of intoxicating beverage."

35: Collingwood--139-140 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 249, 276 Sek-hoan

"Nearly everyone, men and women, smoked; and almost our first greeting was a demand for tobacco, a word which they appeared [140] to have previously learned. A small plantation of tobacco grew and was in flower within the walls of the village, and in several places the leaves were laid out in the sun to dry. It is smoked by them in pipes about a foot long, which the woman sticks in her hair when she is not using it, and not unfrequently we observed them smoking a bundle of scarcely dried leaves, rolled up and forming a rude uncouth cigar."

36: Dodd--74-75 U-2 1865 (1885) Formosan Aborigines
116, 137, 249, 276

"Tobacco grows wild in many parts of the country inhabited by the savages, and in Chinese territory it is cultivated to a large extent in certain districts. The savages simply sun-dry it, then rub it in their hands and place it in their pipes. In this form it is very mild. Foreigners make it into blocks by placing the leaves one above the other; a little water is then sprinkled over them, sometimes a dash of rum, the leaves are then pressed into a compact block, or are compressed into a circular shape about the size of the wrist and tapering to a point at both ends. Tobacco made in this form is tied round tightly together with rope, and is a very good substitute for what is called ship's tobacco. Native-grown tobacco, has been often prepared in this way by sailors on board [75] British gunboats visiting Tamsui, and has been much appreciated by every one fond of a pipe.

Chinese cultivate the tobacco plant, and large quantities are exported in junks to the mainland, where it is 'cured' according to Chinese taste, and in this form is re-imported for the use of Chinese only. The plant seems to thrive in Formosa luxuriantly, and it is a wonder that no attempt has been made here to manufacture cigars and cheroots for foreign exportation. Judging from the quality and size of the leaf, there ought to be no difficulty in producing cigars equal to those made in Manila."

36: Dodd--75 U-2 1865 (1885) Formosan Aborigines
116, 276, 531

"The aborigines of the North one and all smoke tobacco. Men and women invariably do so, and even young boys and girls are addicted to this pleasant vice, and as the plant grows wild and Formosa is a feverish and aguish country, it is not astonishing that smoking is such a common habit amongst them. Their pipes are made of hollowed bamboo and the stem (tûtû bidnâ kûi) is also made of very thin bamboo reed, being about half a foot to a foot in length, according to the taste of the owner. The bowls are often very tastefully and prettily carved and are frequently ornamented with pieces of metal. When not in use, the pipe is generally struck in the hair at the back of the head by both men and women."

37: Steere--310-311 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 249, 276, 533 Chin-hoan

"The Tsui-whan raise their own tobacco, and all smoke, even little girls of six and eight years of age. They are great lovers of music, and those who were at work, harvesting and carrying home rice for their Chinese masters, were continually droning a musical but monotonous refrain. I was [311] several times awakened, while stopping in their village by their wild mountain songs, which they sang while at their feasts."

36: Dodd--75 U-2 1865 (1885) Formosan Aborigines
277

"Chinese cultivate the tobacco plant, and large quantities are exported in junks to the mainland, where it is 'cured' according to Chinese taste, and in this form is re-imported for the use of Chinese only. The plant seems to thrive in Formosa luxuriantly, and it is a wonder that no attempt has been made here to manufacture cigars and cheroots for foreign exportation. Judging from the quality and size of the leaf, there ought to be no difficulty in producing cigars equal to those made in Manila."

7: Joest--60 [10] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 226, 278 Chin-hoan

For fishing the Chinwan men use nets and fishhooks as well as a poison made from the root of a creeping plant which is called lo-tin.

16: Müller--235 [6] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 28, 32

The other native industries, besides weaving, are tanning, basket-weaving, dyeing, and pottery of clay or earthenware. They also know how to fashion wood, bones, and shells into objects and they make their own nets; some tribes even know how to make iron implements.

11: Haguenauer--39 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 281, 411, 531, 727 Atayal

Meanwhile, [MC: during the ceremonies following a successful headhunting expedition] the head had been boiled, and the skin of the scalp and hair were removed. These were not discarded, for they became the property of the successful hunter, and he decorated his weapons with them.

14: Tamai--96 [5] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 281, 262, 437 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwans use the hide of the animals they eat as raincoats or for barter with the Formosans and Chinese. They cut off only the hair of bears and monkeys and eat the skin.

18: Kakyo--67 [4] E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 281, 286

The Formosan aborigines weave their own materials and prepare leather.

19: Guérin and Bernard--559 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 262, 281

The aborigines are hunters both by inclination and necessity. They track the boar and the deer, although the latter is also captured in traps. The hunters perch in trees, and then lie in wait for leopards and bears. Bear skins are prepared in the south, but in the north they are roasted along with the animal, and only the four paws are removed.

Every hunt lasts about a week, during which time the hunter lives off his booty. In general, they bring back little meat, which is then consumed at once, for the most part. They throw away the skins, which they do not need in their climate, and which they do not know how to tan, either. Recently, a few tribes near the frontier have begun to use them for barter with the Japanese.

31: Hofmann--619-620 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 281, 554, 721, 764 Tsou

There were several large stone plaques on the floor; [EJ: of the dwelling] these cover the tombs of deceased relatives. The most interesting feature was the large number of trophies obtained through hunting; these are the pride of the chieftain and of the entire tribe. In the house I visited there were more than 500 skulls of boars [620] and more than a hundred antlers, all of them with six branches, some of them quite thick. The natives hang in their huts the skins of animals that have just been killed in order to let them dry out.

14: Tamai--97[11] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 562, 276, 283, 574 Chin-hoan

All the women and girls, and even very small children, [MC: in the village of Togasha] smoke a great deal... Our hostess talked to us for several hours, and all this time she was spinning hemp...

Our host and interpreter, Shiro, had obtained the hide of stags for us to sleep on, but we were so cold that it was impossible for us to sleep.

Our hostess asked us why two of the soldiers (sentries) were standing outside in the rain and cold instead of coming in to get warm. The Lieutenant told her that this was a Japanese custom.

Since we could not sleep... our hostess again entertained us by playing the flute.

22: Wiedfeldt--18 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
462, 283 Atayal

The Atayal woman works harder at providing clothing than she does at providing food. She picks and beats the green ramie grass, soaks the sun-dried fibres in water, and beats them again. She spins the fibres into thread by walking around the stationary spindle. She weaves the fibres in a simple pattern, similar to a netting stitch. She makes them into pieces of cloth in sizes to suit the special use to which they are to be put.

22: Wiedfeldt--33-34 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 417, 283, 286 Atayal

They can build suspension bridges up to 30 meters long out of Katsura wood, and they can span mountain streams with strips of rattan, the ends of which are fastened to projecting rocks or trees. [34] Although these are only continuations of the trees that overhang the mountain brooks of Formosa, and which provide a natural connection which is somewhat strengthened by the rattan, nevertheless this process of making bridges by tieing the trees together is a considerable technical accomplishment on the part of the Atayal men. On the feminine side, it is paralleled by the weaving of garments with the primitive loom. Perhaps this may even be regarded as a superior accomplishment ; the ramie grass, like the hemp, passes through their hands nine times.

34:Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami

Yami Woman Spinning

14

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142
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35: Collingwood--137-138 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 283, 294 Sek-hoan

"It should be mentioned that, in most cases, the garments worn by these people were made from a cloth of their own manufacture. This was a stout material, the threads of which were usually arranged in a zigzag pattern, and of a whitish or [138] bluish-white colour. Many of the younger girls were employed in spinning the thread from fibres of hemp; and the cloth was woven by the older women, in pieces about a yard and a half long and a foot broad; three of which pieces they were willing to dispose of for one dollar."

7: Joest--60 [7] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 285, 513 Chin-hoan

They sleep on cots made of bamboo and mats; the women are famous, and justly so, for the attractive plaited mats which they make themselves.

10: Schumacher--226 [6] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 531, 285 Chin-hoan

A European had a good deal to tell from the time he spent in the mountains of Formosa. He mentioned fine matting, surprisingly beautiful carved work, gold ingots, and poisoned arrows.

22: Wiedfeldt--15 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 562, 462, 591, 285 Atayal

The man's obligation is not only to afford protection against enemies, but also to provide shelter against the rigors of the weather. Before he is married, he builds the hut and the small adjoining hut, and prepares them, which takes about four to five months. During his married life he also builds a new hut, if the old one is destroyed by termites or storms, or is used as a place of burial and hence left deserted. He makes all the woven material, from the mats which are used as curtains to the baskets to hold provisions...

The protector, among the Atayals, also becomes an archer and hunter, as well as a fisherman.

6: Kirchhoff--32 [4] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 286, 322, 412 Pepo-hoan

In respect to crafts also, the Chinese have stamped their individuality on the Pepo-huan. But the Pepo-huan continue to manufacture their wooden vessels in the traditional way, and the knife handles also, in which they insert the blades they buy from the Hakka. Their wives manufacture coarse materials from pineapple and nettle fibers.

7: Joest--55 [4] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 286, 437

The chief articles of exchange are Chinese products such as rifles, powder, brandy, knives, glass beads, and sometimes red flannel, from which the native women pull out the threads to use in their own woven garments. In exchange for this the aborigines offer camphor, the skin of certain animals, dried and smoked meat from deer, boars, and bears, as well as antlers and their native woven cloth which is extremely durable.

7: Joest--58 -59 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 286, 291 Chin-hoan

During the [59] summer and in all the warmer areas, the natives wear nothing but a narrow cloth, about as wide as three fingers; they wear this around their waist and tie it in front so that the two ends hang down and barely cover the genitals. During the rainy season they wear a sleeveless jacket; some of them, especially the women, wear separate sleeves underneath. Sometimes they also wear skirts made of leopard skin, but most of them wear skirts woven by the women. These skirts are very durable; they are made of hemp which they themselves have cultivated and the women weave threads taken from European cloths into the design so that the total effect is very attractive. Most of the cloth woven by the women is about 1/2 meter wide and three meters long. They use the same simple hand looms which are found among nearly all primitive peoples.

11: Haguenauer--36 [3] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 286, 304, 554, 581 Atayal

The Tayal woman prides herself on her knowledge of weaving, for it is only when she is a past mistress in the art that she can be tattooed on her cheeks and around her lips with the marks which will attract the young men to her.

11: Haguenauer--36 [4] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 286, 301, 554. 721 Atayal

Custom decrees that a girl should wear a number of bracelets of brass wire which corresponds to the designs that she can weave. If a man wears these bracelets, they have a totally different meaning; if he has them on just one arm, they are simply ornaments, while if he wears them on both, it shows that he has taken part in a head hunting expedition.

14: Tamai--96[6] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 286, 531 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwan women make beautiful cloth with only a few simple wooden instruments and adorn them with various designs; these cloths are called Buanamoan.

16: Müller--235 [3] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 286, 314

For weaving the aborigines use small, very primitive hand looms made, for the most part, of camphor wood. They use the fiber of ramie plants, which grow in abundance on this island. The Ataiyal aborigines differentiate between four kinds of ramie, kigi barai, kigipapa, yakai yogai, and katailok. Raw hemp is called mukatailok, hemp which has been bleached by wringing it out in water is called mukabenakan, and spun hemp is called wikui.

16: Müller--235 [4] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 286, 531

They use their hands for weaving, or sometimes small hand spindles. The resulting textile is very durable and the designs are attractive. They often take out the red yarn from woolens which they obtain through barter and weave these into their designs. All the patterns they use in weaving consist of symmetrical arrangements of geometrical figures, arranged for the most part in parallel lines. Sometimes they picture animals in symmetrical shape. The colors most often used are red, white, black, blue, and yellow.

18: Kakyo--67 [4] E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 281, 286

The Formosan aborigines weave their own materials and prepare leather.

19: Guérin and Bernard--552 [3] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 286, 289

The clans that we have just mentioned [MC: i.e. those just south of the Tayal] make rice paper, hemp and weave some materials.

22: Wiedfeldt--18-19 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 286 Atayal

The Atayal woman works harder at providing clothing than she does at providing food. She picks and beats the green ramie grass, soaks the sun-dried fibres in water, and beats them again. She spins the fibres into thread by walking around the stationary spindle. She weaves the fibres in a simple pattern, similar to a netting stitch. She makes them into pieces of cloth in sizes to suit the special use to which they are to be put. [19] One end of the threads is wound around a hollow piece of wood which the weaver holds between her feet, and the other end is fastened to a bamboo rod which she ties to her body. The lengthwise threads are raised and lowered in groups by a long shuttle, and the weaver forces the woof through with a bamboo stick. Individual threads are dyed in advance, so that as the weaving proceeds stripes or square figures are formed. The commonest color is a rusty brown which is made from the sap of a root, and is perhaps used to simulate drops of blood. In addition, the greyish blue which is used for tattooing is used, and recently a bright red that they get from the Chinese has come into use. They are especially fond of red and rusty brown, perhaps because they are complementary to the perpetual green of their surroundings. . .

22: Wiedfeldt--33-34 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 417, 283, 286 Atayal

They can build suspension bridges up to 30 meters long out of Katsura wood, and they can span mountain streams with strips of rattan, the ends of which are fastened to projecting rocks or trees. [34] Although these are only continuations of the trees that overhang the mountain brooks of Formosa, and which provide a natural connection which is somewhat strengthened by the rattan, nevertheless this process of making bridges by tieing the trees together is a considerable technical accomplishment on the part of the Atayal men. On the feminine side, it is paralleled by the weaving of garments with the primitive loom. Perhaps this may even be regarded as a superior accomplishment; the ramie grass, like the hemp, passes through their hands nine times.

37: Steere--305-306 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 286, 241, 231, 621 Sek-hoan

"They irrigate and cultivate the soil in the same way as the Chinese do, using buffaloes for plowing and for drawing rude carts, that are used in all parts of the island, and are said to be of Dutch origin. They live like the [306] Chinese, gathered together in villages of huts made of adobes and covered with grass roofs."

37: Steere--312 [3] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 352, 286, 231 Chin-hoan

"The interior of the houses was clean and paved with slate, with low stone banks running around the sides for beds and seats. These were covered with mats, and such of the family as were not in the fields were sitting upon them, the women engaged in weaving mats and an open sack that is much used by them for containing burdens to be carried on the back. Many swarms of honey bees entered through crevices in the walls to cells made for them beneath these banks, and the savages make quite an article of trade of the honey and wax. They keep a few pigs and chickens beside."

19: Guérin and Bernard--552 [3] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 286, 289

The clans that we have just mentioned [MC: i.e. those just south of the Tayal] make rice paper, hemp and weave some materials.

7: Joest--58 -59 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 286, 291 Chin-hoan

During the [59] summer and in all the warmer areas, the natives wear nothing but a narrow cloth, about as wide as three fingers; they wear this around their waist and tie it in front so that the two ends hang down and barely cover the genitals. During the rainy season they wear a sleeveless jacket; some of them, especially the women, wear separate sleeves underneath. Sometimes they also wear skirts made of leopard skin, but most of them wear skirts woven by the women. These skirts are very durable; they are made of hemp which they themselves have cultivated and the women weave threads taken from European cloths into the design so that the total effect is very attractive. Most of the cloth woven by the women is about 1/2 meter wide and three meters long. They use the same simple hand looms which are found among nearly all primitive peoples.

7: Joest--59 [2] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291 Chin-hoan

The women wear more clothes than the men; most of them wear a kerchief over their head. They wear the same type of jacket as the men, but since they are so much shorter their jackets come down to their knees. Many of them wear a type of sarong, a short vest and separate sleeves, a square piece of cloth over their chest, and a piece of cloth wrapped around the calves of their legs and held in place with a thread.

Both men and women often wear a kind of toga which they tie around their neck so that it hangs down in back.

10: Schumacher--224 [10] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 291 Chin-hoan

The clothing of the Tschin-Huan men consists of skins and jackets of the Chinese fashion made from pineapple or nettle fibers.

14: Tamai--96 [11] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291 Chin-hoan

The dress of the Tschinwans is very simple. The children wear a piece of cloth on their chest but they are nude otherwise. Among poor people even the adults go nude. The men wear only a very small loincloth; the women wrap a piece of cloth about 1/2 meter wide around their hips. Both men and women wear a kind of shawl around their shoulders, about 1 1/2 meters long and 1 meter wide. In spite of the rocky mountain paths the men never wear anything on their feet and legs, but the women wrap a piece of cloth around their calves.

While the Tschinwans have no festivals which recur on fixed dates, they do have occasions for holidays:

1. A wedding.
2. A day in November when summer garments are discarded and winter clothes are put on.
3. The day on which one first puts on a new dress.

These three holidays are celebrated with a great deal of ceremony, the extent of the celebration varying with the financial position of the family.

16: Müller--232 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291

The clothing of the natives varies with each group. There are two articles of clothing, however, which are in use everywhere:

1. An exterior garment, with or without sleeves, with a collar which is open in front. The women are always careful to button this in front, while the men wear a square stomacher.

2. A rectangular cape, the sides of which are about 70 to 80 centimeters long. This may be worn by slinging it over the shoulder on one side and under the arm on the other and tying the two upper corners together with the tassels which are attached for this purpose. Another method is to cover both shoulders and tie the corners together behind the neck.

16: Müller--232 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 292, 431

The women wear a broad loincloth which covers their thighs. The loincloth of the men consists of a piece of cloth 60 to 70 centimeters long and 50 centimeters wide which they tie around the loins so that the two ends cover their genital organs. The loincloth, which as a rule is dyed dark blue, and the manner in which it is worn, indicates to what tribe the wearer belongs and whether he comes from a family of low or high standing. Loincloths are often given as personal presents. Among the Ataiyal group there is one tribe which uses only leaves as loincloths, and several tribes which do not cover themselves at all.

Since that aborigines always cut and sew in straight lines, the shape of the garment never fits the body.

16: Müller--232 [3] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 292

While most of the aborigines go barefoot, the women wrap a plain piece of cloth around their calves for special occasions, such as a festival. Among some tribes of the Tso'o group the men and women wear a type of sandal made of the hide of animals, on bad roads.

Only the men cover their heads. For the most part they wear an ordinary bowl-shaped cap, which they also use as a measure of capacity. The shield on the cap is worn in back to protect the neck. They also use caps made of bearskin, of the head of deer, and of leather. Among the aborigines of the Tso'o and Paiwan groups the caps sometimes have ornaments consisting of tassels or the feathers of roosters. The cap serves as an insignia of rank.

18: Kakyo--67 [5] E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291

They cover the pudenda (with but few exceptions); this is observed particularly rigorously in the case of women.

19: Guérin and Bernard--554 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291

The basis of the savage garb is a blue or black cotton scarf which is wound around the thighs and knotted in front. In a pinch, he considers that this is sufficient raiment. Usually, however, he adds a waistcoat which has no buttons, or a large sleeveless shirt, which is open way down the front. If he is cold, he fastens a smock around his neck, and this hangs down to his feet. The women sometimes wear shirts with sleeves; their costume consists of leggings, an apron, a piece of material which passes under the arm and then ties like a towel in back, and finally, a kind of turban which is wrapped around the head. The fabrics of these garments are solid color, or they may be a mixture of bright wools.

22: Wiedfeldt--11 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 177 Atayal

Masculine clothing consists of a square cloth, without armholes. It is held over the shoulders by a string and hangs down in front as far as the knees. As a result of Japanese influence, a loin-cloth has also begun to be worn recently. The women add to this article of apparel a somewhat wider piece of cloth bound around the hips, and leg-coverings which extend from the knee to the ankle and are fastened top and bottom. Sewing is unheard of. All articles of clothing are yellowish grey in color, and often have reddish brown stripes. Their feet are bare, in spite of the stony mountain paths, just as their heads are unprotected from the heat of the sun. Occasionally the men wear caps with a peak, woven out of osier switches or the twining branches of the to tree.. These caps cover the nape of the neck. Apparently they are a poor imitation of European caps. Many of the young girls have recently taken to twisting around their heads strips of bright colored material which they get from the Chinese or the Japanese. A costume of this sort, which leaves the back of the body as well as the head and the feet uncovered, affords no protection against bad weather, but this is unnecessary in the climate of Formosa. Nor can this costume be attributed to a feeling of modesty, for the Japanese loin-cloth is said to be still unknown in the interior. Also, the leg-coverings of the women leave the upper part of the thigh exposed. This costume satisfies their need for adornment, and this is why the ornamented cloth hangs over the part of the body which is first seen, just as the leg-coverings adorn only the portions of the leg that are visible, and are a pleasing contrast to their dark skins.

22: Wiedfeldt--11-12 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301, 291 Atayal

Adornment enjoys a degree of importance unknown even to modern luxury in the life of the Atayals, as well as in their possessions, and it requires a disproportionate amount of their time to produce the articles necessary for it. I have never seen an adult Atayal who was not wearing several ornaments on his head, arms, or legs. Only the children [12] have almost no ornaments. Up to about the age of twelve they go entirely naked, and then they wear the same clothing as adults.

24: Anonymous--91 [2] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 481

Both men and women go barefoot, but they do cover themselves with garments. They wear a short shirt (tuan-shan) and a loincloth made of wool (fu-pu). The women wrap grey cotton cloth around the calves of their legs and usually wear flowers in their hair. Boys and girls of fourteen or fifteen years usually tie a belt of plaited rattan around their loins, so that they learn to run with incredible speed and even outrun horses.

26: Honda--471 N-3 (1896) 1897 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 301 Bunun

The women wore some clothes, whereas the men were completely nude except for a loose loin-cloth. Some of them wore deer skins on their backs; this was true particularly of the chiefs. Necklaces and bracelets of shell or berries are worn by both men and women. My attention was attracted especially by the tight belly bands worn by both the young and old and made from fibers of the Calamus Rotang. I was told that their main purpose is to prevent excessive consumption of food.

31: Hofmann--618-619 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 177, 291, 721 Tsou

During our expedition through the forests we occasionally saw some of the natives who had come here to hunt or merely from curiosity. [619] They are a shy people, short, with beautiful bright eyes; they are clothed in deerskins, leaving their arms and legs bare. These are members of the Tsou tribe. The word tsou is equivalent to human being, but they do not apply this term to any other people, neither the Malayans nor the Chinese and Japanese. They are, comparatively speaking, quite civilized; I was told that they had given up headhunting several centuries ago, but this is probably due to the influence of a foreign culture more than moral conviction. There has been no perceptible progress in their culture. Since they are numerically inferior to the other tribes and since they are constantly at war with the neighboring tribe, the Hosha, they are probably forced to accept the rule of the Japanese.

31: Hofmann--622-623 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 304, 881 Tsou

The men remove their eye teeth. I was not able to learn the reason for this, but since it is done when the boys are 13 years old, it is likely that this is connected with puberty rites. They also tear out their beards, so that all men have a clean-shaven face. The natives as well as the Chinese and Japanese have only a very slight beard. The custom of tying up the prepuce of boys is sometimes practiced...[623] Since this is not done in every case it is probably done only for protection on the paths through the woods which are overgrown with liana and thorny shrubs. The men wear a tight bellyband made of fiber. This is probably also done to protect the groin, or perhaps to help them bear their hunger more easily if there is no food; it may also have the purpose of helping them to keep their bodies slender and flexible.

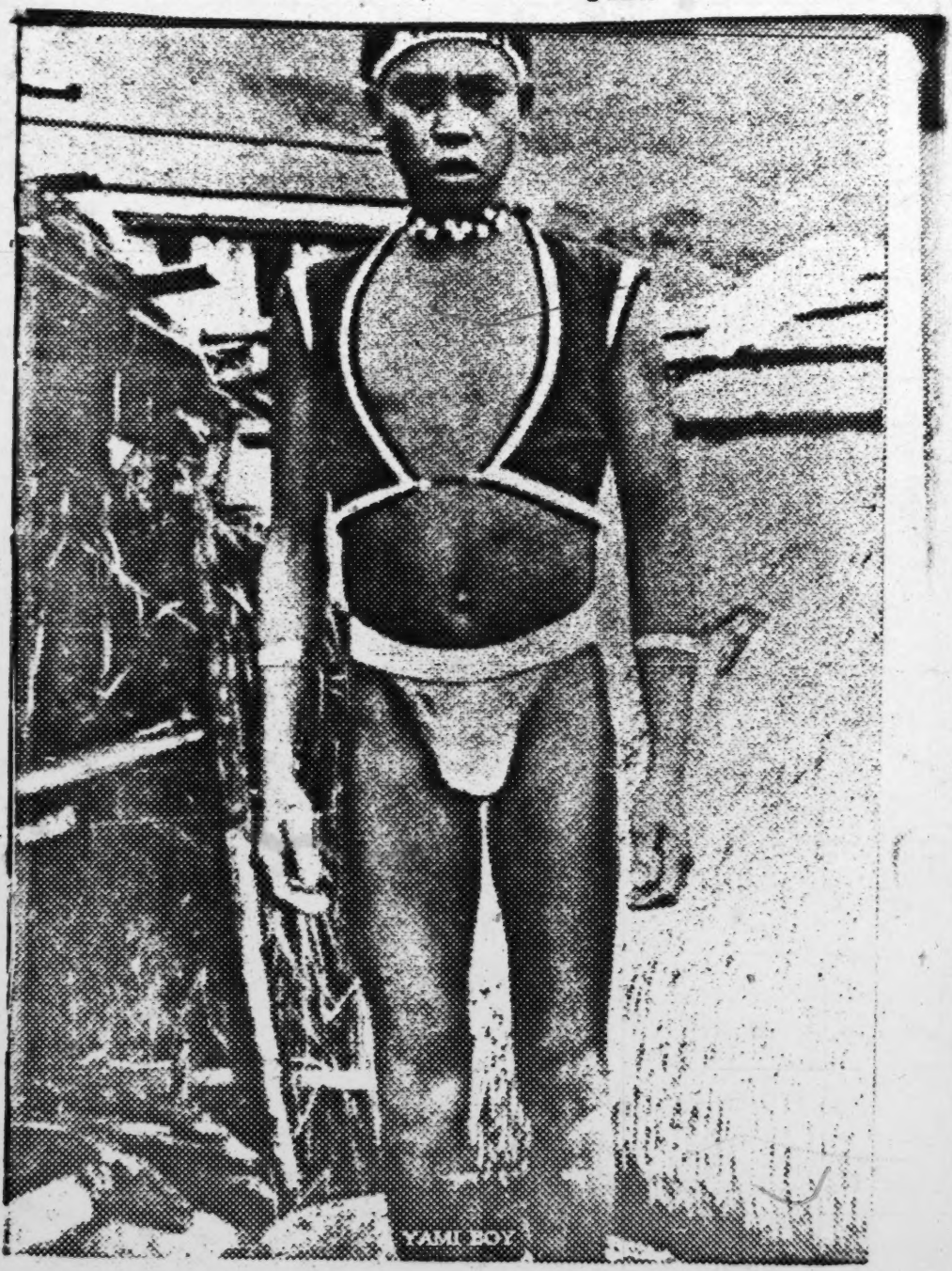
31: Hofmann--623 [3] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 609, 301, 592, 837 Tsou

Members of the Tsou tribe are monogamous; adultery on the part of the woman does not occur at all. The women are very shy; they do not look strangers in the face, and they go about with their eyes downcast. Some of them wear garments made of cloth from China, others weave their own garments on primitive looms. I saw few women who were wearing ornaments; the men here are far more vain than the women.

31: Hofmann--626 [2] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 481 Tsou

In warfare the natives have the advantage in the mountains since they are very agile, skillful climbers. I was often able to observe this myself; they climbed even very steep slopes at a running pace, and although they were loaded down with baggage, they were secure on overhanging rocks. In the plains, however, they tire very easily, and they cannot make a long march on level ground. When they go on longer walks, the natives protect their heads from the sun with a covering of leaves or flowers; dressed thus they certainly do not inspire fear.

34: DelRe U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami



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34:Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami

Yami Woman Spinning

14

291
142
283

34: Del Re--12-15 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 302, 142 Yami

"Except for ceremonial occasions, the men only wear a 'G-string' and the women a short skirt and, sometimes, a kind of cloak reaching down to the waist. They anoint their dark coffee-coloured skin with pig-fat in order to beautify themselves as well as for hygienic reasons. Their hair of a reddish hue--hence the name Kô-tô-sho--is worn long and bobbed, by the men as well as by the women. This seems to be a custom now peculiar to this tribe. Referring to the Formosan style of hairdressing an anonymous XVIIIth century Dutch writer noted that no [pages 13 and 14 contain illustrations] [15] male was allowed to wear his hair below his ears until he had reached the age of 16 or 17 after which he let his hair grow as long as the women do in Europe. The women, however, have long hair, which they never cut. Only when their hair has grown long do they begin courting. (3) Another peculiarity is that they neither smoke nor drink

3. cpr. Veerwaarlooside Formosa, Amsterdam, 1675 (subsequently cited as VF), Part I, p. 7, an invaluable and, on the whole, reliable source of information concerning the Formosan savages, particularly those inhabiting the West central and Southwestern part of the island (Sinkan) in the neighbourhood of Tayouan (present day Tainan-Anping) with whom the Dutch settlers came into closer contact.

any kind of intoxicating beverage."

34:Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami

PAIWAN MOTHER AND BABY. NOTE THE NATIVE WOODEN DOLL HELD BY THE CHILD, AND THE JAPANESE SCARF SLUNG OVER THE WOMAN'S NECK

854
291

"The costume of these people was somewhat slight. The men were attired similarly to Chinese coolies, that is, usually in a simple pair of short drawers, to which in some cases a blouse was added. The dress of the women consisted of a sarong (1) or petticoat,

1. Meaning literally a sheath or scabbard, but here that part of the dress of both sexes which covers the lower portion of the person, and is in the form of a sack open at both ends. —Editor.

folded round the loins and meeting in front, where it overlapped, but was not fastened. This petticoat did not reach so far as the knees, and the feet and legs were bare. A sort of loose jacket, open in front, completed their attire, though some of the matrons did not make use of this addition. The young children of both sexes were entirely naked. This, however, appears to be a costume not always considered necessary, and those who landed at the village early on the second morning report that the population was more scantily clad, the men being entirely naked, and the women wearing only a flap round the loins. Seeing, however, the strangers arrive, they retired with deliberation to their huts, closed the doors, and reappeared in the costume above described. The women possessed necklaces of beads, which they wore round their necks, and some of them had stone bangles round their arms; their ears were pierced in three or four places from the lobe upwards, though none of them seemed to have ornaments in them, except buttons,

often of the commonest kind. Most of the young children had objects round their necks, such as coins, beads, or buttons."

36: Dodd--75-76 U-2 1865 (1885) Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 291, 531

"The clothing of these so-called savages living in the lower hills [MLB: of North Formosa] adjoining Chinese territory is, especially in the summer months, very scant. It consists chiefly of a coat, called lûkûs resembling very much an enlarged singlet open in the front and as a rule without sleeves. Four straight pieces of native hempen cloth are sewn together two to the back and two in front, leaving room for the arms to pass through, sewn also at the top over the shoulders, but open in front, exposing the chest and stomach. Sometimes they are buttoned across the chest, and sleeves are occasionally worn by border savages. These coats cover the back entirely, and reach down nearly as far as the knees, and although they are usually made of plain, coarse, bleached, hempen cloth, they are almost always embroidered from the waist downwards, or interwoven with either blue or scarlet threads of long-ells, which they obtain from the [76] Chinese borderers.

The patterns vary very much, resembling somewhat the carvings to be seen on their pipe stems and not unlike the tattoo lines and bars on the faces of the women. They shew great diversity as well as regularity of design, and if not imitations derived from outside sources, they indicate not only originality but great taste. In addition to the lûkûs the men wear round their waists a strip of woven hemp four or five inches broad, embroidered in the same way as the lower part of the lûkûs. This girdle or belt is called habbock, and is worn next to the skin as a rule, but sometimes outside the coat. The

lûkûs and habbock are almost the only articles of clothing worn by the men in the lower ranges of hills, but on the higher levels many wear coats with sleeves, and sometimes clothes made of the skins of animals.

In the summer months, one often meets men and boys roaming about with absolutely no clothes on at all. Some consider 'full dress' to consist of a rattan wicker-work closely fitting cap (mobu), others strut about all day long with only the belt or habbock round their waists, with the lalāo stuck in it."

36: Dodd--77-78 U-2 1865 (1885) Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 171, 291

"They [MLB: men of the northern tribes] wear another kind of coat, or rather jacket, called the fighting jacket. It is made in every way like the lûkûs, but in its size. Instead of extending low down the body, it only reaches as far as the waist, and is more like a shell jacket without sleeves than anything else. It is made of hemp, very closely interwoven with threads of scarlet long-ells, a colour which, amongst the northern tribes, seems to be the favourite. Further south, towards the Sylvian Range, coats embroidered with blue thread of long-ells are more the fashion. The long-ells and camlets used by the border savages are obtained from their neighbours, the Chinese hillmen. In describing the dress of the savages, I am alluding at present more especially to that worn by men living in the hills to the North of N. Lat. 24, and to East of 121 E. Long. There appears to be very little variety in the costumes worn in this region, that is, in the lower ranges of hills, but at 6,000 to 8,000 feet above the sea level, great differences in the appearance of the dresses as well as in the manners and ways of the people are observable. A rather curious apology for a great coat is worn in damp or rainy weather, of which they get a very full share at all times of the year, for the lofty mountain ranges, varying from 4,000 to 12,000 feet running nearly the whole length of the island, offer a great attraction to rain clouds.

This coat is made generally of the skin of the large brown deer, only partially cured by exposure to the sun and wind. The design is about as rude as anything can be, a slit of about six inches in length is made in the hide and at the end of the slit a circular piece

37: Steere--304 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 144, 291 Pepo-hoan

"The Pepo-whans are a large and well-formed race, showing little of Chinese features, except where it can easily be traced to intermarriage between the races, which seldom occurs. The men have no distinctive dress, unless the turban may be considered such, though the Chinese also use this to some extent. The women have a peculiar and very becoming dress, consisting of wide trowsers and a short and wide-sleeved jacket, meeting the trowsers at the waist and fastened with a sash. The head is wrapped in a blue turban, the ends of which are drawn out at the sides of the head like wings and giving them a peculiarly jaunty and coquettish appearance."

of the skin is cut out, allowing just room for the neck. The stiffness of the hide and the narrow space [78] allowed for the neck prevent the coat dropping off the shoulders. A man with a covering of this kind can screw himself into such a position that no part of his body is exposed, excepting his head, and on this he places his jockey-cap-shaped rattan cap, with the peak at the back, thus securing perfect protection from rain."

37: Steere--307 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 131, 142, 621, 291 Chin-hoan

"The savages that I visited east of the Lek-whan settlement of Posia, I have left with the general designation of Che-whan. The Chinese and Pepo-whans often call them Bon-whan. They occupy a part of the water shed of the island about the head-waters of the river that flows through the valley of Posia and into the Formosan channel near Changwha, and of other streams that flow into the Pacific. They are said to belong to a nation or confederacy, of over thirty villages, under one chief. They are very small and inferior looking, hardly averaging five feet in height, but very muscular from their life spent in climbing up and down their steep mountains. Their dress is made of a species of nettle, perhaps the ramil plant, which they cultivate, and which the women weave into narrow strips of very strong and durable, but somewhat coarse cloth, which is generally ornamented with red and blue stripes woven in. The only clothing of the men is a coarse sleeveless shirt of this cloth, which comes down to the middle of the thigh. I saw a couple of men among them wearing nothing but narrow (tapa rabos), not so wide as the hand, made apparently from the hair of some animal, woven, and colored red. They were said to belong to another, but friendly tribe. The women wear a sort of short tunic or kilt."

37: Steere--310 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 304, 411, 226, 501 Chin-hoan

"The dress of the men is a hunting shirt made of deer or monkey skins, that does not protect the arms nor legs. The women wear a sort of tunic of Chinese cloth, and protect the fore-part of the leg with a sort of close-fitting gaiter from the thorns and spines with which the forest is filled. They do not tattoo, but have a custom of knocking out the eye-teeth of the boys, so that they reminded me of squirrels. They are not warlike, but use rude bows and arrows for hunting and protection when they are too poor to get firelocks. They are great hunters, and large strings of monkeys' and bears' skulls hung about their dwellings. I saw them fishing with small dip-nets among the pond-lily roots and leaves, and catching a species of cat-fish (Silurus). They also fish with rude spears. They use, in navigating the lake, huge hollowed trunks of camphor trees, that look as if they may have been in use a hundred years. They are very awkward and heavy, and appear to have been hollowed with fire. They are open at both ends, the water being kept out with earth and sods."

37: Steere--311-312 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 142, 291, 622, 301 Chin-hoan

"The Kale-whan are very small in stature, averaging about five feet. The features of the younger ones are quite regular and pleasant, but among the old, want and vice have almost made them to look like brutes. They dress in Chinese cloth--the men in the short coat or hunting shirt, that leaves the legs and arms exposed. The chief was dressed in the skin of a tiger cat, which seemed to be his badge of office. The women dress much as the Chinese and Pepo-whans in the plain below, but they sometimes spend much time in embroidering their sleeves and trowsers. The women were always, while we were among them, whether at work in the fields or in the villages, crowned with wreaths of vines and flowers. These were often nothing more than sweet potato vines, but in some cases beautiful wild plants and flowers. Many of the men were also decorated in this way, and it would almost seem to be [312]a distinguishing mark of the tribe."

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

his father's office. If the *pinairaratsə* has no heir or if his works were not regarded as satisfactory, the overlord may appoint another household to the office. Taxes collected by the *pinairaratsə* need not be forward to their overlords, they may be consumed by the *pinairaratsə* himself.

CLASS AND PRIVILEGE

A. Naming system

A name indicates one's social status. They are of three grades:

a) Names of the big chiefs:
men's names: *arutsaŋal, tʃanupak, tsivuluaŋ, giligilao, palilas, ləŋuŋai, trotsə.*
women's names: *rumurumaŋ, moni, vonum, slup, lutsium, tsipulaŋ.*

b) Names of the second grade chiefs:
men's names: *apitsuaŋ, ulili, pulalujaŋ, tsimuluŋai, tsama, gulagul, raŋaraŋ, apaŋ, tsumul.*
women's names: *tsiankim, lavlav, kalskus, tsoʔo, rere, ateves, kumara, moakai.*

c) Names of the commoners:
men's names: *maitʃəl, guluts, tsuvi* and others.
women's names: *saolalui, alalu, vais, kai* and others.

The *utsiputsipoŋ* have the same names as commoners. The name of an aristocrat is decided in a kins' meeting. To acquire a name above his class he must get a permission from the big chief. The name of a commoner is given by his parents or determined by a divination.

B. Tattooing (*voŋtsik*)

Tattooing is one of the privileges enjoyed by the aristocratic class. A commoner may have tattoo if he has military achievements and is so permitted by the chief. Men tattoo their breasts, backs, arms, and legs; women only tattoo their forearms and backs of hand. The designs indicate their social status, only the big chiefs may have human figures (*pinarutsautsauaŋ*) and snake designs (*pinavulvuluwaŋ*).

C. House decoration

Houses are distinguished by two kinds. The houses of the big chief or the second grade chiefs are always larger in size and more decorative. In front of these houses, there are larger front yards (*assasawaŋ*) and platforms (*aluvuluwaŋ*) which serve as the meeting places of the villagers. On the platform a stone pillar is erected to represent their ancestor which is called *saotsaolai*. House posts, beams, walls, and storage boxes may be decorated with human figure or snake designs. The houses of the commoners, include houses of *utsiputsipoŋ*, are always smaller in size and can not be decorated.

D. Clothing and ornaments

Clothing and ornaments also indicate one's social status. The aristocratic class wear clothes of dark colours—dark blue, dark purple, or black colour. The clothes of the aristocratic class are always embroidered or design-weaved, while the commoners are prohibited to wear such. Several kinds of clothe—*tsapo aliulao* (clothe made of leopard's skin), *vajal a tsinuŋuaŋ* (shoulder cloth), *katin a veŋtsiaŋ* (a kind of trousers)

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 ADI Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

565 are only allowed to be worn by chiefs; and embroidered *lionpao* (long clothe), *koŋ na kinima²aŋ* (long skirt) and *kasuja tsino at səvanaŋ* (trousers) by chiefess.

Ornaments, especially *lailai* (feather ornaments), *patal na paŋaŋiliŋ* (hat-ornament made of leopard's teeth), *ta'ata* (shoulder ornament made of a kind of shell), *tsalaral* (silver shoulder ornament), *aliatpulà* (glass bead necklace) are only allowed to be used by nobles.

E. Right to perform ceremonies

565 554 a) Felicitation on having an elder offspring is only performed by the nobles. A gun and some iron ware must be sent to the maternal relatives on this occasion. This is called *ləmici*.

565 583 b) A bride price is called *cinilici*. According to the social status, it is divided into three classes: *mamatsaŋiraŋ*, *maluntsivtsik* and *tala²alalak*. *mamatsaŋiran* consists of a piece of cultivated land (*atunaŋaŋ*) a household of serf (*wadis*), five kinds of iron articles; *maluvtsivtsik* only two or three kinds of iron article; and *tala²alalak* only two or three iron articles. The marriage ceremony also differs between nobles and commoners.

764 565 c) Funeral rites: At the death of a chief, the whole village wears mourning dresses for five days, *maluvtsivtsik* and *utsiputsipoŋ* a month. At the death of a *matuvtsivtsik*, his relatives and *utsiputsipoŋ* wear mourning dresses for a month, and his *unutel* five days. At the death of a commoner, his relatives wear weeds for a month.

F. Privilege from criminal trial

565 [687] a) A commoner will be fined a penalty of a pig, a bottle of wine, several iron articles by his lese-majesty (*napanuŋatsə*) to a chief. A noble commits no lese-majesty.

[554] b) If a commoner's house is carved, his body tattooed, and his clothes decorated, he is regarded as having committes a crime of arrogation (*napatsəra*). He will be fined a penalty of the same as that of a lese-majesty.

[685] c) The nobles commit no crime of robbery (*tsəmav*).

[682] d) A murderer must pay the equivalence of the price of the murdered which differs according to one's social status. If a commoner murdered a noble, all properties of his own as well as his brothers will be confiscated, and he himself will be exiled from the village.

[684] e) The nobles commit no crime of adultery, but a noble may ask penalty from one who commits adultery with his or her spouse. A commoner who ravishes a chiefess will be heavily punished and exiled from the village.

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

but no table etiquette and taboo in eating need be followed or observed. Though they hunted human heads formerly, they were not cannibals.

V. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

The Atayal are famous for their wampum clothes. In the Department collections, there are many specimens. Mr. Chang Kwang-chih has given a description of twelve of them (*v.* No. 2 of the bulletin, pp. 32-34). The clothes and ornaments are of many kinds. One of the present authors (Ho) has given a description of twenty-seven specimens of Atayal clothes in the Department Collections (*v.* No. 2 of this bulletin, pp. 22-29). In this investigation, we saw eight pieces of clothes and ornaments owned by the chief's wife. they are; head band [*qaqusop*], necklace [*nili*], breast cloth [*taojax*], long gown [*sipiliaŋ*], short gown [*atan*], waist-cloth [*toxawaq*], wrist-ornament [*pao²i*], and three kinds of leg ornament (the upper, *qinulaja*; the middle, *qaqi*, and the lower, *qinwoax*). Other kinds of ornaments possessed by her have been lost.

Today, only people over fifty years of age wear thier original kinds of clothes; young people usually dress in modern style.

Body deformation such as tooth chipping, ear-lobe piercing, and tattooing have been abolished in recent years. The following descriptions are chiefly based on the narratives of *ali-Jopas* (chief's wife) and *jajot-palie* (female, 73 years od age, see frontispiece) of *tapilas* and *pisei-taxos* (female, 66 years of age) of *saβulok*.

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Gowns are long or short. Long gowns are always long enough to cover the knees. Everyday clothes [*tiwajan*] have no collars and no buttons, and are with or without sleeves and single-breasted. Full dress [*sipaliaŋ*] has no collar, no buttons, and is without sleeves and single-breasted, but is always design-woven or wampum decorated. Full dress is worn in festival time. Only chiefs or head-hunters are allowed to wear clothes decorated with copper bells. Short gowns [*atan*] only cover the chest and are always above the navel. They have no collar, no buttons, and are without sleeves and single-breasted. *tajo* or toga is made of a single piece of cloth about one meter square, it is used to protect one from cold weather, and may also be used as a blanket to cover one's body at night. The other kinds of clothing are: head bands [*qajapis*], turbans [*qaqusop*], breast-cloths [*taojax*], leggings [*saolox*], the breechclouts [*pula*] of men, and the waist-cloths [*toxawoq*] of women. Rattan hats [*paβoβin na quani*] are only worn by men. A rattan hat covered with bearskin is called *qaβoβin na ŋalox*, and is worn only at festival times.

Women, on the ordinary days, wear togas, breast-cloths, waist-cloths, and leggings, and long or short gowns are added under the togas on cold days. Men wear togas and breechclouts, and long gowns are added under the togas on cold days. Children wear long gowns with or without sleeves and togas. Most of their everyday clothes bear no designs. Clothes worn in festival times mostly elaborately design-woven or wampum decorated; and instead of wearing leggings, they wear leg-ornaments. Except

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 ADI Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
Atayal AD4

291 for the hat and breechclout of men and the comb and waist-cloth of women, men and women wear the same kind of clothes. At the time of a funeral, they wear old clothes, for according to their old tradition, all clothes which are worn at a funeral must be cast away.

[292] A deer-hide rain-coat [*xanqu na βaqanox*] is employed to protect them from the rain.

Clothes and ornaments are made by women. If a woman cannot make clothes, it is difficult for her to get married. Their cloth is made of hemp. After contact with the Han people, the Atayal have bought cloth from them and do not weave industriously as in former days.

They seldom wash their clothes. The fruit called *mawarsa* of a kind of plant called *mawalo* is used to soap their clothes.

301 2. Ornaments

Ornaments include ear-ornaments [*pintalaŋ*], neck ornaments [*nili*] (made of shell), [*nqalo*] (made of glass-beads), arm-ornaments [*paʃi tonaŋ*] (those used by men have hair of the hunted head attached to them), wrist-ornaments [*pao²i*], finger ornaments [*qaqamut*], waist-belts [*xaxaβok*], leg-ornaments [*qimulaja, qaqj, qinuwax*], etc. All these ornements, except the finger ornaments, are worn at festival times. Finger ornaments or a finger ring are ordinarily worn on the middle finger [*paaqaŋ*] or ring finger [*so²ai*]; a woman of talent may wear a ring on her forefinger [*qomi iao*] or little finger [*so²ai tsuβalai*]. One may wear ornaments from his or her early teen-age.

Atayal women wear a kind of comb [*qaqalu* or *xaxeilnqu*] when attending a feast, but this is never used to comb their hair.

3. Hair dressing

302 Young children let their hair grow, this kind of hair dressing is called *mɔqaino*. After five of six years, the hair is bound up with strings and is wound from left to right on the head, this is called *tuβuβa²aŋ*. Oil derived from animal fat is used to dress their hair. If the hair grows too long, it may be cut with a knife. The fine hair on the face is pulled out by twisting two pieces of string. This string-twisting method which resembles the Chinese one, is also employed to shape their eye-brows. The beard is shaved by a small knife. They never wear a beard or a mustache. Today the young girls mostly get permanent waves.

304 4. Ear-lobe piercing [*pulaxan papaq*]

They pierce their ear-lobes between the ages of five to ten years. There is no specialist for piercing the ear-lobe. Earlobe piercing mostly takes place on a frosty winter day. The ear-lobe is first rubbed with frost and then pierced with a bamboo needle. A piece of sweet potato is put behind the lobe of the ear to be the anvil when the operation is in process. After four days the bamboo needle is removed, and a grass stem is stuck into the hole instead of it. Grass stems will gradually be increased in number until the hole is large enough for the ear-ornaments. The larger hole on the lobe is considered the more beautiful. Men and women have the same

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Atayal

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苗栗縣泰安鄉錦水村文臉及胸的泰雅族老婦 (何廷瑞攝)
An Atayal old woman showing tattooed face and breast, Chin-shui Ts'un, Miaoli Hsien

/P. 12 (frontispiece, Chinese text)/

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 - AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Atayal

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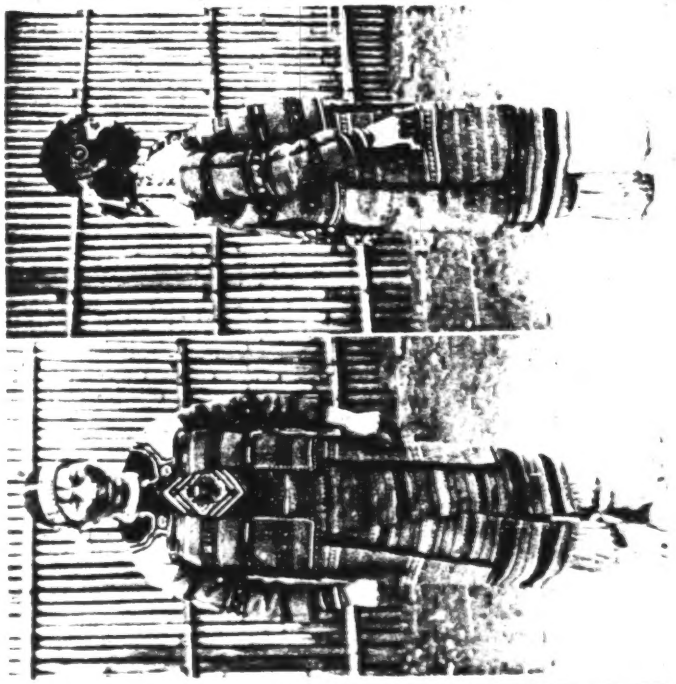

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/F. 127 - (facing p. 40, Chinese text)/

7: Joest--59 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 292 Chin-hoan

Some of the men also wear peaked caps made of the hide of deer or of plaited straw which resemble our caps worn for riding, except that they wear the peak in back.

14: Tamai--96 [15] J 2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 292, 302 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwan men wear their hair either loose and down to their shoulders or tie it together on top of their head; sometimes they cut it very short. They wear caps made of plaited vines which resemble the European hunting-caps. The women tie their hair behind the head; married women wear a black cap, unmarried women wear a red cap.

14: Tamai--96 [17] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 292 Chin-hoan

On rainy days the Tschinwan natives wear a short coat made of the hide of deer which resembles the Japanese Kami-Shimo, a garment formerly worn for holidays.

16: Müller--232 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 292, 431

The women wear a broad loincloth which covers their thighs. The loincloth of the men consists of a piece of cloth 60 to 70 centimeters long and 50 centimeters wide which they tie around the loins so that the two ends cover their genital organs. The loincloth, which as a rule is dyed dark blue, and the manner in which it is worn, indicates to what tribe the wearer belongs and whether he comes from a family of low or high standing. Loincloths are often given as personal presents. Among the Ataiyal group there is one tribe which uses only leaves as loincloths, and several tribes which do not cover themselves at all.

Since that aborigines always cut and sew in straight lines, the shape of the garment never fits the body.

16: Müller--232 [3] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 292

While most of the aborigines go barefoot, the women wrap a plain piece of cloth around their calves for special occasions, such as a festival. Among some tribes of the Tso'o group the men and women wear a type of sandal made of the hide of animals, on bad roads.

Only the men cover their heads. For the most part they wear an ordinary bowl-shaped cap, which they also use as a measure of capacity. The shield on the cap is worn in back to protect the neck. They also use caps made of bearskin, of the head of deer, and of leather. Among the aborigines of the Tso'o and Paiwan groups the caps sometimes have ornaments consisting of tassels or the feathers of roosters. The cap serves as an insignia of rank.

19: Guérin and Bernard--554 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 292

The savage keeps the rain off by means of a goat skin; a split makes it possible for the neck to fit into a round opening which is made in the upper edge of the skin. If the weather is fine, this coat is folded in fourths, and then kept in a net which the Tayal carries over his back whenever he leaves his home.

19: Guérin and Bernard--554 [3] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 292

Generally there is no head dress. But the tribes in the northern circle use reeds to braid plain skull caps, broak-brimmed hats, or--and this is the most remarkable shape real jockey caps. In this case, the visor is turned back. These helmets wear forever, they are painted red and provided with chin-straps of glass beads.

22: Wiedfeldt--12 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301, 292, 436, 177 Atayal

If such foreign ornaments [MC: i. e. brass rings and glass beads from Japan] have been taken over by the women, the men have kept for themselves the characteristic old ornamental dress. These "things set with precious materials", as the Atayal description runs, have three sizes, which are worn as arm or leg coverings, kinrai, or as a doublet, bintoan, or as a sleeveless jacket, rokosch-kaha. They consist of material dyed red, on which is fastened small pieces of pierced fish-bone arranged in rows and geometrical designs. Since the fish are not to be found in the interior, and the making of these ornaments would be too tiresome and difficult for the Atayals, who have no tools, these ornaments, which the Chinese call schukun, are very highly prized, and their owners like to wear them on festive occasions because they give them a certain amount of prestige. These valuable and lasting, but unnecessary ornamental garments are used as money. The three sizes are worth respectively 3, 5, and 10 yen.

22: Wiedfeldt--36-37 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 173, 177, 292, 436 Atayal

For all settlements and compensations, for the purchase of land by the clans, and the reimbursement of the prophetess, the Atayals have a definite means of exchange which has the same value for all of the Atayal tribes: the materials [MC: which are set] with precious things, which are usually of three kinds. [MC: See page 12 in category 116 or 436 for description] The general acceptance of this indigenous money is based on its high value as a means of adornment, and its worth depends on the rareness of the materials and the care with which it has been made. [37] Ostensibly the Atayals have never wished to learn how to make these things. An old Taroku told me through the medium of the interpreter that they had gotten the precious materials long ago from white men, but the other Tarokus and all the Schimptonoffs denied the truth of this improbable tradition. If it were true, one would be forced to think of Spanish amulets. All the Atayals are agreed on this point, that they were once brought to them from outside, and that for a long time, there has been no new material. According to this, the same quantity of objects used as money, which presumably are fairly safe from the ravages of termites, has been in circulation among them since its introduction, and only the temporary owners change. This is very possible, in view of the fact that there is no economy based on earnings, and in view of the fact that there has been no increase in the population of the Atayals, as well as because of the stagnation of their culture. The objects used as money are the only possessions that do not follow their owner to the grave. Neither tribe nor clan has concerned itself with making of ornaments to be used as

money, nor have they attempted to fix the value of such ornaments, but nevertheless, they are the "legal" means by which all fines are paid. Together with language and customs, money is the only tangible bond that unifies all the tribes of the Atayals. The entire fortune of the Atayals consists of such money.

31: Hofmann--621-622 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 273, 292, 517 Tsou

When I visited the bachelors' quarters a festival was in progress. The chieftain was wearing a red jacket made of cloth; the other participants had taken off their deerskin garment and were squatting on the floor of the hall wearing nothing but a simple loincloth made of fiber. There were 60 men in all. All were drinking remi, a fermented beverage, in great quantities. They prepare this from rice and millet which has been chewed by the women; they spit this into a trough and the paste is left there to ferment. When this process is complete the paste is mixed with water and the drink is ready. The men used cups made of pieces of bamboo; one of them was drinking from a [622] beer bottle. They emptied the bamboo cups in a single draught. Some of the men went around to fill the cups and urged those who were slow to drink more. The men embraced each other and tried to empty their cups to the last drop.... They ate sugar with the Remi; the younger boys were given sugar without the beverage, although, when I tested the drink, I found that it had a very low alcoholic content. The men must have consumed large quantities, however, for late at night, when we retired, we heard them shouting and stamping their feet.

34: Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami

YAMI TRIBESMEN. NOTE BASKETWORK FISHING-HELMETS WORN ON SPECIAL OCCASIONS AND BAMBOO SPEARS

212/411

34:Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
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YAMI TRIBESMEN. NOTE BASKETWORK FISHING-HELMETS WORN ON SPECIAL OCCASIONS AND BAMBOO SPEARS.

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34: Del Re--23-24 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 436, 292, 301 Yami

"The Yami have no use for money except as metal which is highly prized, especially silver which, like iron, seems to have been known to the islanders from the earliest times. (7) The former is beaten out into thin silver leaves with [24]

7. See below p. 39 (Legend of Imulud).

which they cover their characteristic large 'extinguisher' ceremonial helmets worn during the Flying-Fish Festival, which are handed down as a communal treasure from generation to generation."

34:Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami

Old Yami Couple in ceremonial costume: Note the silver flying-fish ceremony helmet and the silver headgear and plaques worn by the woman.

292
301

34:Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Paiwan

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Paiwan Chief in full dress

36: Dodd--77 U-2 1865 (1885) Formosan Aborigines
116, 292

"On occasions the men [MLB: of the northern tribes] sometimes wear tied over their right shoulder and flowing down the back and across the chest, a square piece of variegated cloth (worn by women as a sort of petticoat, tied round the waist and reaching to the knees), but this article of apparel is worn more by the women than the men."

37: Steere--305 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 191, 174, 142, 292 Sek-hoan

"The Lek-whan call themselves Paijek in their own tongue, which all speak in their families, though all, but the very old, speak Chinese also, and some of the younger ones can write it with some readiness. There seem to be no manuscripts or other proofs that they formerly had any connection with the Dutch, and their position at nearly equal distances from Taiwanfu and Tamsni, the two points occupied by the Dutch, would have made them among the last visited by them, and the least influenced. Their language shows them to be closely connected with the savage tribes of the island, and with the Pepo-whans of the south. They are large and strongly framed as compared with the Chinese, but their faces are coarse, and the teeth of the women protrude; but their countenances show much good nature and kindly feeling. Their dress is much that of the poorer classes of Chinese, though for weddings and great ceremonies they use a national dress, consisting of two or three long sleeveless mantles, open in front, and the under one reaching to the heels, while those above are shorter. These are ornamented with a large amount of red embroidery about the bottom. They raise a species of nettle, from which they make a coarse but lasting cloth."

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Atayal

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Gowns are long or short. Long gowns are always long enough to cover the knees. Everyday clothes [*tiwajan*] have no collars and no buttons, and are with or without sleeves and single-breasted. Full dress [*ripaliaŋ*] has no collar, no buttons, and is without sleeves and single-breasted, but is always design-woven or wampum decorated. Full dress is worn in festival time. Only chiefs or head-hunters are allowed to wear clothes decorated with copper bells. Short gowns [*atan*] only cover the chest and are always above the navel. They have no collar, no buttons, and are without sleeves and single-breasted. *tajo* or toga is made of a single piece of cloth about one meter square, it is used to protect one from cold weather, and may also be used as a blanket to cover one's body at night. The other kinds of clothing are: head bands [*qajapis*], turbans [*qaqusop*], breast-cloths [*taojax*], leggings [*saolox*], the breechclouts [*pula*] of men, and the waist-cloths [*taxawoq*] of women. Rattan hats [*paβoβin na quani*] are only worn by men. A rattan hat covered with bearskin is called *qaβoβin na yalox*, and is worn only at festival times. 291

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50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 ADl Formosa
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They seldom wash their clothes. The fruit called *mawarsa* of a kind of plant called *mawalo* is used to soap their clothes.

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Atayal women wear a kind of comb [*qaqalu* or *xaxeiluqu*] when attending a feast, but this is never used to comb their hair.

3. Hair dressing

302 Young children let their hair grow, this kind of hair dressing is called *maqaino*. After five of six years, the hair is bound up with strings and is wound from left to right on the head, this is called *tuβuβa²aŋ*. Oil derived from animal fat is used to dress their hair. If the hair grows too long, it may be cut with a knife. The fine hair on the face is pulled out by twisting two pieces of string. This string-twisting method which resembles the Chinese one, is also employed to shape their eye-brows. The beard is shaved by a small knife. They never wear a beard or a mustache. Today the young girls mostly get permanent waves.

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50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Atayal

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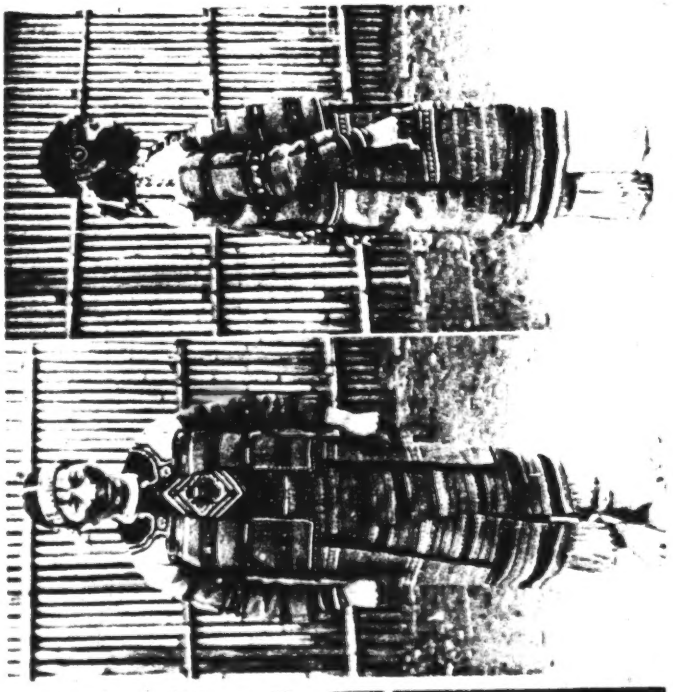

2. 打扮整齊的泰雅族婦女
An Atayal woman in full costume

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1. 打扮整齊的泰雅族男女
Atayal man and woman in everyday clothes

/P. 127 c (facing p. 40, Chinese text)/

14: Tamai--96 [10] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 293, 411 Chin-hoan

All the Tschinwan men carry a knife, a rifle, and bow and arrows wherever they go.

14: Tamai--96 [18] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 293, 411, 858 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwan men always wear a sword on their left side, even when they are indoors. When they go hunting or are going away for another reason they also carry a rifle. Boys start to wear their sword when they are seven or eight years old.

16: Müller--234 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 293

Swords exist in all sizes and shapes, and there are some with curved blades. They make only the sheaths themselves; one side consists of wood, the other of wiring. They often suspend the hair of humans or bears from the point of the sheath; on most swords there are grooves to mark the number of heads which have been cut off with that sword. The sword is the constant companion of the aborigines of Formosa; they wear it on a string around the waist, and it serves as an ornament as well as a weapon.

22: Wiedfeldt--14 [5] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 293, 554 Atayal

A man never goes out unarmed, less for the sake of his own security than for the sake of his prestige.

36: Dodd--74 U-2 1865 (1885) Formosan Aborigines
116, 293, 411

"Every man [MLB: of the northern tribes] who possesses a gun (pâhtûs) wears round his neck curious-looking priming-flasks full of powder, and over his shoulder, or round his waist, an oblong-shaped case, made of skin, often containing several cylindrical-shaped wooden receptacles full of powder. He has generally about him a small bag containing shot and long iron projectiles almost the size of the little finger, which are slipped down the muzzle of the long-barrelled matchlock on top of the powder without any wad between. Matchlocks, however, are not very common in the interior, and even the border tribes are only scantily furnished with them. The majority of the men are armed with bows and arrows, with which they make good practice at stationary objects. Bowmen wear round their waists a deer skin strap, or arrow-belt, and not a man is without a long knife called lalāo. Another common appendage is a bag made either of hempen cloth or skin, about four or five inches broad and nine or ten inches long, in which they place dried tobacco leaves."

36: Dodd--78 U-2 1865 (1885) Formosan Aborigines
116, 293

"A few other articles besides those named are carried, [MLB: by the men of the northern tribes. For enumeration of articles used, see pp. 75-78, cat. 116.] such as hand nets, fishing gear, rope port-fires (made of hemp or the bark of a tree), worn round the wrists of men armed with matchlocks, &c."

37: Steere--308 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 293, 411, 554, 721, 266 Chin-hoan

"The arms of these savages consist of a few fire-locks procured of the Chinese, and used principally in hunting, and lances and large knives used in hunting Chinese heads. They decorate these weapons with tresses of Chinese hair, and when upon the hunt for Chinese, carry highly ornamented red bags for carrying home the captured heads. They make regular expeditions every year down to the border land, where they lie in wait for the Chinese who come into the forest after rattan, bamboo shoots, etc. Human heads have a recognized value among them, and a man's importance depends upon the number of heads he has taken. The base of the skull is cut off, and the brain extracted, and the head then thoroughly dried, the teeth being generally knocked out--to make necklaces. We saw twenty-four of these skulls upon one small platform, and apparently the property of one man. I could find no proof that they are cannibals, though this charge is frequently laid to them. They may drink the blood of their enemies, as I saw the Lek-whan drinking warm deer's blood, but the bodies of the Chinese killed by them are generally left lying where they fell."

16: Müller--232 294 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines

Since the aborigines always cut and sew in straight lines, the shape of the garment never fits the body.

35: Collingwood--137-138 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
H6, 283, 294 Sek-hoan

"It should be mentioned that, in most cases, the garments worn by these people were made from a cloth of their own manufacture. This was a stout material, the threads of which were usually arranged in a zigzag pattern, and of a whitish or [138] bluish-white colour. Many of the younger girls were employed in spinning the thread from fibres of hemp; and the cloth was woven by the older women, in pieces about a yard and a half long and a foot broad; three of which pieces they were willing to dispose of for one dollar."

7: Joest--59-60 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 301, 304 Chin-hoan

All the Chinwan natives, the men especially, love to wear [60] ornaments. For this they use chiefly the colored glass beads imported from Europe which they string up on chains to wear around their neck. They insert small bamboo sticks into the lobes of their ears and sometimes attach a tassel made of European wool, one of their favorite articles, to these ear pendants. Sometimes they wear small polished pieces of marble attached to chains in their ears, or pieces of shell and metal with a diameter of one inch or less; they enlarge the lobes of their ears for this purpose.

7: Joest--60 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301 Chin-hoan

Both men and women wear thin copper bracelets around their wrists and upper arms, narrow strips of flannel on which porcelain buttons have been sewn may take the place of these. They wear fillets on which shells or flat pieces of marble the size of a fifty-cent piece have been sewn. The necklaces may consist of a string of beads from which the tusks or tail of a boar are suspended, or of wreaths of flowers and oranges.

7: Joest--60 [2] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301, 554, 721 Chin-hoan

Boys are very proud if they can wear bracelets made of the pigtails of a Chinese whom they have decapitated.

10: Schumacher--226 T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 174, 301 Chin-hoan

If we believe that the inhabitants of the mountains came to Formosa at a later time and were driven to the mountains by the natives they met at the time of their arrival, Chinese fanaticism would not have allowed them time to familiarize themselves with the Chinese system of economy. Both Chinese and Japanese priests following the field armies have unanimously assured me, after long questioning, that the Tschin-Huan have continued to be Brahmans until this very day and I now face the question of whether they are of Malayan or Mongolian descent. The mere fact that their hair-dress is different from that of the Chinese does not prove that they are not "Chinese". For the pig-tail is not exclusively a Chinese characteristic.

Their dress, their houses and their manner of living is different from that of the Chinese; together with the fact that they are Brahmans, this may lead us to the assumption that at some time in the past they immigrated from India. But after all were not some of the Chinese Brahmans before the time of Buddha?

11: Haguenauer--32-33 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301 Atayal

The Tayal are not nearly so fond of adornment as their [33] neighbors in the south.

11: Haguenauer--36 [4] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 286, 301, 554, 721 Atayal

Custom decrees that a girl should wear a number of bracelets of brass wire which corresponds to the designs that she can weave. If a man wears these bracelets, they have a totally different meaning; if he has them on just one arm, they are simply ornaments, while if he wears them on both, it shows that he has taken part in a head hunting expedition.

14: Tamai--96 [16] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 301, 554, 721 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwans pierce the lobes of their ears; the men put a bamboo stick about an inch in length through the opening, the women use a stick three or four times as long.

Both men and women wear bracelets. The men, however, may wear a bracelet only after they have killed at least one Chinese or Formosan; for each man they kill after that they add another bracelet. Thus bracelets, like tattooing, are a mark of distinction.

16: Müller--232-233 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301

The chief aboriginal ornaments are the following:

1. Bracelets made of brass, worn by both men and women. They get the brass wire from the Chinese in exchange for other goods. Sometimes the bracelets consist of two tusks of a boar which are tied together at the ends. Bracelets are often used as hypothecs to confirm a promise.

2. Ear pendants of bamboo sticks from which a tassel may be suspended. Both men and women wear these; they insert them in the lobes of their ears. [233] They pierce the lobes with a pin and gradually enlarge the opening.

3. Necklaces made of shells, the teeth of animals, dried berries, imitation berries, beads, etc.

4. Hairpins made of shell. Among the Tso'o aborigines this is the customary gift for brides.

17: Norbeck--40 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
436, 301 Atayal

"Our acino (of shells fashioned like glass beads and attached to China grass cloth) also come from the hontōjin. [MC: Formosan Chinese] Like the other things, we buy them from the hontōjin. These acino are put to use. We always decorate our clothes (75) with them, and also always adorn our hats with the acino. Since we also adorn our

75. Asai Erin informs me that the loom-woven jackets worn by the Atayal are frequently covered with these shell beads.

necks, we look all the more beautiful. The rich always have many acino, and the poor, few. We always use these acino in the settling of accounts. One acino equals one sickle; ten acino equal ten sickles. This is no different from present day money. What we call one piece (76) equals one ten-sen silver coin; ten pieces equal one yen. We

76. Refers to the acino.

call ten pieces one tunux, and this is no different from our present day money. What we call a yen the old people called a tunux."

19: Guérin and Bernard--554-555 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301

In the eyes of the aborigines, the ornament is more important than the costume itself, and men and women vie with each other in frivolity. So there is a whole collection of [555] copper bracelets, collars and belts of crude glass trinkets, plaques of bone which are arranged around the forehead or neck as if they were ivory, others are made into earrings, bells, etc.

19: Guérin and Bernard--555 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301, 304

The ear lobe is pierced in the European fashion, but in the case of the men, it disappears almost entirely so that it can hold a bamboo cylinder which is decorated with designs, and whose front end is completed by a tuft or rosette of red wool. The aborigines of the north are much more wealthy, so they have a great many ornaments of this kind. In the south some flowers are occasionally worn in the hair.

19: Guérin and Bernard--558 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301, 436

The savage money consists of little white cylinders, like those made of jet, and they are made of the bony parts of certain kinds of fish; when strung on a chaplet, they are worn around the throat and head as if they were jewels; they are marked when they are given to the aborigines, and are arranged in series on pieces of red material.

22: Wiedfeldt--11-12 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301, 291 Atayal

Adornment enjoys a degree of importance unknown even to modern luxury in the life of the Atayals, as well as in their possessions, and it requires a disproportionate amount of their time to produce the articles necessary for it. I have never seen an adult Atayal who was not wearing several ornaments on his head, arms, or legs. Only the children [12] have almost no ornaments. Up to about the age of twelve they go entirely naked, and then they wear the same clothing as adults.

22: Wiedfeldt--12 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 301, 177 Atayal

...[MC: An Atayal woman]could not understand why the whites do not like the sticks of bamboo 1 cm. thick and 6 cm. long which she wore in the lobes of her ears. She did admit, however, that the piercing of the ear with a sharp pointed piece of wood and the subsequent enlarging of the hole had been very painful. Apparently this is the reason why rings of brass or bronze, obtained from Japan, have recently begun to be preferred for the ears. Many women wear similar rings as bracelets and occasionally as anklets. I saw as many as 12 rings on one arm. Some young women proudly display glass beads from Osaka strung on strings around their necks, in place of the animal teeth or dried red berries such as the older women wear as necklaces.

22: Wiedfeldt--12 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301, 292, 436, 177 Atayal

If such foreign ornaments [MC: i. e. brass rings and glass beads from Japan] have been taken over by the women, the men have kept for themselves the characteristic old ornamental dress. These "things set with precious materials", as the Atayal description runs, have three sizes, which are worn as arm or leg coverings, kinrai, or as a doublet, bintoan, or as a sleeveless jacket, rokosch-kaha. They consist of material dyed red, on which is fastened small pieces of pierced fish-bone arranged in rows and geometrical designs. Since the fish are not to be found in the interior, and the making of these ornaments would be too tiresome and difficult for the Atayals, who have no tools, these ornaments, which the Chinese call schukun, are very highly prized, and their owners like to wear them on festive occasions because they give them a certain amount of prestige. These valuable and lasting, but unnecessary ornamental garments are used as money. The three sizes are worth respectively 3, 5, and 10 yen.

22: Wiedfeldt--36 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
301, 435 Atayal

The general acceptance of this indigenous money [MC: ornamented cloth] is based on its high value as a means of adornment, and its worth depends on the rareness of the materials and the care with which it has been made.

24: Anonymous--91 [3] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301, 302, 304, 554

When their hair has reached full growth, they cut off half of it and tie it with a string. They blacken their teeth with green herbs. They pierce their ears, and the opening is so large that they can insert a wooden ring (mu-huan) through it; a piece of ivory is suspended from the ring. Most of them are tatooed on the arms and back, those who like to boast of their deeds even cover their entire body with signs, using the Dutch alphabet. They wear bracelets of cast bronze (chuo) or iron, and they may wear as many as a dozen pairs of these. They try to impress others with a feather headdress which hangs down to their shoulders (niao-ch'-ih) or with shell ornaments (kauri-pei) which they wear on their forehead. These ornaments, besides commanding respect, also have an aesthetic value for them.

26: Honda--471 N-3 (1896) 1897 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 301 Bunun

The women wore some clothes, whereas the men were completely nude except for a loose loin-cloth. Some of them wore deer skins on their backs; this was true particularly of the chiefs. Necklaces and bracelets of shell or berries are worn by both men and women. My attention was attracted especially by the tight belly bands worn by both the young and old and made from fibers of the Calamus Rotang. I was told that their main purpose is to prevent excessive consumption of food.

31: Hofmann--622 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301, 304 Tsou

The Tsou, like all the other tribes of southern Formosa, are not tattooed but they are fond of ornaments. They wear necklaces made of glass beads and shells (Fig. 7), as well as ear pendants made of rhomboid-shaped, polished wood which ends in a point. Some of them were wearing bracelets similar to the necklaces. Whether these represent medals or whether they merely satisfy the aesthetic impulse of the natives I cannot say.

31: Hofmann--623 [3] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 609, 301, 592, 837 Tsou

Members of the Tsou tribe are monogamous; adultery on the part of the woman does not occur at all. The women are very shy; they do not look strangers in the face, and they go about with their eyes downcast. Some of them wear garments made of cloth from China, others weave their own garments on primitive looms. I saw few women who were wearing ornaments; the men here are far more vain than the women.

34: Del Re--23-24 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 436, 292, 301 Yami

"The Yami have no use for money except as metal which is highly prized, especially silver which, like iron, seems to have been known to the islanders from the earliest times. (7) The former is beaten out into thin silver leaves with [24]

7. See below p. 39 (Legend of Imulud).

which they cover their characteristic large 'extinguisher' ceremonial helmets worn during the Flying-Fish Festival, which are handed down as a communal treasure from generation to generation."

34:Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami

Old Yami Couple in ceremonial costume: Note the silver flying-fish ceremony helmet and the silver headgear and plagues worn by the woman.

292
301

"The costume of these people was somewhat slight. The men were attired similarly to Chinese coolies, that is, usually in a simple pair of short drawers, to which in some cases a blouse was added. The dress of the women consisted of a sarong (1) or petticoat,

1. Meaning literally a sheath or scabbard, but here that part of the dress of both sexes which covers the lower portion of the person, and is in the form of a sack open at both ends. —Editor.

folded round the loins and meeting in front, where it overlapped, but was not fastened. This petticoat did not reach so far as the knees, and the feet and legs were bare. A sort of loose jacket, open in front, completed their attire, though some of the matrons did not make use of this addition. The young children of both sexes were entirely naked. This, however, appears to be a costume not always considered necessary, and those who landed at the village early on the second morning report that the population was more scantily clad, the men being entirely naked, and the women wearing only a flap round the loins. Seeing, however, the strangers arrive, they retired with deliberation to their huts, closed the doors, and reappeared in the costume above described. The women possessed necklaces of beads, which they wore round their necks, and some of them had stone bangles round their arms; their ears were pierced in three or four places from the lobe upwards, though none of them seemed to have ornaments in them, except buttons,

often of the commonest kind. Most of the young children had objects round their necks, such as coins, beads, or buttons."

36: Dodd--73-74 U-2 1865 (1885) Formosan Aborigines
116, 301

"The men [MLB: of the northern tribes] have also a curious custom of piercing the lobes of their ears. Each lobe has a hole through it, large enough to receive a piece of bamboo about the size of a Manila cheroot. They usually wear therein hollow pieces of young bamboo with tufts of scarlet long-ells sticking out of the opening at the upper end; others insert pieces of what appears to be white cuttle-fish bone, about four inches long, with a disc made of the same material in the outer end. On the foreheads of some of the men may be seen similar flat but round pieces of cuttle-fish bone, fixed there by means of a piece of string round the head or attached to a circlet or wreath of embroidered camlets or native-made cloth. On their small, tight-fitting caps, they frequently fix circular pieces of this white cuttle-fish bone, or whatever it is. It seems to be quite a common article of barter amongst them. They use strings of small beads made of cuttle-fish bone not only as ornaments for their heads and necks, but as a 'circulating medium.' Necklaces, earrings and trinkets of various kinds are made of it. The [74] aborigines of the northern and central mountains are immensely fond of all sorts of trinkets. Round the necks of old men and young warriors are seen necklaces of wild boars' tusks and teeth of animals. They are worn often as heirlooms, but principally as symbols of individual prowess. They often load their necks with metal trinkets, cuttle-fish beads, &c., to which they attach numerous little appliances connected with the priming and loading of their matchlocks, a motley sort of collection, which excites the curiosity of the beholder."

37: Steere--307 [3] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 142, 301, 516 Chin-hoan

"Both sexes go barefooted, and from long usage, their feet get as hard as horn, so that spines and sharp rocks do not penetrate them. They appeared to be very flat-footed, the arch of the foot being almost entirely wanting, while the toes were much spread, the big toe turning round toward the heel, so that it almost made a right angle. The women are very fond of wearing ear-rings of white shell, and bands of beads of the same about the head. The men stretch their ears, generally by putting in pieces of bamboo, but upon occasions of display, those who are able, put in disks of white shell two inches or more in diameter."

37: Steere--311-312 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 142, 291, 622, 301 Chin-hoan

"The Kale-whan are very small in stature, averaging about five feet. The features of the younger ones are quite regular and pleasant, but among the old, want and vice have almost made them to look like brutes. They dress in Chinese cloth--the men in the short coat or hunting shirt, that leaves the legs and arms exposed. The chief was dressed in the skin of a tiger cat, which seemed to be his badge of office. The women dress much as the Chinese and Pepo-whans in the plain below, but they sometimes spend much time in embroidering their sleeves and trowsers. The women were always, while we were among them, whether at work in the fields or in the villages, crowned with wreaths of vines and flowers. These were often nothing more than sweet potato vines, but in some cases beautiful wild plants and flowers. Many of the men were also decorated in this way, and it would almost seem to be [312]a distinguishing mark of the tribe."

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

565 are only allowed to be worn by chiefs; and embroidered *lionpao* (long clothe), *koŋ na kinimaʔaŋ* (long skirt) and *kasuja tsino at səvanəŋ* (trousers) by chiefess.

291 [301] Ornaments, especially *lailai* (feather ornaments), *patal na paŋaŋiliŋ* (hat-ornament made of leopard's teeth), *taʔata* (shoulder ornament made of a kind of shell), *tsalaral* (silver shoulder ornament), *aliatpula* (glass bead necklace) are only allowed to be used by nobles.

E. Right to perform ceremonies

565 554 a) Felicitation on having an elder offspring is only performed by the nobles. A gun and some iron ware must be sent to the maternal relatives on this occasion. This is called *ləmiɕi*.

565 583 b) A bride price is called *ɕiniliɕi*. According to the social status, it is divided into three classes: *mamatsaŋiraŋ*, *maluntsivtsik* and *talaʔalalak*. *mamatsaŋiran* consists of a piece of cultivated land (*atunaŋaŋ*) a household of serf (*wadis*), five kinds of iron articles; *maluvtsivtsik* only two or three kinds of iron article; and *talaʔalalak* only two or three iron articles. The marriage ceremony also differs between nobles and commoners.

714 565 c) Funeral rites: At the death of a chief, the whole village wears mourning dresses for five days, *maluvtsivtsik* and *utsiputsipoŋ* a month. At the death of a *matuvtsivtsik*, his relatives and *utsiputsipoŋ* wear mourning dresses for a month, and his *unutel* five days. At the death of a commoner, his relatives wear weeds for a month.

F. Privilege from criminal trial

565 [687] a) A commoner will be fined a penalty of a pig, a bottle of wine, several iron articles by his lese-majesty (*napanuŋatsə*) to a chief. A noble commits no lese-majesty.

[554] b) If a commoner's house is carved, his body tattooed, and his clothes decorated, he is regarded as having committes a crime of arrogation (*napatsəra*). He will be fined a penalty of the same as that of a lese-majesty.

[685] c) The nobles commit no crime of robbery (*tsəmav*).

[682] d) A murderer must pay the equivalence of the price of the murdered which differs according to one's social status. If a commoner murdered a noble, all properties of his own as well as his brothers will be confiscated, and he himself will be exiled from the village.

[684] e) The nobles commit no crime of adultery, but a noble may ask penalty from one who commits adultery with his or her spouse. A commoner who ravishes a chiefess will be heavily punished and exiled from the village.

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
Atayal AD4

291 for the hat and breechclout of men and the comb and waist-cloth of women, men and women wear the same kind of clothes. At the time of a funeral, they wear old clothes, for according to their old tradition, all clothes which are worn at a funeral must be cast away.

[292] A deer-hide rain-coat [*xanqu na βaqanox*] is employed to protect them from the rain.

Clothes and ornaments are made by women. If a woman cannot make clothes, it is difficult for her to get married. Their cloth is made of hemp. After contact with the Han people, the Atayal have bought cloth from them and do not weave industriously as in former days.

They seldom wash their clothes. The fruit called *mawarsa* of a kind of plant called *mawalo* is used to soap their clothes.

301 2. Ornaments

Ornaments include ear-ornaments [*pintalaŋ*], neck ornaments [*nili*] (made of shell), [*nqalo*] (made of glass-beads), arm-ornaments [*paʃi tonaŋ*] (those used by men have hair of the hunted head attached to them), wrist-ornaments [*pao²i*], finger ornaments [*qaqamut*], waist-belts [*xaxaβok*], leg-ornaments [*qinulaja, qaqj, qinuwax*], etc. All these ornements, except the finger ornaments, are worn at festival times. Finger ornaments or a finger ring are ordinarily worn on the middle finger [*poaqaŋ*] or ring finger [*so²ai*]; a woman of talent may wear a ring on her forefinger [*qomi iao*] or little finger [*so²ai tsuβalai*]. One may wear ornaments from his or her early teen-age.

Atayal women wear a kind of comb [*qaqalu* or *xaxeiluqu*] when attending a feast, but this is never used to comb their hair.

3. Hair dressing

302 Young children let their hair grow, this kind of hair dressing is called *maqaino*. After five of six years, the hair is bound up with strings and is wound from left to right on the head, this is called *tuβuβa²aŋ*. Oil derived from animal fat is used to dress their hair. If the hair grows too long, it may be cut with a knife. The fine hair on the face is pulled out by twisting two pieces of string. This string-twisting method which resembles the Chinese one, is also employed to shape their eye-brows. The beard is shaved by a small knife. They never wear a beard or a mustache. Today the young girls mostly get permanent waves.

304 4. Ear-lobe piercing [*pulaxan papaq*]

They pierce their ear-lobes between the ages of five to ten years. There is no specialist for piercing the ear-lobe. Earlobe piercing mostly takes place on a frosty winter day. The ear-lobe is first rubbed with frost and then pierced with a bamboo needle. A piece of sweet potato is put behind the lobe of the ear to be the anvil when the operation is in process. After four days the bamboo needle is removed, and a grass stem is stuck into the hole instead of it. Grass stems will gradually be increased in number until the hole is large enough for the ear-ornaments. The larger hole on the lobe is considered the more beautiful. Men and women have the same

7: Joest--58 [3] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 302 Chin-hoan

Chinwan children of both sexes have their hair cut off in the back of their head and above their forehead; later they let the hair grow long. The men part their hair in the center and tie it in a knot behind their head so that it hangs down to the shoulder blades. Usually it is held together with a red thread which they pass over the forehead and around the knot in back.

The women wear their hair in the same way; most of them wear a blue kerchief over it.

10: Schumacher--224 [9] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 302 Chin-hoan

The Tchin-Huan men wear their hair bobbed.

14: Tamai--96 [15] J-2 (1896) 1896 • Formosan Aborigines
116, 292, 302 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwan men wear their hair either loose and down to their shoulders or tie it together on top of their head; sometimes they cut it very short. They wear caps made of plaited vines which resemble the European hunting-caps. The women tie their hair behind the head; married women wear a black cap, unmarried women wear a red cap.

19: Guérin and Bernard--553 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
302

The hair of the savages is usually tied in a knot at the back of the head, although it is occasionally cut short.

20: Alvarez--256[3] (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 142, 302

"The women of the villages Urai and Linmongan, situated in the north, near the capital of the island are almost red in colour and of a cheerful and agreeable countenance. The Tangoos, as well as the Atayal, are bronze in complexion and of a bad-looking appearance. A similar complexion is found among the Bunum and Tsu-u, in the central regions. They are called Chui-huan, viz., savages of the water, for they dwell on the borders of lake Candidius. According to TAYLOR, the Diaramonk, a Tsalisen branch of the southeast, 'are rather black and let their hair and finger-nails grow'."

22: Wiedfeldt--12 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 302 Atayal

The women wear their hair twisted into a knot. The men wear theirs quite short. It is singed off, or more recently hacked off with a bowie-knife over a bamboo comb with several prongs. From this it may readily be understood why the Atayals consider the cutting of hair as painful. Even more painful is "shaving", for they simply pluck out the hairs, since wearing a beard, an Atayal woman told me through the medium of an interpreter, is considered ugly and indecent.

24: Anonymous--91 [3] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301, 302, 304, 554

When their hair has reached full growth, they cut off half of it and tie it with a string. They blacken their teeth with green herbs. They pierce their ears, and the opening is so large that they can insert a wooden ring (mu-huan) through it; a piece of ivory is suspended from the ring. Most of them are tatooed on the arms and back, those who like to boast of their deeds even cover their entire body with signs, using the Dutch alphabet. They wear bracelets of cast bronze (chuo) or iron, and they may wear as many as a dozen pairs of these. They try to impress others with a feather headdress which hangs down to their shoulders (niao-ch'-ih) or with shell ornaments (kauri-pei) which they wear on their forehead. These ornaments, besides commanding respect, also have an aesthetic value for them.

34: Del Re--12-15 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 302, 142 Yami

"Except for ceremonial occasions, the men only wear a 'G-string' and the women a short skirt and, sometimes, a kind of cloak reaching down to the waist. They anoint their dark coffee-coloured skin with pig-fat in order to beautify themselves as well as for hygienic reasons. Their hair of a reddish hue--hence the name Kô-tô-sho--is worn long and bobbed, by the men as well as by the women. This seems to be a custom now peculiar to this tribe. Referring to the Formosan style of hairdressing an anonymous XVIIIth century Dutch writer noted that no [pages 13 and 14 contain illustrations] [15] male was allowed to wear his hair below his ears until he had reached the age of 16 or 17 after which he let his hair grow as long as the women do in Europe. The women, however, have long hair, which they never cut. Only when their hair has grown long do they begin courting. (3) Another peculiarity is that they neither smoke nor drink

3. cpr. Veerwaarlooside Formosa, Amsterdam, 1675 (subsequently cited as VF), Part I, p. 7, an invaluable and, on the whole, reliable source of information concerning the Formosan savages, particularly those inhabiting the West central and Southwestern part of the island (Sinkan) in the neighbourhood of Tayouan (present day Tainan-Anping) with whom the Dutch settlers came into closer contact.

any kind of intoxicating beverage."

35: Collingwood--137 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
302 Sek-hoan

"The hair was usually black, but sometimes had a decidedly reddish cast, and that of the women was luxuriant and tied with a loose knot, while the men had adopted the Chinese custom of shaving the forehead, though not so far back as the vertex, and wearing a pigtail."

36: Dodd--72-73 U-2 1865 (1885) Formosan Aborigines
116, 142, 302

"The head [MLB: of the "savage of the true type."] being generally small and round, the face is not particularly large or full. The eyes are very dark-coloured and straight cut, not at all oblique. In those of good-looking young men and women, the lashes are dark and long, eyebrows black, strong and thick, but not overhanging. In some faces they often nearly meet at the root of the nose. They are decidedly a very distinct feature of the face, as beards and whiskers are unknown and a moustache is seldom attempted, though I have seen certain old members of tribes [73] wearing a resemblance to one: as a rule all hairs appearing on the chin or cheek are plucked out by the roots, a small pair of tweezers being used for the purpose."

36: Dodd--73 [2] U-2 1865 (1885) Formosan Aborigines
116, 302

"The men of the northern tribes are in the habit of tatooing the forehead and chin in horizontal lines of about three quarters of an inch in length, and one-sixteenth part of an inch in breadth right in the centre of the forehead from the parting of the hair, which is always in the middle, to the root of the nose.

On the chin, also, are similar horizontal lines, and these are, as a rule, the only tattoo marks that are visible on the faces of the men. On the body they tattoo slightly, but it is not very general amongst them."

37: Steere S-3 (1973-74?) Formosan Aborigines
Chin hsun

opposite page 307

302

Method of tattooing the face practiced by the women of the tribe of Chewhan living east of Posia, Formosa.

37: Steere--307-308 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 302, 304, 881 Chin-hoan

"Both sexes wear the hair long, the men doing it up in a knot behind, while the women take more pains in braiding and decorating it. They have a practice of knocking out the eye teeth of the boys when they are about reaching man's estate. Both [308] men and women tattoo, the men generally being content with a perpendicular bar upon the forehead and another upon the chin, while the women tattoo several horizontal bars upon the forehead, and a complex system of lines upon the lower part of the face, that gives it a decidedly blue look. They also tattoo several horizontal bars upon the forepart of the leg below the knee. The tattooing is done near the age of puberty, and the first part tattooed is the bands upon the forehead, the complicated work upon the lower face being left until later."

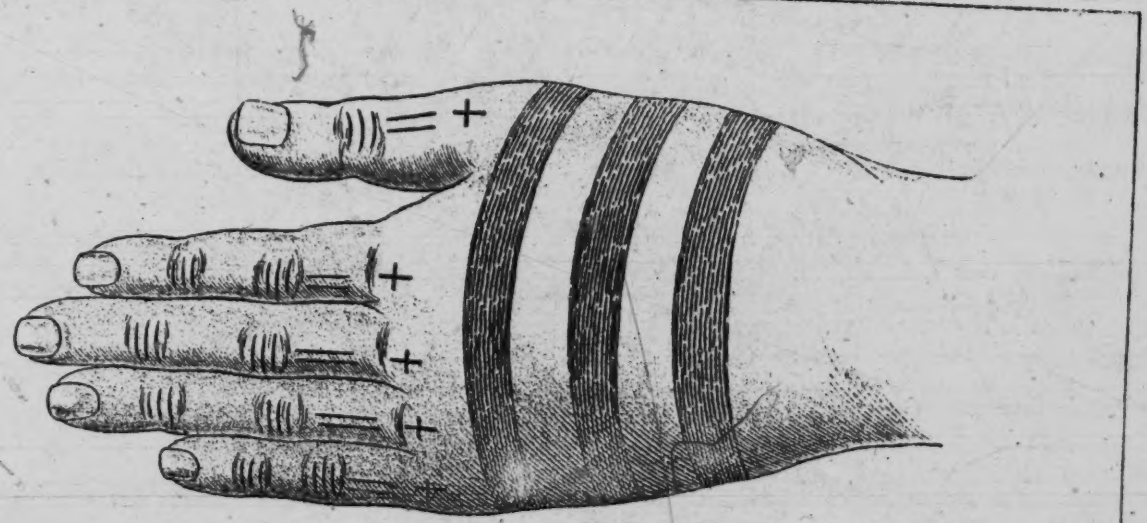
37 Steere S-3 (1873-74?) Formosan Aboriginies
Chin-hoan

opposite page 308

Method of tattooing the face practiced by the men of the tribe of Chewhan living east of Posia.

opposite page 312

302



Form of tattooing the hands practised by the women of the tribe of Kale-whau, living east of Takab Formosa, and near the village of Bankimseng.

37: Steere · S-3 · (1873-74?) Formosan Aboriginies
Chin-hoan

37: Steere--312 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 302, 326, 411 Chin-hoan

"The hair of the men was allowed to grow long on the back of the head, but was cut square across the forehead, above the eyes. The women do not tattoo the face, but tattoo three bands across the back of the hands, with crosses over the knuckles, and two lines down the back of the lower joint of the fingers. The men tattoo the inside of the arms in bands that run to the shoulders and cross the breast. Tattooing among the men did not appear to be general, and may be confined to the chiefs and head men. They are armed with bows and arrows, firelocks and lances, though the latter weapons were the most common, being in the hands of every one. I saw a very heavy, rude gun-barrel, said to have been forged by them, and there was a hut in the village that was evidently used as a blacksmith shop."

39: Wiedfeldt--14 [2] F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 302, 341, 531 Atayal

The Atayal huts are functional structures with no pretence at artistry. One is made just like the next. They have no temples or public halls. They know nothing of plastic art, having no figures of wood or clay. In contrast to the other peoples of Formosa, they do not decorate their weapons and tools with carvings. They have only two kinds of decoration: interwoven stripes of color and designs in their garments, and tattooing on the face and breast. Both are repeated without change in a definite, fixed manner, according to tradition.

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 ADl Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
Atayal AD4

291 for the hat and breechclout of men and the comb and waist-cloth of women, men and women wear the same kind of clothes. At the time of a funeral, they wear old clothes, for according to their old tradition, all clothes which are worn at a funeral must be cast away.

[292] A deer-hide rain-coat [*xanqu na βaqanox*] is employed to protect them from the rain.

Clothes and ornaments are made by women. If a woman cannot make clothes, it is difficult for her to get married. Their cloth is made of hemp. After contact with the Han people, the Atayal have bought cloth from them and do not weave industriously as in former days.

They seldom wash their clothes. The fruit called *mawarsa* of a kind of plant called *mawalo* is used to soap their clothes.

301 2. Ornaments

Ornaments include ear-ornaments [*pintalaŋ*], neck ornaments [*nili*] (made of shell), [*nqalo*] (made of glass beads), arm-ornaments [*paʃi tonaŋ*] (those used by men have hair of the hunted head attached to them), wrist-ornaments [*pao²i*], finger ornaments [*qaqamut*], waist-belts [*xaxaβok*], leg-ornaments [*qinulaja, qaqj, qinwax*], etc. All these ornements, except the finger ornaments, are worn at festival times. Finger ornaments or a finger ring are ordinarily worn on the middle finger [*poaqaŋ*] or ring finger [*so²ai*]; a woman of talent may wear a ring on her forefinger [*qomi iao*] or little finger [*so²ai tsuβalai*]. One may wear ornaments from his or her early teen-age.

Atayal women wear a kind of comb [*qaqalu* or *xaxeiluqu*] when attending a feast, but this is never used to comb their hair.

3. Hair dressing

302 Young children let their hair grow, this kind of hair dressing is called *maqaino*. After five of six years, the hair is bound up with strings and is wound from left to right on the head, this is called *tuβuβa²aŋ*. Oil derived from animal fat is used to dress their hair. If the hair grows too long, it may be cut with a knife. The fine hair on the face is pulled out by twisting two pieces of string. This string-twisting method which resembles the Chinese one, is also employed to shape their eye-brows. The beard is shaved by a small knife. They never wear a beard or a mustache. Today the young girls mostly get permanent waves.

304 4. Ear-lobe piercing [*pulaxan papaq*]

They pierce their ear-lobes between the ages of five to ten years. There is no specialist for piercing the ear-lobe. Earlobe piercing mostly takes place on a frosty winter day. The ear-lobe is first rubbed with frost and then pierced with a bamboo needle. A piece of sweet potato is put behind the lobe of the ear to be the anvil when the operation is in process. After four days the bamboo needle is removed, and a grass stem is stuck into the hole instead of it. Grass stems will gradually be increased in number until the hole is large enough for the ear-ornaments. The larger hole on the lobe is considered the more beautiful. Men and women have the same

7: Joest-- 58 [4] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 721, 881 Chin-hoan

Both Chinwan men and women are tattooed, the women more frequently than the men. They are tattooed when they reach puberty. Tattooing is done with a thorn; after the process is completed they rub soot in the wounds.

The men tattoo their entire forehead, from the hairline to the bridge of the nose, with 20 to 25 horizontal lines, each one centimeter long. After a man has been thus tattooed, he is expected to begin headhunting.

7: Joest--58 [5] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 304, 881 Chin-hoan

The women also tattoo their face when they have reached puberty. The design covers the face from ear to ear; the line extends from the temples at the level of the ear across the cheek and the upper lip to the other ear, and the lower line runs parallel to this, passing just below the lower lip and up to the lobe of the ear on both sides. The design consists of long lines running parallel to each other and short vertical lines which cut through them. Only the lips are left free. The resulting pattern thus emphasizes the whiteness of the teeth and the healthy red color of the gums and lips. It is distinctly attractive, but gives a strange effect until one becomes accustomed to it; it is somewhat similar to the design of the Ainu women on Yesso, which gives the appearance of a blue moustache.

I was told that the women of central Formosa also tattoo their hands.

7: Joest--58 [6] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 827 Chin-hoan

At the same time that they are tattooed young girls also have the two teeth in the corners of the upper jaw removed. One girl told me that this was done so that they could breathe better and that they could inhale more wind.

7: Joest--59-60 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 301, 304 Chin-hoan

All the Chinwan natives, the men especially, love to wear [60] ornaments. For this they use chiefly the colored glass beads imported from Europe which they string up on chains to wear around their neck. They insert small bamboo sticks into the lobes of their ears and sometimes attach a tassel made of European wool, one of their favorite articles, to these ear pendants. Sometimes they wear small polished pieces of marble attached to chains in their ears, or pieces of shell and metal with a diameter of one inch or less; they enlarge the lobes of their ears for this purpose.

11: Haguenauer--36 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 857, 864 Atayal

When a Tayal child is five, his forehead is tattooed with the distinctive mark which is worn by all the Tayal. When a boy is seven, he begins to play with a bow. He sleeps with his parents until he is ten years old, but after that he has a place in the children's bed. Little girls never sleep beside the boys, for there is a very strict taboo which keeps brothers away from their sisters.

11: Haguenauer--36 [3] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 286, 304, 554, 581 Atayal

The Tayal woman prides herself on her knowledge of weaving, for it is only when she is a past mistress in the art that she can be tattooed on her cheeks and around her lips with the marks which will attract the young men to her.

11: Haguenauer--36 [5] T-3 (no date) 1929 **Formosan Aborigines**
116, 304, 554 **Atayal**

By looking at the face of the person to whom you are talking, you can learn much about his rank as a warrior; for the lucky hero has some additional tattooing under his lower lip.

14: Tamai--95 [7] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 304 Chin-hoan

Nothing is known about the origin of the Tschinwans. They differ from the Formosans in appearance, language, customs, and manner of life; in many respects they resemble the natives of the Malakka Peninsula and those of the Philippines. They even show some similarities with the Japanese; thus the unmarried women among the Tschinwans are not tattooed. When they are wearing Japanese clothes and are seen together with the Japanese it is difficult to distinguish between the two.

14: Tamai--96 [13] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 386 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwan men tattoo their face with a dotted line extending from the top of the head to the bridge of the nose and from the lower lip to the chin. The women have only the line on the forehead; on the lower part of the face the design consists of horizontal lines. The dye used for tattooing is indigo.

14: Tamai--96 [14] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 554, 721 Chin-hoan

Tattooing is a mark of distinction. A man who has not killed anyone may not be tattooed, and if he is not tattooed he may not marry. The women, on the other hand, are not allowed to be tattooed until after they are married. Men who have many skulls in their possession are held in high esteem.

14: Tamai--96 [16] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 301, 554, 721 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwans pierce the lobes of their ears; the men put a bamboo stick about an inch in length through the opening, the women use a stick three or four times as long.

Both men and women wear bracelets. The men, however, may wear a bracelet only after they have killed at least one Chinese or Formosan; for each man they kill after that they add another bracelet. Thus bracelets, like tattooing, are a mark of distinction.

16: Müller--232-233 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
304

[MC: Among the ornaments worn by the aborigines are:] ear pendants of bamboo sticks from which a tassel may be suspended. Both men and women wear these; they insert them in the lobes of their ears. [233] They pierce the lobes with a pin and gradually enlarge the opening.

16: Müller--233 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 721, 554, 881

"Among the Ataiyal, Tsarisen, Paiwan, and Pyuma aborigines tattooing is a universal custom. Among the men the design consists of one or several vertical lines on the chin and forehead. The first line is usually made after their first successful headhunting expedition, but the children of prominent men sometimes receive theirs before that. The design for the women consists of a network of lines around the mouth extending as far as the ears. Among the Tsarisen tribes, the head of the family is tattooed on the back and on both elbows; the design consists of straight and curved lines. Among some of the Paiwan and Pyuma tribes the women tattoo the back of their hands.

Among the Ataiyal, Vonum, and Tso'o aborigines it is customary to remove the left and right canines of the upper jaw.

16: Müller--235 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304

The shell money is also used as ornaments for holiday garments or the clothing of chieftains.

17: Norbeck--21-22 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
773, 304 Atayal

[MC: For Atayal story of the origin of tattooing, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--40 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
304

"We Atayal practice tattooing. I will tell you the story of its origin. [MC: For full text of this myth, see category 539.]"

19: Guérin and Bernard--551-552 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 197, 304

The Bouïok are in the interior, and they only have some frontier camps. Their dialect is a peculiar one, so they use the Tayal idiom when they want to talk with the Chinese. Their women only have their foreheads tattooed, while the men are the first ones that we have seen with a supplementary tattooing pattern on each side of the chest. [552] We had been told that the Bouïok were a scaly people, and it is true that a great many of them have skin diseases.

19: Guérin and Bernard--552 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 304, 609

There are two rivers which empty into the sea near Taika and at Lokan; they serve as barriers to the powerful Ata-bou tribe, which has its own language. It is feared by the Chinese and by the aborigines in the south. The men of this tribe have their faces tattooed with the same designs that we have already seen, and then they also use horizontal arabesques on it.

19: Guérin and Bernard--553 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 304, 609

Still within the limits of the two water-courses, [VMM: the rivière Noire and the Pakan] we find the aborigines of Sibou-koun and those of Kanagou. Each of these tribes has its own dialect. Tattooing and the hatred of the Chinese are characteristic of them. The territory of these two tribes extends to the eastern slope.

19: Guérin and Bernard--555 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301, 304

The ear lobe is pierced in the European fashion, but in the case of the men, it disappears almost entirely so that it can hold a bamboo cylinder which is decorated with designs, and whose front end is completed by a tuft or rosette of red wool. The aborigines of the north are much more wealthy, so they have a great many ornaments of this kind. In the south some flowers are occasionally worn in the hair.

19: Guérin and Bernard--555-556 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 304, 721

Two things are axiomatic among the savages: 1. every tribe which fights the Chinese practices tattooing; 2. the tattoo marks on the forehead and the chin are the only ones that have any fundamental meaning. In the middle of the forehead there is a rectangle two centimeters long and 1 centimeter wide; it is filled with parallel lines which are spaced a millimeter apart. The same median design is found on the chin, save that it is a little shorter.

The Chinese, who is either too naive or ill-informed, [556] states that the formula inscribed on the face of the savage corresponds to two periods of his life: puberty and marriage. Unfortunately for the son of Sem, the savage has a different interpretation for these signs.

When a boy is betweeen twelve and fourteen years old, his father, brother or some relative takes him on a Chinese-hunting expedition. If the hunt is successful, the child receives his first chevron, in this case a tattoo mark, when he brings the heads back to the village. But his chin is not decorated until he has slain a Chinese with his own hand. There is often a very brief lapse of time between the two.

The aborigines of the Morrisonien group [VMM: the authors seem to have confused Mt. Sylvia with Mt. Morrison] only use these two signs. We have seen other clans, which added a transversal bar both on the face and the chest.

It is unfortunate that women should be tattooed too since they have no share in the

hunt; but a blue mark defaces the forehead of the marriageable girl. In many cases, this is the extent of the work, but occasionally, as among the greater number of the Tayal tribes, the bride is covered with marks until her cheeks and lips disappear beneath the linear streaks of the design. Naturally this may cause severe inflammation, whereas the plain tattooing on the forehead and the chin is of no significance.

19: Guérin and Bernard--556-557 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 314, 462

Women are the only people entitled to exercise the profession, or really the priesthood of tattooing. They use a splinter of resinous pine, which is burning; the flame is held against a polished surface which is covered with a thick layer of a black substance. A thread is sprinkled with this stuff and then held at both ends to show what the design should be. The metallic teeth of a kind of comb are placed on this sketch, [557] and then hammer blows pound them into the skin. The first flow of blood is stanched with a bamboo scraper, and at this moment the tattooer dips her finger into the resinous smoke and rubs it over the wound. The operation is over, the blood soon stops flowing, and the scar is an indelible blue. Most of the clans get their tattooing wood from the Kakaougan tribe, where there are forests which are unusually full of resinous products.

19: Guérin and Bernard--560-561 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 584, 585

All marriages among the savages are arranged according to the wish of the young people unless the parents refuse permission. In this case the couple may go off to hide in the mountains. Then the chief of the hamlet and the friends of the family intervene to obtain forgiveness and the recall of the fugitives. The difficulties are smoothed away, [561] and then it only remains for the tattooer to do her duty. In these conditions it costs the guilty woman ten times the price which is charged a girl before her marriage.

19: Guérin and Bernard--561 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 585

There are some clans in which the husband has his two canine teeth extracted at the time of his marriage; the bride is even more enthusiastic, and she has the adjoining incisor removed as well.

22: Wiedfeldt--12 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 301, 177 Atayal

...[MC: An Atayal woman]could not understand why the whites do not like the sticks of bamboo 1 cm. thick and 6 cm. long which she wore in the lobes of her ears. She did admit, however, that the piercing of the ear with a sharp pointed piece of wood and the subsequent enlarging of the hole had been very painful. Apparently this is the reason why rings of brass or bronze, obtained from Japan, have recently begun to be preferred for the ears. Many women wear similar rings as bracelets and occasionally as anklets. I saw as many as 12 rings on one arm. Some young women proudly display glass beads from Osaka strung on strings around their necks, in place of the animal teeth or dried red berries such as the older women wear as necklaces.

22: Wiedfeldt--12-13 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Abbrigines
116, 304 Atayal

Their main ornament is produced by the lengthy and painful process of tattooing the bodies of the men and the women. The man has a strip about the width of two fingers [13] running up from the base of the nose to the hairline, another from the lower lip to the chin, and sometimes also a strip on the breast. The woman is more profusely tattooed. In addition to the design on her forehead, she also has a broad stripe on her cheeks, which runs from the corners of her mouth to her ears like moustache-trainers. The old woman of the tribe, hamangoppu, pricks the design into the skin with a piece of hard wood, and then rubs into it a blue dye, which is obtained by burning certain plants and dissolving the ashes in water.

22: Wiedfeldt--13 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 773, 835 Atayal

According to the Atayal tradition, the first people on earth were a brother and a sister. The sister proposed to the brother that he marry a woman whom she had found for him near the river. The man also found this woman, who differed from his sister only in tattooing, and married her. His sister then disappeared. All the legends which describe the human race as originating from one couple, and which forbid the marriage of brother and sister, get into certain difficulties, such as occur also in Byron's Cain. The Atayals find the solution of the problem in the tattooing, which even now is the sign of being marriageable.

22: Wiedfeldt-- 13[2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 582, 881, 721 Atayal

The young man who brings home a skull that he has captured is permitted to have himself tattooed, and is thus declared capable of marrying, as well as of being admitted to the councils of the tribe. A young girl receives this sign when she has reached sexual maturity and has woven a piece of fabric. In many tribes, a new stripe of tattooing is added for every skull that is captured, just as in modern states diamonds are added to a decoration for special reasons. Among the Atayals this mark differs according to tribe and clan, so that an Atayal Elsa would not have to ask the fatal question, but could distinguish from the place and the density of the strip of tattooing what the family and the nature of her rescuer was.

22: Wiedfeldt--35 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 463, 304, 756 Atayal

Division of labor among the Atayals has not yet progressed to the point of vocational training, for every family produces all that it needs itself. There are no artisans. The only exception to this rule is that of the prophetess and medicine-woman, who receives payment for her poisonous drinks, her prophecies, and especially for her tattooing, in the formof gifts which are scaled according to the means of the client, a method of calculation which is current among modern doctors also. The only profession which has been able to develop because it finds a field for its accomplishments in the custom of tattooing, is therefore one of the activities of the women, and, if one considers tattooing treatment of the body, and hence an activity which falls in the sphere of the doctor, it is a profession which in our day women have had to struggle to wring from the monopolistic control of men, while among the Atayals it is handed down from mother to daughter.

22: Wiedfeldt--42 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 671, 851 Atayal

The Atayals also possess the most important institutions of civil law. ... The mere fact of birth is a matter of indifference before the law. Only when the child receives a name, that is, when it is about three years old, does it begin to enjoy some consideration before the law. On the other hand, the capacity to carry on business is indicated by the outward sign of tattooing, instead of by age.

24: Anonymous--91 [3] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301, 302, 304, 554

When their hair has reached full growth, they cut off half of it and tie it with a string. They blacken their teeth with green herbs. They pierce their ears, and the opening is so large that they can insert a wooden ring (mu-huan) through it; a piece of ivory is suspended from the ring. Most of them are tatooed on the arms and back, those who like to boast of their deeds even cover their entire body with signs, using the Dutch alphabet. They wear bracelets of cast bronze (chuo) or iron, and they may wear as many as a dozen pairs of these. They try to impress others with a feather headdress which hangs down to their shoulders (niao-ch'-ih) or with shell ornaments (kauri-pei) which they wear on their forehead. These ornaments, besides commanding respect, also have an aesthetic value for them.

25: Plaut--60 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 885

...Among all the tribes on Formosa we find that there is a distinction between the youth and the adult, at least among the men. As savages usually do not reckon their age, we cannot say that a man reaches the majority in a certain year, but it is usually when he is between sixteen and twenty. All the tribes have some external mark to denote that he is now one of the "men", but the Atayal make it depend upon the capture of a Chinese head in addition. Distinguishing marks of adults are:

among the Atayal: tattooing of the face and a gap in the row of incisors;
among the Vonum and Tsoo: a gap in the row of the incisors;
among the Tsarisen: tying up the hair of the head (children let it hang) and tattooing of the lower leg;
among the Spayowan: tattooing the upper part of the body (as one wishes);
among the Puyuma: tattooing the breast and the lower leg (as one wishes).

When a man is classed as an adult, he has certain rights:

1. the right to take part in the tribal councils;
2. the right to marry;
3. among the Tsarisen, Spayowan, Puyuma and Amis he also has the right to chew betel.

26: Honda--471 [4]
116, 304, 535, 837

N-3

(1896) 1897

Formosan Aborigines
Bunun

A strange custom is the removal of the eye-teeth when the children are about five years old. Some of the people displayed tatooing on their hands and faces. The chief ordered the performance of a dance in my honor; ten or more women held hands and formed a large circle, swayed to and fro, and beat the rhythm with their feet as a monotonous song was heard. Men formed in a circle and engaged in the same movements. Marital faithfulness is very strictly maintained; even the chiefs have no more than one wife and are loyal to her.

31: Hofmann--607 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 304 Atayal

Members of the Atayal group are tattooed, both the men and the women, while the tribes in the south of the island do not have this custom. I myself did not come into contact with the aborigines in this region; we were, moreover, safe from attacks since our expedition had sufficient arms. All the regions we saw showed evidence of the recent struggles. The forest had been destroyed and large areas were covered with Miscanthus grass which grew to the height of one meter; this grass offers excellent protection to the headhunters.

31: Hofmann--622 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301, 304 Tsou

The Tsou, like all the other tribes of southern Formosa, are not tattooed but they are fond of ornaments. They wear necklaces made of glass beads and shells (Fig. 7), as well as ear pendants made of rhomboid-shaped, polished wood which ends in a point. Some of them were wearing bracelets similar to the necklaces. Whether these represent medals or whether they merely satisfy the aesthetic impulse of the natives I cannot say.

31: Hofmann--622-623 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 304, 881 Tsou

The men remove their eye teeth. I was not able to learn the reason for this, but since it is done when the boys are 13 years old, it is likely that this is connected with puberty rites. They also tear out their beards, so that all men have a clean-shaven face. The natives as well as the Chinese and Japanese have only a very slight beard. The custom of tying up the prepuce of boys is sometimes practiced...[623] Since this is not done in every case it is probably done only for protection on the paths through the woods which are overgrown with liana and thorny shrubs. The men wear a tight bellyband made of fiber. This is probably also done to protect the groin, or perhaps to help them bear their hunger more easily if there is no food; it may also have the purpose of helping them to keep their bodies slender and flexible.

37: Steere--307-308 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 302, 304, 881 Chin-hoan

"Both sexes wear the hair long, the men doing it up in a knot behind, while the women take more pains in braiding and decorating it. They have a practice of knocking out the eye teeth of the boys when they are about reaching man's estate. Both [308] men and women tattoo, the men generally being content with a perpendicular bar upon the forehead and another upon the chin, while the women tattoo several horizontal bars upon the forehead, and a complex system of lines upon the lower part of the face, that gives it a decidedly blue look. They also tattoo several horizontal bars upon the forepart of the leg below the knee. The tattooing is done near the age of puberty, and the first part tattooed is the bands upon the forehead, the complicated work upon the lower face being left until later."

37: Steere--310 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 304, 411, 226, 501 Chin-hoan

"The dress of the men is a hunting shirt made of deer or monkey skins, that does not protect the arms nor legs. The women wear a sort of tunic of Chinese cloth, and protect the fore-part of the leg with a sort of close-fitting gaiter from the thorns and spines with which the forest is filled. They do not tattoo, but have a custom of knocking out the eye-teeth of the boys, so that they reminded me of squirrels. They are not warlike, but use rude bows and arrows for hunting and protection when they are too poor to get firelocks. They are great hunters, and large strings of monkeys' and bears' skulls hung about their dwellings. I saw them fishing with small dip-nets among the pond-lily roots and leaves, and catching a species of cat-fish (Silurus). They also fish with rude spears. They use, in navigating the lake, huge hollowed trunks of camphor trees, that look as if they may have been in use a hundred years. They are very awkward and heavy, and appear to have been hollowed with fire. They are open at both ends, the water being kept out with earth and sods."

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

his father's office. If the *pinairaratsə* has no heir or if his works were not regarded as satisfactory, the overlord may appoint another household to the office. Taxes collected by the *pinairaratse* need not be forward to their overlords, they may be consumed by the *pinairaratsə* himself.

CLASS AND PRIVILEGE

A. Naming system

A name indicates one's social status. They are of three grades:

a) Names of the big chiefs:
men's names: *arutsaŋal, tʃanupak, tsivuluaŋ, giligilao, palilas, ləŋuŋai, trotsə.*
women's names: *rumurumaŋ, moni, vonum, slup, lutsium, tsipulaŋ.*

b) Names of the second grade chiefs:
men's names: *apitsuaŋ, ulili, pulalujaŋ, tsimuluŋai, tsama, gulagul, raŋaraŋ, apaŋ, tsumul.*
women's names: *tsiankim, lavlav, kalskus, tsoˀo, rere, ateves, kumara, moakai.*

c) Names of the commoners:
men's names: *maitsəl, guluts, tsuvi* and others.
women's names: *saolalui, alalu, vais, kai* and others.

The *utsiputsipoŋ* have the same names as commoners. The name of an aristocrat is decided in a kins' meeting. To acquire a name above his class he must get a permission from the big chief. The name of a commoner is given by his parents or determined by a divination.

B. Tattooing (*voŋtsik*)

Tattooing is one of the privileges enjoyed by the aristocratic class. A commoner may have tattoo if he has military achievements and is so permitted by the chief. Men tattoo their breasts, backs, arms, and legs; women only tattoo their forearms and backs of hand. The designs indicate their social status, only the big chiefs may have human figures (*pinarutsautsauaŋ*) and snake designs (*pinavulvuluaŋ*).

C. House decoration

Houses are distinguished by two kinds. The houses of the big chief or the second grade chiefs are always larger in size and more decorative. In front of these houses, there are larger front yards (*assasauaŋ*) and platforms (*aluvuluaŋ*) which serve as the meeting places of the villagers. On the platform a stone pillar is erected to represent their ancestor which is called *saotsaolai*. House posts, beams, walls, and storage boxes may be decorated with human figure or snake designs. The houses of the commoners, include houses of *utsiputsipoŋ*, are always smaller in size and can not be decorated.

D. Clothing and ornaments

Clothing and ornaments also indicate one's social status. The aristocratic class wear clothes of dark colours—dark blue, dark purple, or black colour. The clothes of the aristocratic class are always embroidered or design-weaved, while the commoners are prohibited to wear such. Several kinds of clothe—*tsapo aliulao* (clothe made of leopard's skin), *vajal a tsinuŋuaŋ* (shoulder cloth), *katin a veŋtsiaŋ* (a kind of trousers)

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
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but no table etiquette and taboo in eating need be followed or observed. Though they hunted human heads formerly, they were not cannibals. 264

V. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

The Atayal are famous for their wampum clothes. In the Department collections, there are many specimens. Mr. Chang Kwang-chih has given a description of twelve of them (*v.* No. 2 of the bulletin, pp. 32-34). The clothes and ornaments are of many kinds. One of the present authors (Ho) has given a description of twenty-seven specimens of Atayal clothes in the Department Collections (*v.* No. 2 of this bulletin, pp. 22-29). In this investigation, we saw eight pieces of clothes and ornaments owned by the chief's wife. they are; head band [*qaquəp*], necklace [*nili*], breast cloth [*taojax*], long gown [*sipiliay*], short gown [*atan*], waist-cloth [*toxawaq*], wrist-ornament [*pəʔi*], and three kinds of leg ornament (the upper, *qinulaja*; the middle, *qaqi*, and the lower, *qinuaax*). Other kinds of ornaments possessed by her have been lost. 292

Today, only people over fifty years of age wear thier original kinds of clothes; young people usually dress in modern style. 291

Body deformation such as tooth chipping, ear-lobe piercing, and tattooing have been abolished in recent years. The following descriptions are chiefly based on the narratives of *ali-jopas* (chief's wife) and *jajot-palie* (female, 73 years od age, see frontispiece) of *tapilas* and *pisei-taxos* (female, 66 years of age) of *saβulok*. 304

1. Clothes

Gowns are long or short. Long gowns are always long enough to cover the knees. Everyday clothes [*tiwajan*] have no collars and no buttons, and are with or without sleeves and single-breasted. Full dress [*sipaliay*] has no collar, no buttons, and is without sleeves and single-breasted, but is always design-woven or wampum decorated. Full dress is worn in festival time. Only chiefs or head-hunters are allowed to wear clothes decorated with copper bells. Short gowns [*atan*] only cover the chest and are always above the navel. They have no collar, no buttons, and are without sleeves and single-breasted. *tajo* or toga is made of a single piece of cloth about one meter square, it is used to protect one from cold weather, and may also be used as a blanket to cover one's body at night. The other kinds of clothing are: head bands [*qajapis*], turbans [*qaquəp*], breast-cloths [*taojax*], leggings [*saolox*], the breechclouts [*pula*] of men, and the waist-cloths [*toxawaq*] of women. Rattan hats [*paβoβin na quani*] are only worn by men. A rattan hat covered with bearskin is called *qaβoβin na galox*, and is worn only at festival times. 291

Women, on the ordinary days, wear togas, breast-cloths, waist-cloths, and leggings, and long or short gowns are added under the togas on cold days. Men wear togas and breechclouts, and long gowns are added under the togas on cold days. Children wear long gowns with or without sleeves and togas. Most of their everyday clothes bear no designs. Clothes worn in festival times mostly elaborately design-woven or wampum decorated; and instead of wearing leggings, they wear leg-ornaments. Except [292]

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
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291 for the hat and breechclout of men and the comb and waist-cloth of women, men and women wear the same kind of clothes. At the time of a funeral, they wear old clothes, for according to their old tradition, all clothes which are worn at a funeral must be cast away.

[292] A deer-hide rain-coat [*xanqu na βaqanox*] is employed to protect them from the rain.

Clothes and ornaments are made by women. If a woman cannot make clothes, it is difficult for her to get married. Their cloth is made of hemp. After contact with the Han people, the Atayal have bought cloth from them and do not weave industriously as in former days.

They seldom wash their clothes. The fruit called *mawarsa* of a kind of plant called *mawalo* is used to soap their clothes.

301 2. Ornaments

Ornaments include ear-ornaments [*pintalaŋ*], neck ornaments [*nili*] (made of shell), [*nqalo*] (made of glass-beads), arm-ornaments [*paʃi tonaŋ*] (those used by men have hair of the hunted head attached to them), wrist-ornaments [*paoˀi*], finger ornaments [*qaqamut*], waist-belts [*xaxaβok*], leg-ornaments [*qinulaja, qaqj, qinuwax*], etc. All these ornements, except the finger ornaments, are worn at festival times. Finger ornaments or a finger ring are ordinarily worn on the middle finger [*poaqaŋ*] or ring finger [*soˀai*]; a woman of talent may wear a ring on her forefinger [*qomi iao*] or little finger [*soˀai tsuβalai*]. One may wear ornaments from his or her early teen-age.

Atayal women wear a kind of comb [*qaqalu* or *xaxeiluqu*] when attending a feast, but this is never used to comb their hair.

3. Hair dressing

302 Young children let their hair grow, this kind of hair dressing is called *mqqaino*. After five of six years, the hair is bound up with strings and is wound from left to right on the head, this is called *tuβuβaˀaŋ*. Oil derived from animal fat is used to dress their hair. If the hair grows too long, it may be cut with a knife. The fine hair on the face is pulled out by twisting two pieces of string. This string-twisting method which resembles the Chinese one, is also employed to shape their eye-brows. The beard is shaved by a small knife. They never wear a beard or a mustache. Today the young girls mostly get permanent waves.

304 4. Ear-lobe piercing [*pulaxan papaq*]

They pierce their ear-lobes between the ages of five to ten years. There is no specialist for piercing the ear-lobe. Earlobe piercing mostly takes place on a frosty winter day. The ear-lobe is first rubbed with frost and then pierced with a bamboo needle. A piece of sweet potato is put behind the lobe of the ear to be the anvil when the operation is in process. After four days the bamboo needle is removed, and a grass stem is stuck into the hole instead of it. Grass stems will gradually be increased in number until the hole is large enough for the ear-ornaments. The larger hole on the lobe is considered the more beautiful. Men and women have the same

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 ADI Formosa
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kind of ear-ornaments. Ear-ornaments are mostly worn on festival days. The Atayal start to wear ear-ornaments from about fourteen years of age. Ear-ornaments are especially important for the participants of a head-hunting expedition as stated above.

5. Tooth-chipping [*ʃinpaŋ*]

The two upper incisors are chipped away at about thirteen years of age. Tooth chipping is done by a man with special technique. At the time of the chipping, the elder brother or cousin of the one who is going to recieve the operation holds the head and covers the eyes of the operatee to release him from fear. A piece of iron [*βali*] and an iron axe [*pa'alu*] are employed for chipping away the teeth. If the tooth is not chipped off at once, it will be removed by a knife. Blood will continue to flow for about three days, and it is washed away with water. Within these three days, he is excused from work.

6. Tattooing

According to the position of the tattoo on the body, the tattooing of the Atayal may be divided into the following five kinds: (1) forehead-tattoo [*pinterxowan*], (2) cheek-tattoo [*pintergaβoŋan*], (3) chin-tattoo [*pinterqaye'an*], (4) breast-tattoo [*pintergaβoŋan*], and (5) leg-tattoo [*pintersaŋaβa*]. The following descriptions are chiefly based on the narratives of *jajot-palie*, who is the only woman with breast tatoo ever seen among the whole Atayal.

(1) Forehead tattoo—A man who attains the age of fourteen and a woman who attains the age of eleven, can have the forehead tattoo (*v.* pls. III and IV). *joqex-etex* reported that "in the ancient time, only men with military achievements (head-hunters) were allowed to have forehead-tattoo, but later, this rule had been loosened, so those who had participated in the head-hunting trip and had carried the victim's head might also be allowed to have forehead tattoo. In the old days, without a forehead tattoo and chin-tattoo (man) or cheek-tattoo (woman), it would be very difficult for one to find a mate. The forehead-tattoo is a line of about one centimeter in width and three or four centimeters in length, running vertically on the forehead.

(2) Cheek-tattoo—The cheek tattoo is confined to women only. A girl may have a cheek-tattoo (*v.* pl. IV: 1) at her first menstruation. A cheek tattoo is a mark that cover both ckeeks. Each ckeek has a band four centimeters in width. These bands on both cheeks join at the mouth and forms a V-shaped design. The band on each cheek consists of a design of three tattooed strips and two blanks. In the blank-strip, there are a row of cross marks.

(3) Chin-tattoo—The chin-tattoo is confined to men only. It is tattooed at the same time with the forehead-tattoo (*v.* pl. IV). A chin-tattoo is a vertical line of one centimeter in width leading from the lower lip to the end of the chin.

(4) Breast-tattoo—Though no limitation of sex is imposed, the breast-tattoo is only confined to men with military achievement and women with chastity and skillful weaving technigues. The tattoo mark is a vertical line of one centimeter in width and three centimeters in length (*v.* frontispiece). According to *βonai-tolao* of *paqali*, his

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
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304 grandfather's breast mark was different from what we described above. That is, beside the vertical line, each side of it had three horizontal short lines. It is said that each of these short lines represented five heads which had been hunted by him.

(5) Leg-tattoo—The leg-tattoo is confined to women only. No qualifictaion has been ordained. The leg-tattoo of *jajot-palie* is a straight line with barbs about two centimeters in width and three centimeters in length. That of the wife of *joqex-etex* is a square mark of about three centimeters on each side with a pair of diagonal lines inside of it.

The tattooer [*papatas*] has special training; all the tattooers are women. There is no tattooer in *tapilas* today. Tattoo operations are mostly performed in winter time to avoid suppuration. The instruments employed consisted of a small knife [*βuli*], a wooden hammer [*tatutʃin*], needles [*lao*], an instrument for wiping blood [*qaquwar*] and soot from the bottom of a pot [*ilox*]. Tattooing was done under a shaded place. A mat was laid for the one who was going to recieve the operation to lie upon. After a prayer had been offered, the operator sat close to the head of one who lay on the mat. She used a small knife to draw lines on the face of the operatee, and then with needles in her left hand, and a wooden hammer in her right hand, she started the operation. Blood was wiped away with a bamboo instrument. After each section of the desigh had been done, she rubbed the soot on it. A man's forehead and chin tattooes needed about two hours, and a woman's cheek tattoo needed ten hours. The operator was rewarded with cloth and food.

VI. HOUSING

342 Atayal houses were originally of the semi-subteranean type, but these are not found in Chin-shui Ts'un. Houses, except granaries are all built on the ground level.

1. Processes of building a house

342 A house may be built in any season of the year. In former days, if anyone (who
764 is more than three months old) of the family dies, he will be buried inside the house and the house will then be abandoned. The chief of the village related that the custom had been given up in 1929. From 1929 they buried their dead in the grave yards, so today they do not change their houses as frequently as before. But even today they do not build a new house on the old site, this custom may be regarded as the survival of the old tradition.

342 Their process of building a new house is as follows:

(1) Collecting materials—The materials for building a house are: wood, bamboo, and rattan. Tree trunks are used to be ridge pole, beams, rafters, and other kinds of posts. Bamboos are used to make the walls and roof. Rattan is used for tying together the posts or other parts of the house. Materials are collected one month before the house is to be built. They are transported to the site by both man and woman, though house-building is mainly the man's work.

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
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苗栗縣泰安鄉錦水村文臉及胸的泰雅族老婦 (何廷瑞攝)

An Atayal old woman showing tattooed face and breast. Chin-shui Ts'un, Miaoli Hsien

/P. 127a (frontispiece, Chinese text)/

10: Schumacher--225 [7] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 133, 311

Hitherto scholars have started with the assumption that the entire eastern coast of Formosa was occupied by a single mountain chain. This is by no means the case, but a large and fertile plain stretches between the two parallel mountain ranges in the east of the island, and sugar-cane and rice are grown on the inner one of the two chains which has been cleared for this purpose.

10: Schumacher--225-226 T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 174, 311 Chin-hoan

The scattered location of the cultivated fields belonging to one family insures them to the largest possible degree against damages from rains, insects, plagues, storms which might affect single units of cultivated land.

Furthermore we know that all groups of people who on their own instigation changed to agriculture began work on a few small plots which happened to be most conveniently at hand for them. [226] Our ethnographers can tell us with complete certainty from the traces of all the demarkation lines whether settled tribes or nomads were the first to cultivate the land.

I follow their ideas when I come to the conclusion that the inhabitants of the mountains cannot be the indigenous population of Formosa. Nowadays this idea seems to be gaining some ground with the Japanese explorers and scholars in whose background the Europeans function as counselors and directing forces.

19: Guérin and Bernard-- 558 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 311, 727

Around the savage house are several fields of sweet potatoes, hemp and Aralia papyfera (rice paper plant). At the end of these cultivated lands there is an area with some high grasses, but the passer by avoids it. If you go into this region, you will understand the reason for this repugnance for the green conceals a set of crude wooden shelves which have rows of Chinese heads; they are arranged as if they were in an anatomical museum, and there are always some new ones.

19: Guérin and Bernard--558 [3] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 276, 311

Cereals are harvested by the savages on the slopes or plateaus which are near the dwellings. Fertilizer comes from the ashes of large tree trunks that lie flat on the ground and are burned every year. In the spaces between them you see turnips, a kind of dandelion which is a remedy for intoxication, and tobacco. Although the soil is carefully cultivated by hand, these plants are frail and do not grow close together; they look like the agricultural attempts of a people that is still in its infancy. The rice grains are very large, but that is the only successful crop. The tobacco leaves are stripped from the plant as needed, and are dried in the fire. Several tribes in the south prepare them in the shape of carrots.

22: Wiedfeldt--17 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 311, 241, 177 Atayal

They do not select the fertile valleys, [MC: for purposes of cultivation] but the parcels of land which lie on the slopes and are easier to work. Even in the cases in which individual families have taken over from the Chinese the raising of rice, together with the proper tools, they pay no attention to the unfavorable results of experience and avoid the places that are best adapted and that have a good supply of water, for they lack the ability to stay at a piece of work, which is necessary in raising rice.

22: Wiedfeldt--17 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 423, 311, 241 Atayal

As long as the family is making use of its plot of ground, their possession of it is protected. As soon as they leave it, which happens after two, or sometimes three crops, because the soil will not produce anything any more, any other family of the clan can take possession of it. This does not generally happen, however, before seven years have passed, and the field has become covered with a luxuriant growth of bushes and trees.

22: Wiedfeldt--17 [5] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 461, 311 Atayal

The Atayals have only one crop a year, and they consider the efforts of the Chinese to get two crops a year from the soil as a proof of poor work, because they have to work twice instead of once for their food. The fields are protected against the depredations of antelopes and wild boars mostly by means of a bamboo hedge, which is considered a logical part of the man's work. Corresponding to the rotation of crops, every family has three or four non-contiguous pieces of land.

37: Steere--309 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 415, 311, 313, 241 Chin-hoan

"Their household utensils consist of a Chinese iron pot, and a few gourds and water-tight baskets of rattan for holding water. The light they furnished us was a pine torch. I saw no native pottery among these or other savages of the island. They seem to possess no cultivable valleys, so that they are compelled to cultivate hill sides so steep that we were compelled to use both hands and feet in climbing them. They cut down the timber and let it lie until dry, and then set fire to it, burning off the leaves and small limbs, leaving the trunks and stumps upon the ground. They then build low irregular terraces of the small pieces of slate with which the hills are covered, to keep the soil and crops from washing away. They plant sweet potatoes, and a kind of rice that needs no irrigation, but their principal food is millet. After a couple of years or more of use, they allow the lands to grow up again, the second growth generally being a species of alder. After a few years of rest, the land is again ready to be cleared and planted. Their implements are their knives and sharpened sticks, the very steepness of the land cultivated, rendering it more easily cultivated with such poor tools. A mis-step would often send a hundred pounds of stones and earth sliding down."

37: Steere--310 [3] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 592, 311, 427 Chin-hoan

"Their houses are large, grass-covered barracks, made of bamboos and wattles, daubed with mud. The roof is supported by a large central post, and to this are hung the firelocks, bows and arrows, etc., that belong to the four or five families that occupy the house in common. The locality of each family is shown by the fire burning on the ground, and by the low bank of bamboo that serves for a seat and bed. The lands about the lake are rich and easily irrigated, and well fitted for rice; but the Tsui-whan have allowed the Chinese to enter, and these, taking advantage of the savage love for strong drink and feasting, are fast gaining possession of all the lands, and the poor Tsui-whan are becoming serfs of the crafty Chinese."

37: Steere--312-313 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 137, 313, 311, 241 Chin-hoan

"The mountains all about the villages of the Kale-whan are almost entirely free from timber, there being only a little in the deep ravines, where it is almost inaccessible. The timber has probably been [313] cut off and sold by the savages to the Pepo-whans. Coarse grass and reeds have spring up, and this, by giving food for annual fires during the dry season, keeps a new growth of timber from springing up. The only timber that we could see, of any extent, was upon a high ridge that showed a few miles to the east and which we supposed must be the water-shed of the island. This timber appeared to be pine, and probably the common Chinese pine which we saw growing farther north. The Kale-whan were cultivating the steep hill-sides, much as the Che-whan of the north, by drawing weeds and bits of slate stone together into little ridges to keep the soil and crops from going down hill with the first rain. Their principal crops were millet and sweet potatoes. They also raised a small species of taro that grows without irrigation, though the large plant cultivated by the Chinese must be continually covered with water. While we were among them, toward the end of February, they were planting their millet. Their agricultural implements are sharpened sticks, some of them two or three pronged, like pitch forks, and some of them shod with iron. Many mango trees just in blossom were scattered over the hills among their little plantations, and had apparently been planted or at least protected by the savages. Their villages were nearly hidden in trees, among them oranges and plantains and betel nut palms, for which latter the savages have a great liking."

40: Kirk--11-12 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 311, 177. 31 Japanese

"But the Japanese, above all, are looking for new food supplies. Overpopulated Nippon is anxious to bring the [12] savage-controlled lands of Formosa speedily under cultivation and the Nipponese cannot afford to stand by and wait patiently over the years for the policy of kindness and good will to work its slow way to the hearts and minds of the primitive peoples. It is far better, the rulers think, to gain complete control over the forbidden territory now by force of arms if necessary, and speed up the processes of accommodation and assimilation."

40; Kirk--15 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 166, 311, 361, 657, 177.36 Japanese

"The government of Formosa, as a part of ko-min-ka, has adopted a policy of removing the aborigines from their remote mountain homes to small parcels of land on the plains where they can be more easily watched and where they may acquire some skill as tillers of the soil. The agricultural possibilities of the lowlands include rice fields, livestock, sericulture, and sugar cane. Not infrequently, when the authorities have tried to pull a village up by the roots and transplant it at the foot of the mountain, the natives have openly rebelled against their rulers. But the soldiers quickly subdue the ringleaders and continue their policy of 'removals' according to schedule. The government errects huts on the plains, rent free, for the mountain families and prepares rice fields and vegetable plots, which are also free from tax. Free medical care is provided."

40: Kirk--15-16 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 311

"Since the savage is in the habit of burning off the grass and then planting the seed, there is constant danger of forests fires in the mountains. The soil is soon exhausted [16] under this rough treatment, and the native then moves to a new area and repeats the process of setting fire to the underbrush and sowing the seed. The Japanese hope to teach the aborigines how to use fertilizers on their new lands and to cultivate one plot or field from season to season."

22: Wiedfeldt--10 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 271, 312, 415 Atayal

Their staple drink is fresh water, which is generally brought to their huts in partially slit bamboo trunks from the nearby brook. They also use hego, a kind of elder, for this purpose. If the stream is farther away, the water is brought to the hut in bamboo staffs.

37: Steere--309 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 415, 311, 313, 241 Chin-hoan

"Their household utensils consist of a Chinese iron pot, and a few gourds and water-tight baskets of rattan for holding water. The light they furnished us was a pine torch. I saw no native pottery among these or other savages of the island. They seem to possess no cultivable valleys, so that they are compelled to cultivate hill sides so steep that we were compelled to use both hands and feet in climbing them. They cut down the timber and let it lie until dry, and then set fire to it, burning off the leaves and small limbs, leaving the trunks and stumps upon the ground. They then build low irregular terraces of the small pieces of slate with which the hills are covered, to keep the soil and crops from washing away. They plant sweet potatoes, and a kind of rice that needs no irrigation, but their principal food is millet. After a couple of years or more of use, they allow the lands to grow up again, the second growth generally being a species of alder. After a few years of rest, the land is again ready to be cleared and planted. Their implements are their knives and sharpened sticks, the very steepness of the land cultivated, rendering it more easily cultivated with such poor tools. A mis-step would often send a hundred pounds of stones and earth sliding down."

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116. 137, 313, 311, 241 Chin-hoan

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7: Joest--55 [5] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 314, 609

Camphor trees predominate in the forests on Formosa. The aborigines allow the Chinese, for a small payment, to come into their territory and fell camphor trees; often they also demand hostages.

10: Schumacher--225 [8] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 314, 438 Chin-hoan

The inhabitants of the mountains subsist mainly by agriculture, hunting, the sale of camphor wood and the trade of camphor. The latter is obtained by means of extraction with water and a very simple system of distillation.

16: Müller--235 [3] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 286, 314

For weaving the aborigines use small, very primitive hand looms made, for the most part, of camphor wood. They use the fiber of ramie plants, which grow in abundance on this island. The Ataiyal aborigines differentiate between four kinds of ramie, kigi barai, kigipapa, yakai yogai, and katailok. Raw hemp is called mukatailok, hemp which has been bleached by wringing it out in water is called mukabenakan, and spun hemp is called wikui.

19: Guérin and Bernard--556-557 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 314, 462

Women are the only people entitled to exercise the profession, or really the priesthood of tattooing. They use a splinter of resinous pine, which is burning; the flame is held against a polished surface which is covered with a thick layer of a black substance. A thread is sprinkled with this stuff and then held at both ends to show what the design should be. The metallic teeth of a kind of comb are placed on this sketch, [557] and then hammer blows pound them into the skin. The first flow of blood is stanched with a bamboo scraper, and at this moment the tattooer dips her finger into the resinous smoke and rubs it over the wound. The operation is over, the blood soon stops flowing, and the scar is an indelible blue. Most of the clans get their tattooing wood from the Kakaougan tribe, where there are forests which are unusually full of resinous products.

39: Wiedfeldt--10 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 314, 804, 822 Atayal

One may judge with a greater degree of certainty the intellectual capacity of the seemingly alert Atayal. They have a concept of space and measurement of space. As a measure of length, which they need in building their houses and in weaving, they use the measures provided by nature, i.e. the ell and the arm span with both arms outstretched. They have no means of measuring an area or a weight. They speak of a large field, or a heavy antelope, but they are unable to be more specific about it. As dry measure they use the men's caps, if, for example, one neighbor helps another out with a cap full of millet or salt. For gunpowder they are said to have recently begun to use bamboo sticks a span long.

6: Kirchhoff--32 [4] U-4 (no date) 1895• Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 286, 322, 412 Pepo-hoan

In respect to crafts also, the Chinese have stamped their individuality on the Pepo-huan. But the Pepo-huan continue to manufacture their wooden vessels in the traditional way, and the knife handles also, in which they insert the blades they buy from the Hakka. Their wives manufacture coarse materials from pineapple and nettle fibers.

16: Müller--235 [5] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 322, 531

Designs similar to these used in weaving are also found on the carved wooden figures which are used to decorate ear pendants, pipes, etc.

20: Alvarez--253
789, 764, 322

(no date) 1927

Formosan Aborigines

"The Tsalisen of the mountains in front of the Port of Takao are styled ka-lé-lang by the Chinese (4).

4. According to the highly authorized Chinese dictionary (Kang-hi), the two signs ... mean 'ugly wooden figures used to make dollies'. They are called Kalé-hi in Formosa. Such Kalé-hi are made for the purpose of exorcising the devils, when somebody suddenly dies. This name 'ugly figures' seems to have been applied by the first Chinese invaders to the savage tribes of Formosa."

22: Wiedfeldt--33[3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 322, 503 Atayal

They know how to build huts, lay canals about a hundred meters long, or bend strong wood, by softening it in water, propping it up at both ends and weighting it down with stones in the middle.

7: Joest--60 [6] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 252, 323, 354 Chin-hoan

They keep a fire burning in the center of the hut day and night. Here they cook their food in clay pots which they themselves have made.

31: Hofmann--622 [3] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 276, 323 Tsou

All the natives smoke; the native term for tobacco is tamako. They have small pipes made of clay. They do not have the custom of chewing betel nuts, however....

22: Wiedfeldt--15 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 177, 531, 325 Atayal

Presumably within the last generation, they have acquired a knife, which is 40 cm. long, from the Chinese. Every Atayal carves and decorates the handle for this knife himself. His most important and most cherished weapon is the gun, which he has been getting for one or two decades from the Chinese and Japanese, and which he is continuing to get even now, despite the law which forbids the importation of guns. At least, I have seen at the sentinels' posts modern guns which were taken from Atayals by the Aiyu guards. Most of the guns, to be sure, are old-breech-loaders, or even muzzle-loaders, which might conceivably be dangerous to the person shooting. There is said to be a scarcity of bullets. An Atayal living in the interior is said to have learned how to pour bullets from the Chinese, but can not satisfy the demand.

37: Steere--312 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 302, 326, 411 Chin-hoan

"The hair of the men was allowed to grow long on the back of the head, but was cut square across the forehead, above the eyes. The women do not tattoo the face, but tattoo three bands across the back of the hands, with crosses over the knuckles, and two lines down the back of the lower joint of the fingers. The men tattoo the inside of the arms in bands that run to the shoulders and cross the breast. Tattooing among the men did not appear to be general, and may be confined to the chiefs and head men. They are armed with bows and arrows, firelocks and lances, though the latter weapons were the most common, being in the hands of every one. I saw a very heavy, rude gun-barrel, said to have been forged by them, and there was a hut in the village that was evidently used as a blacksmith shop."

18: Kakyo--67 [6] E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 341, 361

The Formosan aborigines have fixed residences....
They use stone and wood for building houses.

19: Guérin and Bernard--552-553 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 141, 224, 341, 576 Tsou

Between the rivière Noire and the Pakan are the Tsoo, who are also called the Tibou-la, as that is the name of their largest village. The Tsoo are the unique example of a tribe of savages that are allied with the Chinese, and they are not tattooed at all. But they have little pity for their Ata-bou neighbors, and those of Sibou-koun. There is another language here, and we find that the race has become smaller, more thick-set, more southern, in a word. The house is round with a conical roof, instead of being square. The native no longer bids you welcome by laying his hand flat on your chest; he presses your forearm instead. (These observations apply to all the southern tribes). The Tsoo have replaced the Chinese head trophies by [553] enormous piles of wild-boar skulls.

19: Guérin and Bernard--557 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 341, 361

The houses are carefully built, but they are arranged in a manner which looks more like a hamlet than a village. Enormous piles of offal show that you are approaching the settlement, and then you come into a vast clearing which is surrounded on all sides by the forest. The dwellings are perched on the slopes of the hills, and there is a good deal of space between them; they are rectangular or square (circular and with a conical roof in the south). The walls are made of planks which are poorly squared, and the roof is bamboo, covered with thatch; they have doors and windows.

39: Wiedfeldt--14 [2] F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 302, 341, 531 Atayal

The Atayal huts are functional structures with no pretence at artistry. One is made just like the next. They have no temples or public halls. They know nothing of plastic art, having no figures of wood or clay. In contrast to the other peoples of Formosa, they do not decorate their weapons and tools with carvings. They have only two kinds of decoration: interwoven stripes of color and designs in their garments, and tattooing on the face and breast. Both are repeated without change in a definite, fixed manner, according to tradition.

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

his father's office. If the *pinairaratsə* has no heir or if his works were not regarded as satisfactory, the overlord may appoint another household to the office. Taxes collected by the *pinairaratse* need not be forward to their overlords, they may be consumed by the *pinairaratsə* himself. 651

CLASS AND PRIVILEGE

A. Naming system

A name indicates one's social status. They are of three grades: 565

a) Names of the big chiefs:
men's names: *arutsaŋal, tʃanupak, tsivuluaŋ, giligilao, palilas, ləŋuŋai, trotsə.*
women's names: *rumurumaŋ, moni, vonum, slup, lutsium, tsipulaŋ.*

b) Names of the second grade chiefs:
men's names: *apitsuaŋ, ulili, pulalujaŋ, tsimuluŋai, tsama, gulagul, raŋaraŋ, apaŋ, tsumul.*
women's names: *tsiankim, lavlav, kalskus, tso'o, rere, ateves, kumara, moakai.*

c) Names of the commoners:
men's names: *maitsəl, guluts, tsuvi* and others.
women's names: *saolalui, alalu, vais, hai* and others.

The *utsiputsipoŋ* have the same names as commoners. The name of an aristocrat is decided in a kins' meeting. To acquire a name above his class he must get a permission from the big chief. The name of a commoner is given by his parents or determined by a divination.

B. Tattooing (*voŋtsik*)

Tattooing is one of the privileges enjoyed by the aristocratic class. A commoner may have tattoo if he has military achievements and is so permitted by the chief. Men tattoo their breasts, backs, arms, and legs; women only tattoo their forearms and backs of hand. The designs indicate their social status, only the big chiefs may have human figures (*pinarutsautsauaŋ*) and snake designs (*pinavulvuluwaŋ*). 565 304

C. House decoration

Houses are distinguished by two kinds. The houses of the big chief or the second grade chiefs are always larger in size and more decorative. In front of these houses, there are larger front yards (*assasawaŋ*) and platforms (*aluvulwaŋ*) which serve as the meeting places of the villagers. On the platform a stone pillar is erected to represent their ancestor which is called *saotsaolai*. House posts, beams, walls, and storage boxes may be decorated with human figure or snake designs. The houses of the commoners, include houses of *utsiputsipoŋ*, are always smaller in size and can not be decorated. 565 531 341

D. Clothing and ornaments

Clothing and ornaments also indicate one's social status. The aristocratic class wear clothes of dark colours—dark blue, dark purple, or black colour. The clothes of the aristocratic class are always embroidered or design-weaved, while the commoners are prohibited to wear such. Several kinds of clothe—*tsapo aliulao* (clothe made of leopard's skin), *vajal a tsinuŋuaŋ* (shoulder cloth), *katin a veŋtsiaŋ* (a kind of trousers) 565 291

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Atayal

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(2) Starting to build—After the site has been chosen, the owner digs the ground one time with a hoe, then goes back to his old house to seek for a dream omen. If he sees a wounded or sick person in the dream, it is considered as an evil omen. If he sees many animals and crops, it is considered as a good omen. When a good dream is secured, he will start to build his new house the next day.

(3) Erecting the posts and making the frame of the house—When the site is cleared, he starts to erect the posts. To built a house of only one room, six posts will be erected; to build a house of three rooms, twelve. The upper end of the post is cut into a ㄇ-shape for resting the ridge or beams. The lower part of the post is to be buried in the earth. After the posts have been erected, the ridge pole and beams are rested on them and tied to them. This makes the frame of the house.

(4) Covering the roof—Atayal houses are mostly topped with a gable-roof. Most of the roofs are made of bamboo, though a few of them are made of tin-plates.

(5) Making the walls—Walls may be made of bamboo, or may be of wicker-work pasted over with mud which is tempered with grass. Some of the latter kind are whitewashed.

The entrance is an opening of one meter in width and less then two meters in height. The leaf of the door is a piece of wooden plank or bamboo wickerwork. Most of the doors have only one leaf. Mostly the orientation of the door is facing the valley, because the house is built on the slope.

The window is an opening 40–50 centimeters in width and 60–70 in length. The leaf of the window is a wooden plank or a piece of wickerwork which is the same as the door. Glass is very seldom used.

After the above memtioned processes are completed, a fire place and one or two beds will be added, these complete the house building.

2. Types of house

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The author has dividied the houses of these villages into the following types according to the material used:

(1) Houses with bamboo roofs and bamboo walls;

(2) Houses with bamboo roofs and mud-wickerwork walls;

(3) Houses with bamboo roofs and partly bamboo walls and partly mud-wickerwork walls.

3. Annexes

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Other kinds of buildings besides dwelling house are:

(1) Farm-huts;
(2) Hunting-huts;
(3) Granaries;
(4) Chicken huts;
(5) Pigsties;
(6) Cow-huts;
(7) Compost house;
(8) Privies;
(9) Bee hives;
(10) Drying frames.

7: Joest--60 [5] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342 Chin-hoan

The Chinwan houses are made of small pieces of slate piled on top of each other; these are supported by large flagstones which they lean against the houses from the outside. Some houses are made of bamboo poles; the spaces between the poles are filled in with rushes. The door is wide and high; the roof consists of straw or grass.

10: Schumacher--225 [5] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 352 Chin-hoan

The dwellings of the inhabitants of the mountains are made of lattice frames and have either thatched or shingle roofs. In many instances they display a coating of mud plaster both on the inside and outside. The ground plan of every house contains three equally large rooms without window openings; they are connected by means of hanging doors. Along the rear walls raised sleeping benches are arranged in accordance with the Chinese pattern. The center room ordinarily contains a table with high chairs. Simple pottery of burnt clay can be seen standing on shelves and on the floors.

10: Schumacher--225 [6] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 252, 354, 251 Chin-hoan

The third room [MC: of the Tschin-Huan dwelling] is almost completely dark and is used for the storage of products of the fields and the entrance section is used as a fireplace. Otherwise it is likely that meals were prepared over open fires, in earthenware pans made by the inhabitants, or iron pots that must have been introduced from the outside.

11: Haguenauer--33 [3] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 352 Atayal

The Tayal house is built of wood, and bamboo is used whenever possible; its roof is shaped like ours. The interior has just one rectangular room, and every corner contains a wattling bed with a cover.

14: Tamai--96 J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 513 Chin-hoan

The houses of the Tschinwans are very plain structures. They are made of crude timber and bamboo. The roof is covered with grass or straw. The entrance is only about one meter wide and about as high as a grown man. The walls consist of various types of leaves, among them banana leaves. Few of the houses have walls made of boards; only a few rich people in every village have these. The size of the houses varies; the largest are about 6 meters long and 5 meters wide. The interior consists of a single room with a few windows. All the members of the household sleep in a sleeping compartment made of bamboo; each couple has its own bed.

15: U. S. Navy--31 [4]
116, 511, 342, 361, 177.16
636.16

(no date) 1944

Formosan Aborigines
Japanese

"The aborigines along the southeast coast (the Paiwan and Ami tribes) live in fairly well constructed wooden or stone houses, set among meager patches and fields. They live on a primitive agricultural level, supplementing their livelihood by occasional hunting and fishing. The aborigines living farther back in the mountains or along the northeastern coast live in extreme poverty, hunting and fishing and scratching the earth in small patches near their hovels, which may be thatched huts having a single opening, or bamboo and cane cabins perched on stilts. Gradually the Japanese are forcing them to leave their solitary clearings and to gather in villages on level areas where they can learn to subsist on an agricultural economy of the poorest sort."

16: Müller--231 [8] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342

The houses of the aborigines are made chiefly of wood and bamboo. There are also stone structures, however, and among the Ataiyal aborigines there are even cave dwellings. Most of the houses have roofs made of rushes and consist of only one room. Some houses, however, have partitions dividing the interior into several rooms. The entrance is usually in the center of one of the long sides. Most houses have two windows on each of the long sides; shutters have hinges made of rattan stalks.

22: Wiedfeldt--14 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342 Atayal

The huts [MC: of the Atayal] are 4 x 4 meters square, or 6 x 6 meters square, and are 1.5 meters high. They consist of two parts, the bamboo hut proper, and the framework of four corner posts and two door posts, which are connected by cross beams. In building a hut one uses, if possible, trees which stand at the proper distances. The tops of the trees are burned off, and the hut is built in between the trunks. The doorway is 60 cm. wide, and is on the front of the hut, somewhat to one side. The back wall and one side wall each have a small opening of 10 x 10 cm. or 10 x 40 cm., which, like the doorway is covered with a curtain of woven bamboo. The walls consist of split bamboo trunks, which are grooved and fitted into each other, like the type of construction which Marco Polo has described as being used in the summer palace of Kublai Khan. Nothing is nailed together in the entire hut. Everything is tied. The roof, like the walls, is made of bamboo trunks which are covered with bamboo grass and held in place by two cross-pieces. The ground serves as a floor.

24: Anonymous--91 [8] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 351, 356

The houses of the aborigines are built four or five feet above the ground; they are narrow and high, like canoes. They sprinkle and clean the ground around the house constantly so that there is never a speck of dust. Behind the house they usually plant a bamboo hedge so that there is no access to the house during the warm season.

24: Anonymous--92 [3] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 554, 721

There is another people on this island; they live in caves and thus resemble the ancestors of the Chinese. They love to kill people and they hand to their enemies' skulls, after they have skinned them and adorned them with ornaments of gold, in their dwellings as a sign of their courage.

26: Honda--471[2]
116, 342, 411, 883

N-3

(1896) 1897

Formosan Aborigines
Bunun

In the village of Namaka I observed one extraordinarily large house occupying an area of about 140 square meters. It was the community sleeping-house for all unmarried men. The interior has a floor of bamboos. A fireplace is found in the center. There are no partition walls to mark off rooms. The house is open on two sides and on the remaining two the roof slopes down quite low and provides some protection against bad weather. As many as 85 skulls, all of the Chinese, were suspended from the ceiling. All of the men of the village were armed with daggers approximately 40 centimeters long.

31; Hofmann--619 [2] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 361, 513, 622 Tsou

When I entered the first village, Teboro, I was received by the chief and treated with great respect; the village is enclosed by a low stone wall, as is each of the houses in the village. The huts are oval in shape; they are made of rough stones taken from rivers and brooks. They are barely 1 1/2 meters high; the ratio between the length and width is 4 to 1. The post which supports the roof consists of a tree trunk which has not been shaped in any way; the roof itself consists of reeds. There is one, or at most two openings without a door; these are on the narrow sides of the house and serve both to give light and to admit air. The hut of the chieftain is somewhat larger. There are niches in the walls which serve as sleeping quarters; the natives sleep on clay which has been beaten flat, while the chieftain sleeps on a bamboo support which is in the center of the hut. The clay floor of the house I visited had been cleaned, but I do not know whether this is always the case.

3l: Hofmann--620-621 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 561, 621 Tsou

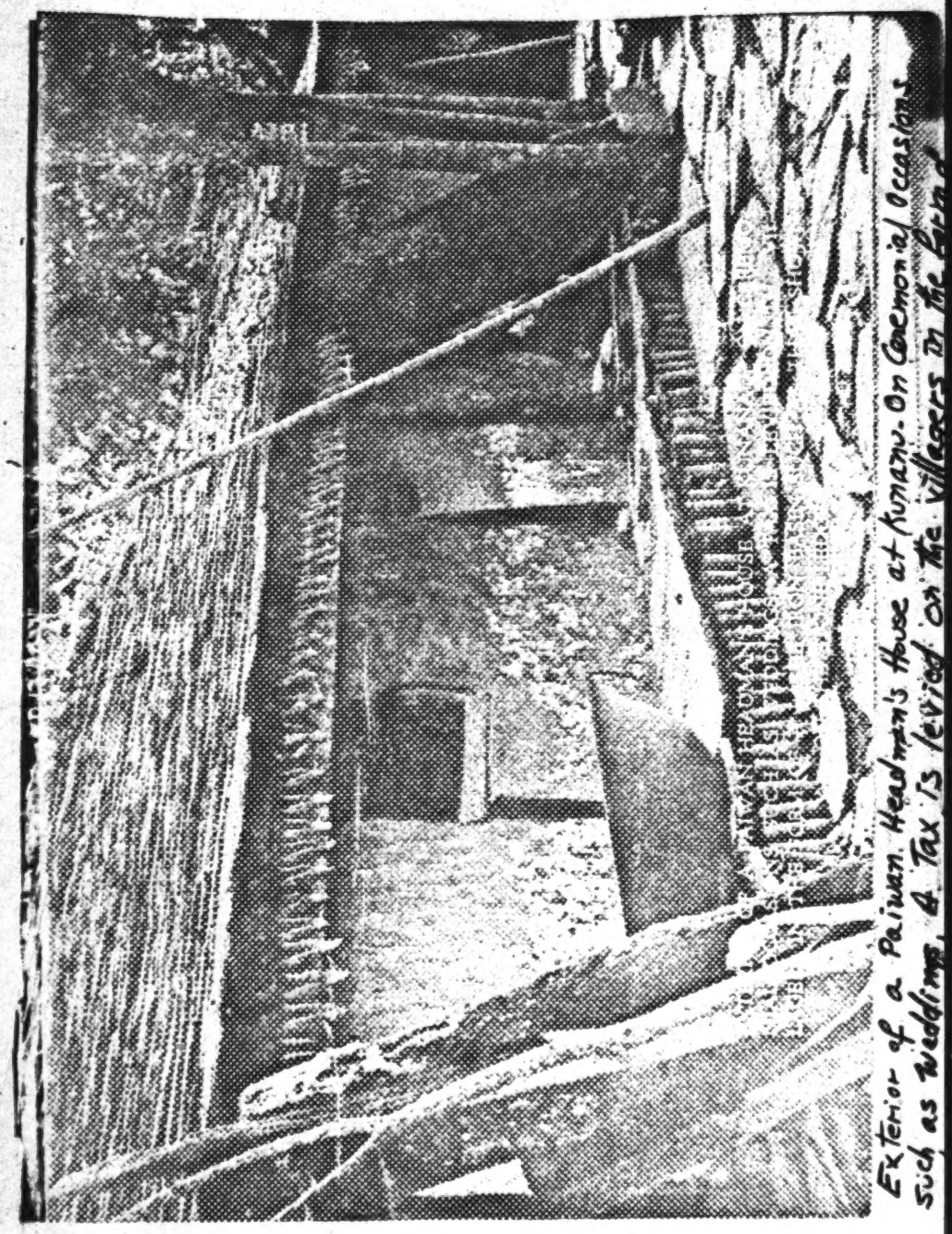
The most striking feature in the villages of the aborigines are the houses for bachelors (cf. Fig. 5). Both of the villages I visited, Tebor and Tappan, have a large hut of this type; it may be easily distinguished from the rest since it is erected on pilework, while the other houses are built of stone. The lower story is open on all sides; the upper story is open along the front of the house and has a straw roof. The natives climb up to the hall on a tree trunk in which notches have been cut; this is by no means easy. [621] In this hall all the unmarried men live together. Here the natives also hold their councils of war and discuss all the important affairs of the tribe, so that this hut is, as it were, their ministry, parliament, and stock market. No woman may enter this sanctum under any conditions.

34: Del Re--24-27 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 133, 361, 504, 342, 491 Yami

"A small steamship calls at the island once every ten days, weather permitting. As the sea is frequently rough and Botel-Tobago is surrounded by dangerous breakers, the ship anchors some distance out and passengers and cargo are transferred to land on a catamaran made out of heavy bamboo trunks lashed together. Apart from a small rest-house, police headquarters and the policemen's houses, all the rest are native buildings. The walls of these houses are built of large pebbles piled upon each other without mortar and covered with thatched roofs held down by large stones to prevent them being torn off by the wind. As this blows strongly practically all the year round, the houses are mainly constructed well below the level of the ground and protected by high stone walls over which only the roofs can be seen. The villages are scattered over the island, generally on the foreshore, but a few shacks and storehouses--covered with bamboo and branches of several varieties of trees--are found on the cultivated uplands and in the hills which rise steeply from the shore except where the coast forms a few open bays. During the twenties a good road was built round the island making it possible for the villagers to communicate with each other by cart or bycicle [sic]--a recent and much [pages 25 and 26 contain illustrations] [27] appreciated novelty."

34: Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines

Paiwan



Exterior of a Paiwan Headman's House at Kunazu. On Ceremonial Occasions such as Weddings. A Tax is levied on the villagers by the Head

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34: Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami

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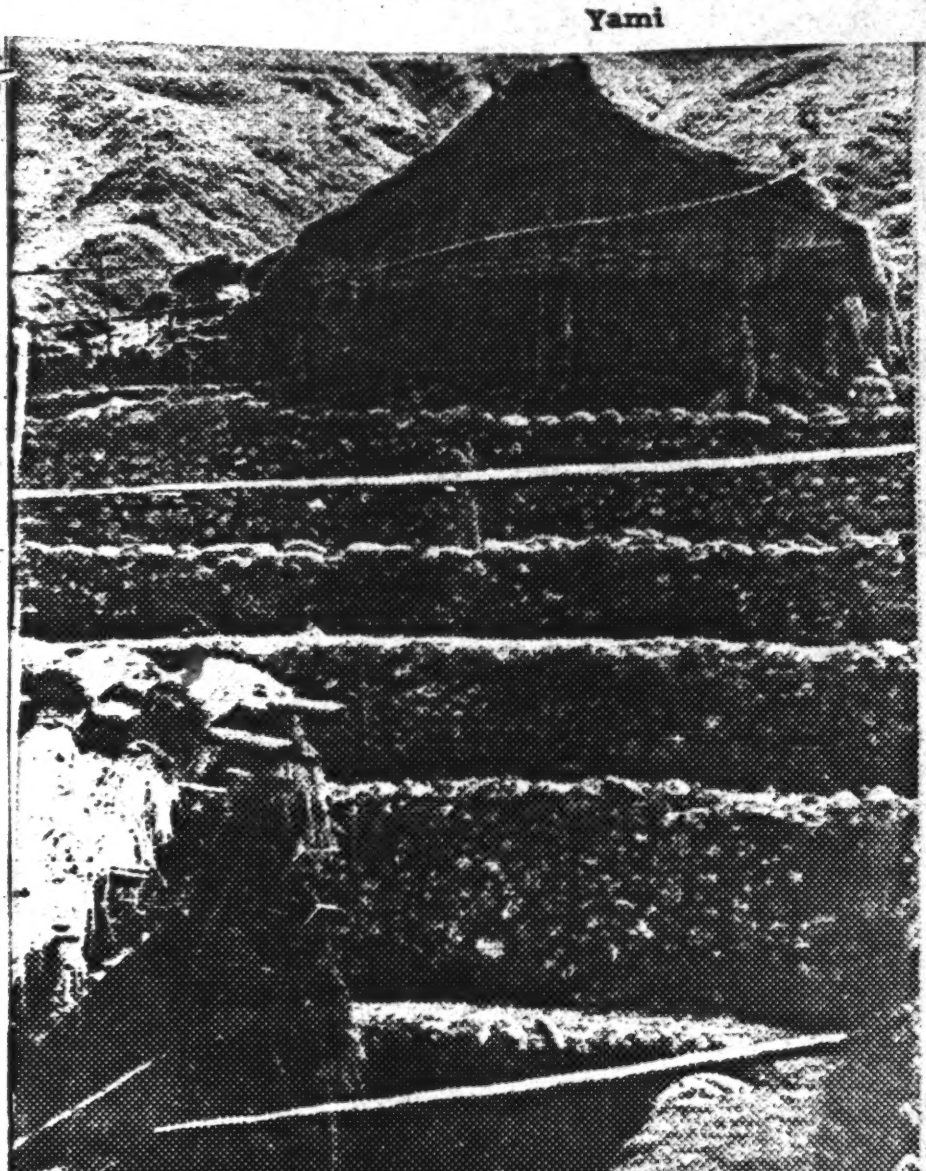

YAMI HOUSES—THE UPPER IS A COMMUNAL WORKSHOP, THE LOWER IS THE DWELLING-HOUSE, BUILT BELOW GROUND LEVEL AND SURROUNDED BY STONE WALLS TO PROTECT IT FROM TYPHOON WINDS

Yami houses: the upper is a communal workshop
the lower is the dwelling-house built below ground level
and surrounded by stone walls to protect it from typhoon wind

35: Collingwood--136 [2] D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 361, 609 Sek-hoan

"The following morning we landed on the southern side of the bay, where we were to find the native village, of which no trace however was visible from the ship. We were met upon the beach by a number of men and women, who were in no respect, either of dress or feature, similar to the Chinese, and along with them, after the first expressions of surprise and curiosity, we entered the village. This is rudely walled, the entrance being through doors at either side, by which we passed into an assemblage of huts constructed chiefly of grass and bamboos. The grass is woven into a kind of trellis or mat, which is placed against the sides, while the chief part of the walls is constructed of upright sticks, the interstices being imperfectly plastered with mud to keep out the weather. The door is of bamboo, and fixed upon a rude hinge, the lower part revolving sometimes upon the bottom of an earthern cup, to give freedom of motion. The roof is a thick thatch of grass and herbs (in which a species of Turk's-cap lily is largely used), and is supported by bamboos irregularly disposed among it. At one end is often an overhanging shed, containing a supply of firewood, of which there is everywhere abundance."

37: Steere--308 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 342, 352, 592 Chin-hoan

"They are good hunters, and I saw several bear's skulls among them, and many of deer and wild boar. They generally hunt in bands, and surround their game. Their houses are made by digging a little below the surface of the ground, and then building up heavy stone walls to a height of two or three feet, in which are planted upright posts, and limbs and trunks of trees are interwoven among these to the proper height, and then all is covered with grass. There are no windows, the low door serving for the entrance of light, and an outlet for smoke. One house generally serves for two families, a fire being built at each end, and a couple of low banks of bamboo that serve for seats and beds."

37: Steere--310 [3] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 592, 311, 427 Chin-hoan

"Their houses are large, grass-covered barracks, made of bamboos and wattles, daubed with mud. The roof is supported by a large central post, and to this are hung the firelocks, bows and arrows, etc., that belong to the four or five families that occupy the house in common. The locality of each family is shown by the fire burning on the ground, and by the low bank of bamboo that serves for a seat and bed. The lands about the lake are rich and easily irrigated, and well fitted for rice; but the Tsui-whan have allowed the Chinese to enter, and these, taking advantage of the savage love for strong drink and feasting, are fast gaining possession of all the lands, and the poor Tsui-whan are becoming serfs of the crafty Chinese."

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

INVESTIGATION OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CHALA'ABUS PAIWAN, PINGTUNG HSIEN

WEI HWEI-LIN
Translated by CHEN CHI-LU

This is a preliminary report of the field-works among the Chala'abus Paiwan of Pingtung Hsien. Members who participated were Messrs. Ho Ting-jui, Tang Mei-chun, Huang Hsün-ch'eng and the present writer.

Chala'abus village was chosen because: it is one of the important and old tribes of the Central Paiwan, and, is the center of the Chimo racial group of the Paiwan. We have noted after the field-session that the village had other significances: (1) The village consisted of twelve aristocratic households whether of the Chimo or of the Paiwan groups. The village organization was thus rather complicated in structure. (2) The dwelling houses and their arrangement had been well preserved in their original form. (3) Old traits in material culture, such as stone-engraving, wood-carving, designed weaving, and embroidery, had been also well kept. (4) The ethnic character is rather conservative. They have been comparatively less influenced by the Japanese and the Chinese as compared to the other groups of the tribe.

Because of the limitation of time and investigators, we emphasized tribal organization and chieftanship of the village. Our field-work was undertaken from Feb. 1 to 15. Because of the complexity of the culture, the investigation is by no means a complete one.

SETTLEMENT TYPE AND DUAL ORGANIZATION

Chala'abus village is situated on the south-eastern slope of Mt. Nan-ta-wu and stands on the northern bank of the Lai-i River or the Upper Lin-pien River. The population of Chala'abus village was 158 households and 948 persons at the time of our investigation. With the Exception of 12 households who had moved to Chinasan which lies between the village site and the plain below it and formed a separate hamlet by themselves, all the other 146 households were concentrated on the two adjacent fan-shaped slopes which in the present report are referred to as the village site. The village of Chala'abus hence consisted of two parts: the south and the north-parts. Each of them occupied a fan-shaped slope. The south-part was called Chinimoan or "the living land of the Chimo", and the north-part Pinaiwanan or "the living land of the Paiwan". The village site was on a slope of 30 degree to 45 degree inclination, with the width north to south 80 M., and length east to west 100 M. Dwelling houses, including floors and roofs, were built of slate. All these houses had small front yards paved with slate. A continuous row of houses of the same level had their yards adjacent on the same level; but communication between two rows of houses was by means of narrow stair-ways, because the front yards of houses in the rear row were always on a level with the roofs of the front houses. The village is thus in a terrace form. Chinimoan consisted of eight terraces, and Pinaiwanan ten. Each terrace had a row

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
Atayal AD4

304 grandfather's breast mark was different from what we described above. That is, beside the vertical line, each side of it had three horizontal short lines. It is said that each of these short lines represented five heads which had been hunted by him.

(5) Leg-tattoo—The leg-tattoo is confined to women only. No qualifictaion has been ordained. The leg-tattoo of *jajot-palie* is a straight line with barbs about two centimeters in width and three centimeters in length. That of the wife of *joqex-etex* is a square mark of about three centimeters on each side with a pair of diagonal lines inside of it.

The tattooer [*papatas*] has special training; all the tattooers are women. There is no tattooer in *tapilas* today. Tattoo operations are mostly performed in winter time to avoid suppuration. The instruments employed consisted of a small knife [*βuli*], a wooden hammer [*tatutʃin*], needles [*lao*], an instrument for wiping blood [*qaquwar*] and soot from the bottom of a pot [*ilox*]. Tattooing was done under a shaded place. A mat was laid for the one who was going to recieve the operation to lie upon. After a prayer had been offered, the operator sat close to the head of one who lay on the mat. She used a small knife to draw lines on the face of the operatee, and then with needles in her left hand, and a wooden hammer in her right hand, she started the operation. Blood was wiped away with a bamboo instrument. After each section of the desigh had been done, she rubbed the soot on it. A man's forehead and chin tattooes needed about two hours, and a woman's cheek tattoo needed ten hours. The operator was rewarded with cloth and food.

VI. HOUSING

342 Atayal houses were originally of the semi-subteranean type, but these are not found in Chin-shui Ts'un. Houses, except granaries are all built on the ground level.

1. Processes of building a house

342 764 A house may be built in any season of the year. In former days, if anyone (who is more than three months old) of the family dies, he will be buried inside the house and the house will then be abandoned. The chief of the village related that the custom had been given up in 1929. From 1929 they buried their dead in the grave yards, so today they do not change their houses as frequently as before. But even today they do not build a new house on the old site, this custom may be regarded as the survival of the old tradition.

342 Their process of building a new house is as follows:

(1) Collecting materials—The materials for building a house are: wood, bamboo, and rattan. Tree trunks are used to be ridge pole, beams, rafters, and other kinds of posts. Bamboos are used to make the walls and roof. Rattan is used for tying together the posts or other parts of the house. Materials are collected one month before the house is to be built. They are transported to the site by both man and woman, though house-building is mainly the man's work.

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

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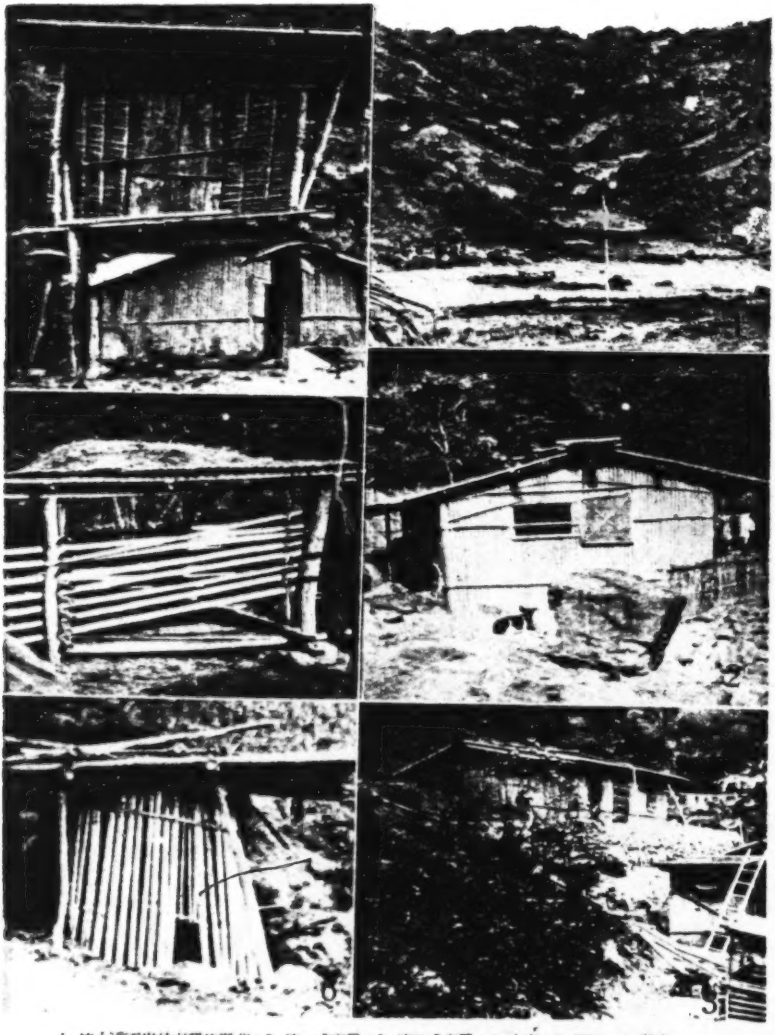

1. 汶水溪兩岸的泰雅族部落；2. 第一式家房；3. 第五式家房；4. 倉庫；5. 豬圈；6. 雞舍。
1. Villages on both banks of the Wen-shui River; 2. Atayal house, type 1; 3. Atayal house, type 5; 4. Rice granary; 5. Pigsty; 6. Chicken hut.

/P. 127 d (facing p. 42, Chinese text)/

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955
AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Atayal

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(2) Starting to build—After the site has been chosen, the owner digs the ground one time with a hoe, then goes back to his old house to seek for a dream omen. If he sees a wounded or sick person in the dream, it is considered as an evil omen. If he sees many animals and crops, it is considered as a good omen. When a good dream is secured, he will start to build his new house the next day.

(3) Erecting the posts and making the frame of the house—When the site is cleared, he starts to erect the posts. To built a house of only one room, six posts will be erected; to build a house of three rooms, twelve. The upper end of the post is cut into a ㄇ-shape for resting the ridge or beams. The lower part of the post is to be buried in the earth. After the posts have been erected, the ridge pole and beams are rested on them and tied to them. This makes the frame of the house.

(4) Covering the roof—Atayal houses are mostly topped with a gable-roof. Most of the roofs are made of bamboo, though a few of them are made of tin-plates.

(5) Making the walls—Walls may be made of bamboo, or may be of wicker-work pasted over with mud which is tempered with grass. Some of the latter kind are whitewashed.

The entrance is an opening of one meter in width and less then two meters in height. The leaf of the door is a piece of wooden plank or bamboo wickerwork. Most of the doors have only one leaf. Mostly the orientation of the door is facing the valley, because the house is built on the slope.

The window is an opening 40–50 centimeters in width and 60–70 in length. The leaf of the window is a wooden plank or a piece of wickerwork which is the same as the door. Glass is very seldom used.

After the above memtioned processes are completed, a fire place and one or two beds will be added, these complete the house building.

2. Types of house

341

The author has dividied the houses of these villages into the following types according to the material used:

(1) Houses with bamboo roofs and bamboo walls;
(2) Houses with bamboo roofs and mud-wickerwork walls;
(3) Houses with bamboo roofs and partly bamboo walls and partly mud-wickerwork walls.

3. Annexes

349

Other kinds of buildings besides dwelling house are:

(1) Farm-huts;
(2) Hunting-huts;
(3) Granaries;
(4) Chicken huts;
(5) Pigsties;
(6) Cow-huts;
(7) Compost house;
(8) Privies;
(9) Bee hives;
(10) Drying frames.

51: Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

105 different localities, so that their cultures, though similar, are not uniform. The native tribes also differ considerably in the degree to which they have been acculturated and in the type of culture change that has taken place.

The Ami

10 [13] [16] The Ami live in the Taitung Rift Valley, which runs in approximately a north-south direction for 150 kilometres along the east coast of Formosa. Some Ami live on the east coast proper. The Ami tribe is the largest on Formosa. They are divided into five groups by dialect and cultural differences. The number of households and population of each group, based on the census of 1937, are as follows:

Group	No. of households	Population
Pei-nan	859	9546
Heng-ch'un	461	4403
Hai-an	1159	11760
Hsiu-ku-luan	2008	15861
Nan-shih	1713	8436
Total	6200	50006

[241] [226] [349] [611] [591] The chief traits of the Ami are intensive agriculture and fishing; pile dwellings; paddle-and-anvil pottery; long wooden shields; feather headdresses; clans[1]; matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence; classificatory or Malayan kinship terminology; parent-child nymic linkage; and age-grades.

Tavarong is a town of 5,000 population situated in the central part of the Taitung Rift Valley, in Hualien Hsien. It belongs to the Hsiu-ku-luan group and is regarded by the Ami themselves as the oldest settlement in the whole Ami area. About one per cent of the Tavarong townsmen are Christians; the rest hold to their native religion. 361

Gods, spirits, and souls

776 The Ami term for gods, which include also spirits and souls, is *kawas*. The Tavarong Ami believe in two kinds of *kawas*. The first kind, which may be considered natural gods, include *maratau*, *tšidar*, *borar*], and others. *maratau* is a male tutolary deity who resides in heaven. According to informant Maran-Namo?, *maratau* is the god of "politics and strength". In former days, when the Ami were at war with their neighbors, the Atayal, they prayed to *maratau* for protection[2]. *tšidar* is the female sun goddess, and *borar*] the male moon god. The sun goddess is held to be more powerful than the moon god. Maran-Namo? while explaining the designs on the houseposts of the house of the *kakita:n* (priest), stated that *tšidar* is the almighty deity and holds the supreme position over

1. Utsurikawa [1935] reported about 55 clan names for the Ami, but he gave no clan names north of the Vataan, Tavarong, and Karuran areas.
2. According to Furuno [1954:3-42], *maratau* is connected with headhunting and is the god of crops and game, as well as being the war god.

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

The other part of the *mi?ʃao* divinatory instrument is called *tsohak*. This is a piece of hardwood about 18cm in length. It is held under one foot of the diviner when in use. The end held under the foot is often somewhat thinner than the other end. The other end is about 4cm thick and has two or three grooves transversely carved on one side. These grooves are called *ŋakto*. 787

During divination, the *tsohak* is placed on the ground with the grooved side facing downward. The end without grooves is held under one foot of the diviner. The central portion of the inner face of the *ʃao* is breathed upon and smeared with ashes before it is used. Then, with the end with the mane-like fibres in his left hand, and with the end with the bamboo-joint in his right hand, the diviner saws the *ʃao* in the *ŋakto* of the *tsohak*. The *ʃao* will be severed by this heavy sawing, and the result of the divination can be read from the shape of the severed end of the part without the bamboo-joint, with the bamboo exterior facing the diviner.

By comparative study, Utsurikawa found that *mi?ʃao* divination has affinities in southeast Asia, particularly with the Kenyah and the Kayan of Borneo and with the Nagas of Assam. He therefore considered this technique as an Indonesian culture trait. 771

Priesthood

Among the Tavarong Ami, priests were called *kakita:n*. The office of *kakita:n* was hereditary: succession was by primogeniture through the female line. Formerly there were five or six *kakita:n* families in Tavarong, but only one, that of the late Saumah-Kuriu, remains in existence today, and will be described later. The cause of the decrease in *kikita:n* families was, according to one informant, due to the prohibition placed on native rituals by the Japanese authorities. The priestly families consequently declined because they had lost their function. The Saumah-Kuriu family retained its standing as it owned a ceremonial house with carved wooden posts; this house was designated an historical monument in 1935 by the Japanese colonial administration. 793 346

This same ceremonial house was reported by Utsurikawa (1936) and Tsijiiwa 1944). The present house keeps its original form today although it has been rebuilt in recent years and now is only one half the size of the original house described by the above two authors. Its present plan and a side-view are shown in the accompanying illustration (Figure 1). According to Utsurikawa, the original house was abandoned in May 1930 on the death of the family head Saumah-Kuriu, a decision reached at that time by the family members on account of frequent misfortune. The house itself is unique: it is the only one in the entire Ami area having carved wooden posts. The designs on these posts are human and animal figures, curved lines, and sawtooth patterns. The geometrical designs are always symmetrical in arrangement. In the changing culture of the Ami, a new type of house has been adopted by the tribesmen. This ceremonial house remains as the only surviving example of their original type of dwelling. [531] 342

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

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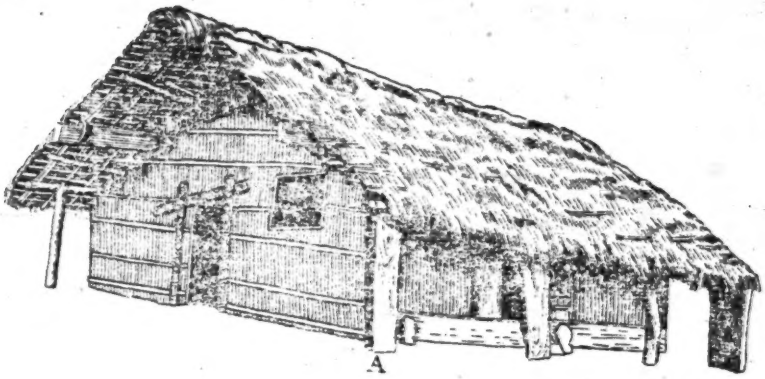


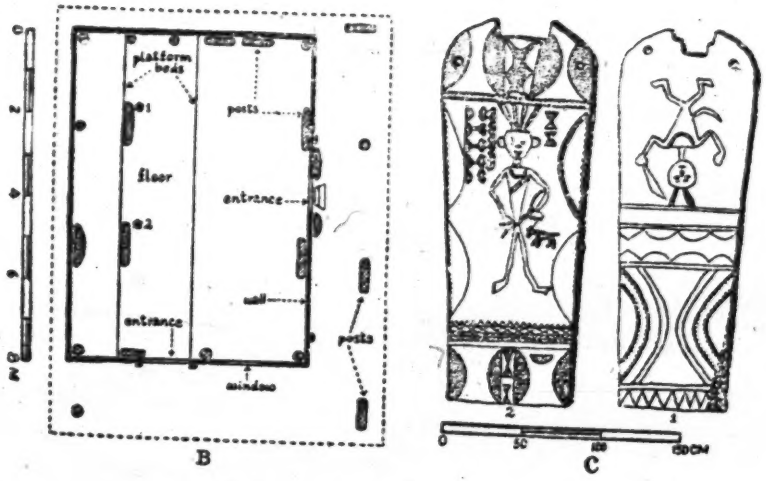


Figure 1: the *kahita:n* house of Tavarong.
A. front view; B. plan, with asterisks are posts with carving shown in C; C. carved posts.

14: Tamai--96 [2] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 343 Chin-hoan

Next to the house of the Tschinwans there is a storage house 4 meters long and 2 meters wide; the floor of this house is raised about 2 meters above the ground so that the dampness cannot penetrate.

19: Guérin and Bernard--557-558 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 343, 352, 422

Across from the savage dwelling there is a granary on piles where the family provisions and treasures are stored; bouquets of rice, barley, chickweed and millet are artistically arranged; then in the coffers of a savage house you find woven materials, clothing and festal decorations, Chinese [558] scalps and money.

22: Wiedfeldt--14 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 343 Atayal

Beside most huts there is a small additional hut built on four posts, the two floors of which can be reached by a ladder. The first floor is the storage space for millet and yams; the second floor is the sleeping quarters of the grown-up daughter or son, but even the smallest hut is said to be sufficient for a couple.

31; Hofmann--625 [2] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 262, 343, 784 Tsou

The food of the natives consists chiefly of millet, rice, and Colocasiae. This is supplemented by game, deer and boars, as well as pork and chicken. The natives also eat fish, which they obtain in abundance in the many streams on the mountains. The Tsou natives are not allowed to eat fish in their homes; the reason for this taboo is not known. If they want to eat trout, they must eat in a house built for this purpose. There is an open shed with a straw roof erected on pilework in Tappan which is used on those occasions.

37: Steere--308-309 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 343, 251, 513 Chin-hoan

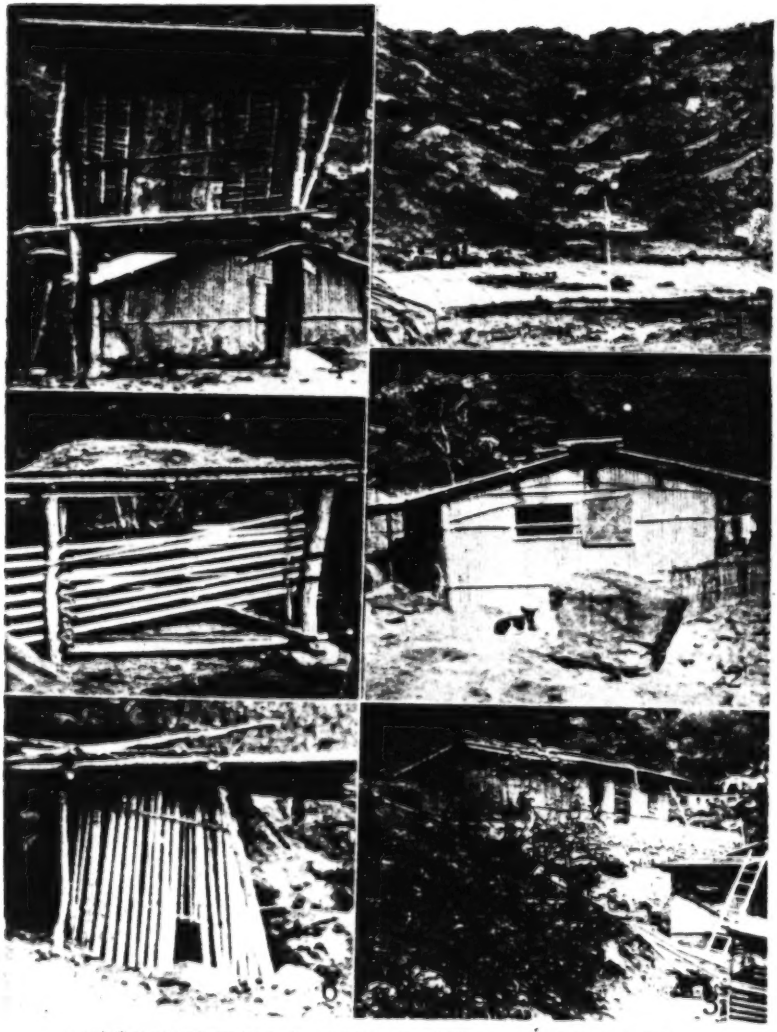
"They construct various little rat-proof granaries for storing their millet and rice. These are square, and are made of the bark of trees, and covered with grass, and raised upon four posts three or four feet above the ground. These posts are crowned with round wooden caps to keep the rats and other vermin from ascending. These little granaries are perched all about among the houses. There were in [309] the village several little huts of wattled grass, and not more than four feet square, perched upon bamboo poles twenty-five or thirty feet above ground. I inquired the use of these, but could get no other answer than that the children were sometimes put to sleep in them, perhaps connected with some superstitious custom or rite."

37: Steere--313 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 251, 226, 343 Chin-hoan

"Like the Che-whan at the north they build granaries raised upon posts crowned with flat disks of slate stone to keep squirrels and rats from climbing up. These little grass-thatched structures, apparently perched upon stilts, formed the most conspicuous part of the villages. The Kale-whan seem to do little hunting but make out to add a few small fish and shrimps to their stock of food from the stream that flows through the valley below. We saw some of the young men fishing with a curious little circular net with pockets in several places for the fish to enter. They would inclose one of the large boulders, with which the bed of the stream was filled, with the net and then pry up the stone with poles and let it drop back into its place, scaring the fish that sheltered under it out into the pockets of the net. This style of fishing did not appear to be very productive, as they had caught but two or three small fish and a few shrimps."

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

苗栗縣泰安鄉錦水村泰雅族調查館報



1. 汶水溪兩岸的泰雅族聚落；2. 第一式家房；3. 第五式家房；4. 倉庫；5. 豬圈；6. 雞舍。
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/P. 127 d (facing p. 42, Chinese text)/

7: Joest--61 [5] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 344, 882 Chin-hoan

All the unmarried Chinwan men and boys sleep in a community building. This is erected on poles several feet above the ground. Here they hang the heads of their enemies and hold festivals.

34: Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami

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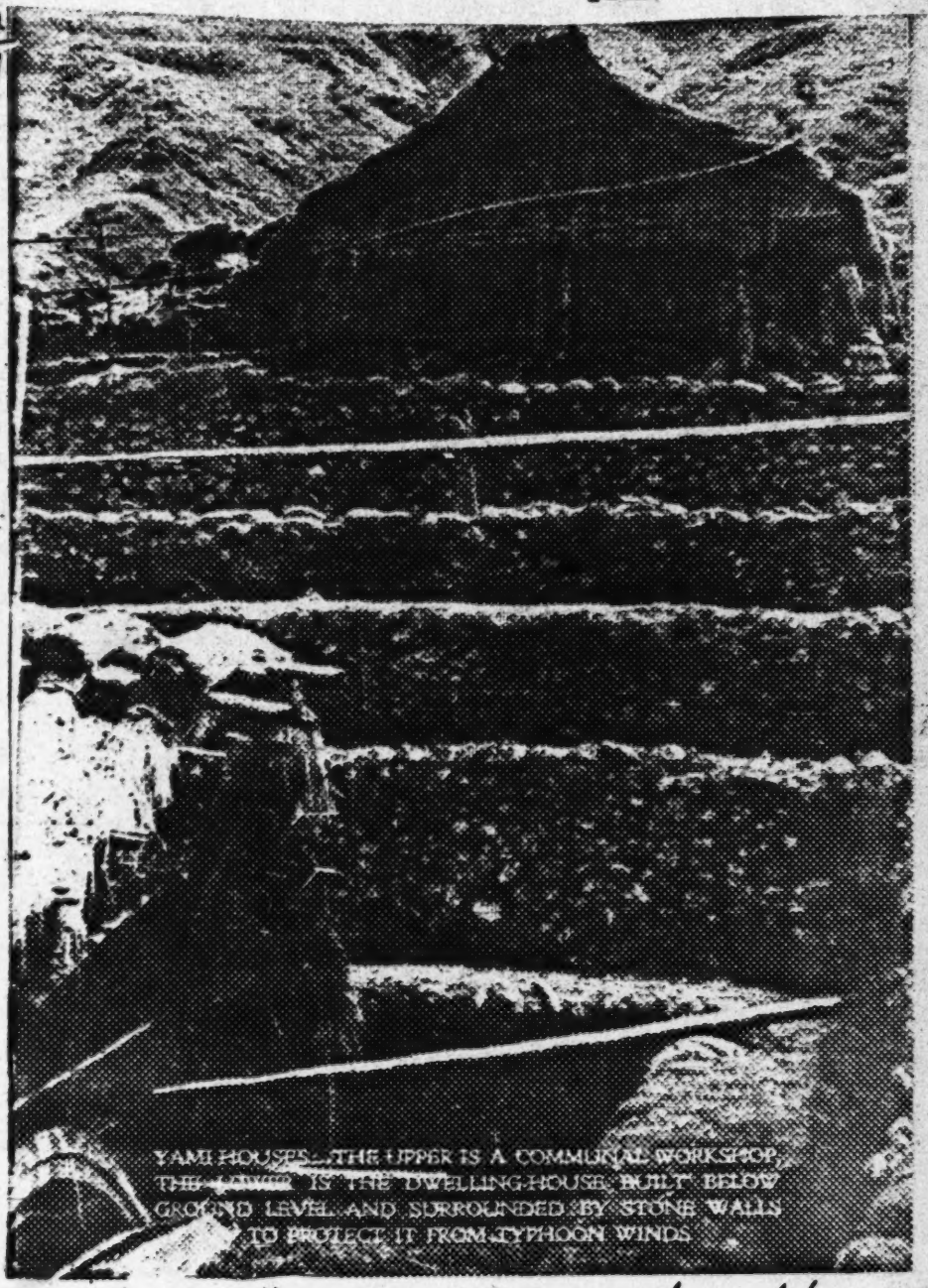

YAMI HOUSES—THE UPPER IS A COMMUNAL WORKSHOP, THE LOWER IS THE DWELLING-HOUSE, BUILT BELOW GROUND LEVEL AND SURROUNDED BY STONE WALLS TO PROTECT IT FROM TYPHOON WINDS

Yami houses: the upper is a communal workshop
the lower is the dwelling-house built below ground level
and surrounded by stone walls to protect it from typhoon wind

35: Collingwood--140-141 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 344 Sek-hoan

"It [MLB: A Kibalan building apparently intended for defense against raids by mountain savages.] was in a very unfinished state, having at present no roof, and the walls not all completed; but the loopholes in the walls of the finished sides, as well as the accounts of the natives themselves, showed for what purpose it was intended. Men were engaged in sawing wood, and doing other business of construction.

By the side of this unfinished building was piled a great [141] heap of tiles of a dark colour, and of a most rubbishy brittle character, which they had purchased of the Chinese for roofing their fort. It seemed the greater pity, inasmuch as the rocks of Sano Bay are of a slaty character, with very distinct cleavage; and, close by the village, slates might have been obtained by a little trouble and intelligence, and these would have answered the purpose better than the wretched tiles they were about to use. A herd of water-buffalos, brought home late in the afternoon, repaired to a muddy pool in front of this building, and, with their characteristic timidity and stupidity, after eyeing us curiously for some time, they took alarm at some movement of one of our party, and bolting helter-skelter out of the mud, floundered over the heap of tiles, crushing numbers of them to pieces, and all but overset some of the native huts in their mad career. Besides buffalos, they have pigs (always black), Chinese dogs, Japanese cats with short twisted tails, and fowls."

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

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[531]

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11: Haguenauer--39-40 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 349, 727, 769 Atayal

The clean skull was placed in the midst of a collection of them which the Tayal kept on a special set of shelves that was erected a little outside each village. The new addition was covered with a little roof of leaves, and offerings of millet and millet wine were placed in front of it. The village chief and the members of the expedition gathered in front of the shelves and summoned the spirit of the victim. They asked it to descend by a "spirit ladder" which was placed at one of the ends of the shelves; it consisted of a short bamboo stem to which skeins of hemp had been fastened at various intervals to serve as rungs. When the spirit had come down, they invited it to eat and drink with them. And then they requested it to be kind to them, and to invite [40] the spirits of the members of its family to come and join it. In this way the warriors ensured the success of the next expedition.

19: Guérin and Bernard--557 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 349

The aborigines have places to rest when they are hunting or traveling; they are huts which are fashioned of tree branches and ferns.

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955
AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Atayal

342

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(9) Bee hives;
(10) Drying frames.

22: Wiedfeldt--13-14 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361, 351 Atayal

Every Atayal family occupies its own hut. It is about 200 to 500 meters away from the hut of the nearest neighbor, for the Atayal, who keep no cattle, do not need to live in a compact village either to watch their herds, or for their own protection, or even for the purpose of accomplishing more easily the performance of certain joint tasks, such as the building of roads. Their huts usually are on a hillside, somewhat apart from the beaten path, but so located that the only path by which they can gain access to their homes is visible from their doors. The hut is always near running water, and is often surrounded by bamboos and other flexible trees, [14] such as the Chinese of the plain are accustomed to plant around their houses as a protection against typhoons.

24: Anonymous--91 [8] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 351, 356

The houses of the aborigines are built four or five feet above the ground; they are narrow and high, like canoes. They sprinkle and clean the ground around the house constantly so that there is never a speck of dust. Behind the house they usually plant a bamboo hedge so that there is no access to the house during the warm season.

352

352 FURNITURE--pegs, racks, shelves, and cupboards; description of furniture (e.g., chairs, tables, chests, beds, hammocks, head-rests); floor covering (e.g., mats, rugs); special uses of furniture; etc. See also:

Mat making	285	Hardware	414
Furniture manufacture	322	Bedding	513

10: Schumacher--225 [5] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 352 Chin-hoan

The dwellings of the inhabitants of the mountains are made of lattice frames and have either thatched or shingle roofs. In many instances they display a coating of mud plaster both on the inside and outside. The ground plan of every house contains three equally large rooms without window openings; they are connected by means of hanging doors. Along the rear walls raised sleeping benches are arranged in accordance with the Chinese pattern. The center room ordinarily contains a table with high chairs. Simple pottery of burnt clay can be seen standing on shelves and on the floors.

11: Haguenauer--33 [3] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 352 Atayal

The Tayal house is built of wood, and bamboo is used whenever possible; its roof is shaped like ours. The interior has just one rectangular room, and every corner contains a wattling bed with a cover.

14: Tamai-- 97[9] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 352, 721, 411, 574 Chin-hoan

Mr. Kurosaki writes in the Osaka-Asaki-Shinbun as follows: "When we arrived in Togasha we were completely drenched. The Tschinwans, according to their custom, built a fire in two places in their houses. The house in which we lived was very large. There was one bed in each of the four corners. In this house we also saw two baskets made of bamboo and filled with sugar cane, a wooden mortar, a pot which was placed on the floor, and several plates on a rack. Many braids of Chinese which had been killed hung from the walls. On one of the beds we saw three spears, three swords, and two rifles. A number of heads, bones, rifles, and hide of stags were suspended from the timber of the roof. Our host had two blankets which he very kindly offered to us.

16: Müller--231-232 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 352, 513

There is no furniture and no utensils of any kind in the interior of the aboriginal hut, since the natives use them only as a shelter from the storm and rain. There are no boards [232] on the floor. In each of the four corners there is a simple wooden compartment which serves as a bed. At night they place cloths, which they themselves have made, over these and use an ordinary cloth of the kind used for garments as a blanket.

19: Guérin and Bernard--557 [3] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 352, 353

The floor inside a savage house is well stamped down, and in each corner there is a bed (made of a bamboo framework resting on wooden feet), with a weaving box on top. In the space separating two beds there is a hearth on each side, and it is made of three stones; above it is a bamboo screen which is used to dry skins and stag horns; the weapons and hunting equipment are arranged in panoplies; and finally in one corner you see tubs, jars (water vessels), baskets of various shapes and household utensils.

19: Guérin and Bernard--557-558 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 343, 352, 422

Across from the savage dwelling there is a granary on piles where the family provisions and treasures are stored; bouquets of rice, barley, chickweed and millet are artistically arranged; then in the coffers of a savage house you find woven materials, clothing and festal decorations, Chinese [558] scalps and money.

22: Wiedfeldt--14 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 352, 356, 354 Atayal

In one or two corners [MC: of an Atayal hut] at the back there is a bamboo compartment which holds their scanty store of provisions. In the other two corners are the sleeping quarters. They consist of a mat of woven bamboo and leaves, which rests on a bamboo stand about 1 meter high as a protection against ants. There is no other furniture, and as tools there is nothing more than a weaving frame, a spindle, and a pestle for pounding millet. Recently, a few clay vessels have been added, which have been acquired by barter from the Chinese. A hole in the floor serves as a fireplace, and the smoke from it passes out through the window opening.

35: Collingwood--136 [3] D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 352 Sek-hoan

"The interior of these huts contained but little; a stone stove, and a square flat board in one corner, which did service for a bed—apparently for the whole family—appearing to constitute nearly the whole furniture. Articles employed in fishing might be seen stuck into the thatch, and a stool or two was to be found in most cottages. Besides these, a few small articles of convenience existed which could be found when required by the owner."

37: Steere--308 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 342, 352, 592 Chin-hoan

"They are good hunters, and I saw several bear's skulls among them, and many of deer and wild boar. They generally hunt in bands, and surround their game. Their houses are made by digging a little below the surface of the ground, and then building up heavy stone walls to a height of two or three feet, in which are planted upright posts, and limbs and trunks of trees are interwoven among these to the proper height, and then all is covered with grass. There are no windows, the low door serving for the entrance of light, and an outlet for smoke. One house generally serves for two families, a fire being built at each end, and a couple of low banks of bamboo that serve for seats and beds."

37: Steere--312 [3] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 352, 286, 231 Chin-hoan

"The interior of the houses was clean and paved with slate, with low stone banks running around the sides for beds and seats. These were covered with mats, and such of the family as were not in the fields were sitting upon them, the women engaged in weaving mats and an open sack that is much used by them for containing burdens to be carried on the back. Many swarms of honey bees entered through crevices in the walls to cells made for them beneath these banks, and the savages make quite an article of trade of the honey and wax. They keep a few pigs and chickens beside."

14: Tamai-- 97[7] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 353, 721, 773, 554 Chin-hoan

In every house there is a rack to hold these heads [MC: secured in headhunting expeditions against the Chinese], which are considered ornaments. There are among the Tschinwans six famous heroes. They are called Raushuu, Watsushinai, Maraiakao, Yuakanajo, Ocki, and Juwantschümoi. All of these have more than 70 heads on their racks. In three houses the Japanese found heads on these racks that had just been cut off and were still bloody.

19: Guérin and Bernard--557 [3] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 352, 353

The floor inside a savage house is well stamped down, and in each corner there is a bed (made of a bamboo framework resting on wooden feet), with a weaving box on top. In the space separating two beds there is a hearth on each side, and it is made of three stones; above it is a bamboo screen which is used to dry skins and stag horns; the weapons and hunting equipment are arranged in panoplies; and finally in one corner you see tubs, jars (water vessels), baskets of various shapes and household utensils.

7: Joest--60 [6] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 252, 323, 354 Chin-hoan

They keep a fire burning in the center of the hut day and night. Here they cook their food in clay pots which they themselves have made.

7: Joest--60 [8] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 354, 415 Chin-hoan

Instead of lamps, the Chinwans use torches made of bamboo or grass. Bamboo containers filled with water are placed along the walls.

10: Schumacher--225 [6] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 252, 354, 251 Chin-hoan

The third room [MC: of the Tschin-Huan dwelling] is almost completely dark and is used for the storage of products of the fields and the entrance section is used as a fireplace. Otherwise it is likely that meals were prepared over open fires, in earthenware pans made by the inhabitants, or iron pots that must have been introduced from the outside.

22: Wiedfeldt--14 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 352, 356, 354 Atayal

In one or two corners [MC: of an Atayal hut] at the back there is a bamboo compartment which holds their scanty store of provisions. In the other two corners are the sleeping quarters. They consist of a mat of woven bamboo and leaves, which rests on a bamboo stand about 1 meter high as a protection against ants. There is no other furniture, and as tools there is nothing more than a weaving frame, a spindle, and a pestle for pounding millet. Recently, a few clay vessels have been added, which have been acquired by barter from the Chinese. A hole in the floor serves as a fireplace, and the smoke from it passes out through the window opening.

24: Anonymous--91 [9] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 251, 262, 354, 415, 513

They have no blankets--when they sleep they cover themselves with their clothing. Nor do they have separate kitchens. Their stove consists of a rack three feet high on which they place a large pan. The members of the household stand around the pan on a stool and scoop out the liquids which are cooked in it, such as a soup made from rice or millet. Their spoons consist of an empty coconut shell. They eat dry rice with their hands. They crush rice in a mortar (ch'uang), preparing no more than is to be consumed at one time. They preserve millet, wheat, and clothing in a container made of a pumpkin shell (hu-lu-hu).

22: Wiedfeldt--14 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 352, 356, 354 Atayal

In one or two corners [MC: of an Atayal hut] at the back there is a bamboo compartment which holds their scanty store of provisions. In the other two corners are the sleeping quarters. They consist of a mat of woven bamboo and leaves, which rests on a bamboo stand about 1 meter high as a protection against ants. There is no other furniture, and as tools there is nothing more than a weaving frame, a spindle, and a pestle for pounding millet. Recently, a few clay vessels have been added, which have been acquired by barter from the Chinese. A hole in the floor serves as a fireplace, and the smoke from it passes out through the window opening.

24: Anonymous--91 [8] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 351, 356

The houses of the aborigines are built four or five feet above the ground; they are narrow and high, like canoes. They sprinkle and clean the ground around the house constantly so that there is never a speck of dust. Behind the house they usually plant a bamboo hedge so that there is no access to the house during the warm season.

7: Joest--55 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361, 628

The eastern half of the island is mountainous and covered with dense forests; the natives of the island were pushed back into this region by the Chinese. Along the coast there are several tribes who live in great poverty as fishermen. Most of the natives, however, built villages in the forests so that each tribe has its own community; these live chiefly by hunting. There are constant feuds among them.

7: Joest--60 [4] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 361 Chin-hoan

The Chinwans like to build their villages within the forest, preferably on a small hill so that they are protected from sudden attacks. They burn the trees around the settlement and the women plant rice, millet, hemp, and tobacco. Sometimes they harden pointed pieces of bamboo by holding them over a fire and placing these along the narrow paths which lead to their village.

10: Schumacher--225 [13] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 361 Chin-hoan

At first I was unable to judge from the type of settlements of the inhabitants of the mountains as to whether they were imitating the Chinese of the lowland plain, or whether their ancestors had known this type of settlement before they came to Formosa.

The great advantages which this form of settlement offers to the individual families are based on such thoughtful principles that they cannot have been discovered by people who were just turning to agriculture.

14: Tamai--95 [2] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines-12
116, 361, 175 Chin-hoan

The village of Kushaku is situated within a stretch of level land about three square kilometers in size; on three sides this plain is held in by high, steep mountains, on the fourth by the Tai-Keika River, which at the same time forms the boundary of the Tschinwan district. There are about 60 houses and over 600 inhabitants, Chinese who are natives of Formosa. The men... crossed the river in a Chinese fishing boat and reached the foot of the mountain. There they were met by a number of Tschinwans; they were wearing their short swords at their side and held rifles in their hands. They were on their way back from Kushaku, where they had bought a barrel of Sho-chin and a pig. The expedition then crossed the difficult mountain paths and reached the place where Lieutenant Okamura had left presents for the natives on February 3rd. From here a tunnel about one kilometer long, which the Tschinwans had built through the high grass, led to a large place in the valley where they found many water containers. This place is called Korehanan. Formerly the Formosans had a dyeing industry there but after bitter struggles with the Tschinwans they were killed or scattered. The Tschinwans burned all the houses and left only the containers for water. Since that time the Formosans have not dared to settle there again. Beyond this place the men again crossed a steep mountain and arrived in Tanku, where the Tschinwans had several hunting lodges. 16 Tschinwans, both men and women, were staying there. At the beginning the women seemed to be somewhat afraid of the Japanese. They went on together, however, stopping at a brook about 12 kilometers from Shin-Ten-Gai. It was raining and the troops

therefore experienced great difficulty in marching. They followed the course of the brook and crossed the steep mountain of Kremiuashuya, where there are large numbers of bears, deer, and monkeys; the hunt for these animals forms the chief occupation of the Tschinwans, and hunting lodges were seen everywhere along the brook. After they had climbed the Guane and crossed the Katsukaurio River the expedition arrived in Togasha.

14: Tamai--95 [4] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361 Chin-hoan

The name Marai designates the eight Sha, villages, of the Tschinwans. The names of these are:

1. Tagesha
2. Yukan yumui-Sha
3. Maraiakosha
4. Watanjurosha
5. Watan toyo-Sha
6. Watan taimo-Sha
7. Rhinhongan-Sha (or Watan toruku-Sha)
8. Ankiu-Sha (or Butanokan-Sha).

14: Tamai--97 [8] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361 Chin-hoan

The Japanese expedition visited Togasha for one day. All the villages except Watan-Yuro are situated along a small tributary of the Tamsui. The main village is Togasha, which has 20 houses and more than 100 inhabitants. All the soldiers were quartered in these houses.

14: Tamai--97[14] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361 Chin-hoan

According to Shiro, [MC: the Chin-hoan host of the Japanese in Togasha village] there are 200 houses in the eight Sha (villages) and 800 inhabitants.

The other Tschinwan villages besides those in the Maraisha District are:

1. Takohaura
2. Beiwai
3. Takasau
4. Tonoba
5. Kajuizan
6. Tokurai
7. Kuro
8. Miniebu in Sasan.

14: Tamai--97 [15] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361, 609 Chin-hoan

The people of the eight Sha have no communication with those of other villages; if they do come into contact with them their relations are friendly.

14: Tamai--97[16] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361, 487, 505 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwans of Maraisha inhabit a strategically favorable position; it is difficult to approach their villages from any side. The Japanese expeditionary forces found no suitable roads; what the Tschinwans consider a road to us is barely a path.

Since the mountains are steep and rocky it is difficult to build roads. The best method of transportation is to make use of the rivers.

15: U. S. Navy --27 (no date) 1944 Formosan Aborigines
116, 511, 361

"The aboriginal mountain communities can offer no real shelter for Europeans except in the Japanese police stations. The southeastern coastal aborigines have well-developed village life with extensive clearings and fields and established water supplies."

15: U. S. Navy--31 [4] (no date) 1944 Formosan Aborigines
116, 511, 342, 361, 177.16 Japanese
636.16

"The aborigines along the southeast coast (the Paiwan and Ami tribes) live in fairly well constructed wooden or stone houses, set among meager patches and fields. They live on a primitive agricultural level, supplementing their livelihood by occasional hunting and fishing. The aborigines living farther back in the mountains or along the northeastern coast live in extreme poverty, hunting and fishing and scratching the earth in small patches near their hovels, which may be thatched huts having a single opening, or bamboo and cane cabins perched on stilts. Gradually the Japanese are forcing them to leave their solitary clearings and to gather in villages on level areas where they can learn to subsist on an agricultural economy of the poorest sort."

16: Müller--229 [7] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361, 592, 619, 643

The aborigines of Formosa are a settled people and live in communities. The Atai-yal tribe is organized on the basis of nuclear families, the Vonum, Tso'o, Pyuma, and Amis tribes on the basis of composite families. Each tribe has a chief as its head. There are some tribes and federations of tribes which have two head chiefs.

16: Müller--231 [7] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361

Most of the aborigines of Formosa build their huts at a considerable distance from each other, so that one house may just be seen from another.

16: Müller--234 [4] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 361

The aborigines of Formosa cultivate millet, rice, and vegetables, but on the whole they do little work on their fields. They rely on the beneficent spirits of their ancestors to further the growth of plants, and they neither clear the fields nor fertilize them. If the soil ceases to be fertile, they leave their land and settle somewhere else. They have no agricultural implements save a hoe with a short shaft. Added to this is the poor soil in most regions, the steep mountains, and the rocky ground, so that the total agricultural produce is lamentably small.

18: Kakyo--67 [6] E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 341,361

The Formosan aborigines have fixed residences....
They use stone and wood for building houses.

19: Guérin and Bernard--551 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361, 826

All of these clans [MC: of northern Formosa in the district around Mt. Sylvia] have property along a water-course. The Tapéhan have a brook, and the Katasièk a river which empties into the eastern sea. The water-course which has watered the Taoussai territory has its mouth in the Taioukou region. A large river traverses the country of the Kaiaou, the Sélamaou, Mouiaou and Menibo, and then ends near Sau-o-bay. The Tangav have the Manka river at its source, the Takassan, the Kakaougan, the Kéoui and the Takoham each have one of the tributaries of this same river.

The most populous of these tribes are the Takoham, Menibo, Mouiaou, Taoussai and the Taioukou.

The Menibo are reputed to be thieves. The Taoussai have goitres, so they are an object of horror to the other tribes.

19: Guérin and Bernard--557 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 341, 361

The houses are carefully built, but they are arranged in a manner which looks more like a hamlet than a village. Enormous piles of offal show that you are approaching the settlement, and then you come into a vast clearing which is surrounded on all sides by the forest. The dwellings are perched on the slopes of the hills, and there is a good deal of space between them; they are rectangular or square (circular and with a conical roof in the south). The walls are made of planks which are poorly squared, and the roof is bamboo, covered with thatch; they have doors and windows.

20: Alvarez--255-256 (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 361, 166, 241

"The Amis, Pyuma and several other branches have been influenced by owing [sic] and assimilated to their Chinese neighbours, [MC: owing] to the close and permanent contact with the invading race. They pursue some agriculture and have also a [256] little home industry, while others, especially the Atayal, seem to be averse to any kind of manual labor. The latter are hunting tribes. Of course, there are some of them engaged in agricultural work; yet, generally, they prefer to walk about the vast forests in search of game, honey and so forth. Authors of the past century asserted, incorrectly however, that the aboriginal inhabitants of Formosa had but temporary shelters, for they were always wandering abouth [sic] the woods. There were, undoubtedly, transmigrations since the arrival of the Chinese in 1683. It is for instance, almost sure that the ancestors of the Amis, Pyuma, Paiwan, Atayal and Tsalisen had been driven out from their primitive home by the Chinese. But nomads, in the strict sense of the word, we think have never existed in the island."

21: Asai--2 [5] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361

"The people live in villages consisting of from 10 to sometimes 200 houses. At present, all the tribes, excepting the Yami (?) tribe, live on the hills at about 1,000 feet above sea level. This is a malaria free area. In the Atayal and Bunun areas are isolated communities, each house standing alone without depending on neighbors. In other areas, the houses are in clusters."

21: Asai--6 [6] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 173, 361

"They move their villages often. Many old sites have been found through excavations, and the oral traditions of the tribes have been studied."

22: Wiedfeldt--13-14 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361, 351 Atayal

Every Atayal family occupies its own hut. It is about 200 to 500 meters away from the hut of the nearest neighbor, for the Atayal, who keep no cattle, do not need to live in a compact village either to watch their herds, or for their own protection, or even for the purpose of accomplishing more easily the performance of certain joint tasks, such as the building of roads. Their huts usually are on a hillside, somewhat apart from the beaten path, but so located that the only path by which they can gain access to their homes is visible from their doors. The hut is always near running water, and is often surrounded by bamboos and other flexible trees, [14] such as the Chinese of the plain are accustomed to plant around their houses as a protection against typhoons.

31: Hofmann--609 [2] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 137, 361

From the boundary, [EJ: separating the territory held by the aborigines from that held by the Japanese.] a fairly safe point of observation, I had a view of the mountains and the many deep chasms where the aborigines had their dwellings. There the inclines are covered with dense forests consisting almost altogether of leafy trees... Here and there the silvery leaves of the large camphor trees could be clearly distinguished among the green of the rest of the forest. A few of the houses of the natives could also be seen in the distance...

31; Hofmann--619 [2] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 361, 513, 622 Tsou

When I entered the first village, Teboro, I was received by the chief and treated with great respect; the village is enclosed by a low stone wall, as is each of the houses in the village. The huts are oval in shape; they are made of rough stones taken from rivers and brooks. They are barely 1 1/2 meters high; the ratio between the length and width is 4 to 1. The post which supports the roof consists of a tree trunk which has not been shaped in any way; the roof itself consists of reeds. There is one, or at most two openings without a door; these are on the narrow sides of the house and serve both to give light and to admit air. The hut of the chieftain is somewhat larger. There are niches in the walls which serve as sleeping quarters; the natives sleep on clay which has been beaten flat, while the chieftain sleeps on a bamboo support which is in the center of the hut. The clay floor of the house I visited had been cleaned, but I do not know whether this is always the case.

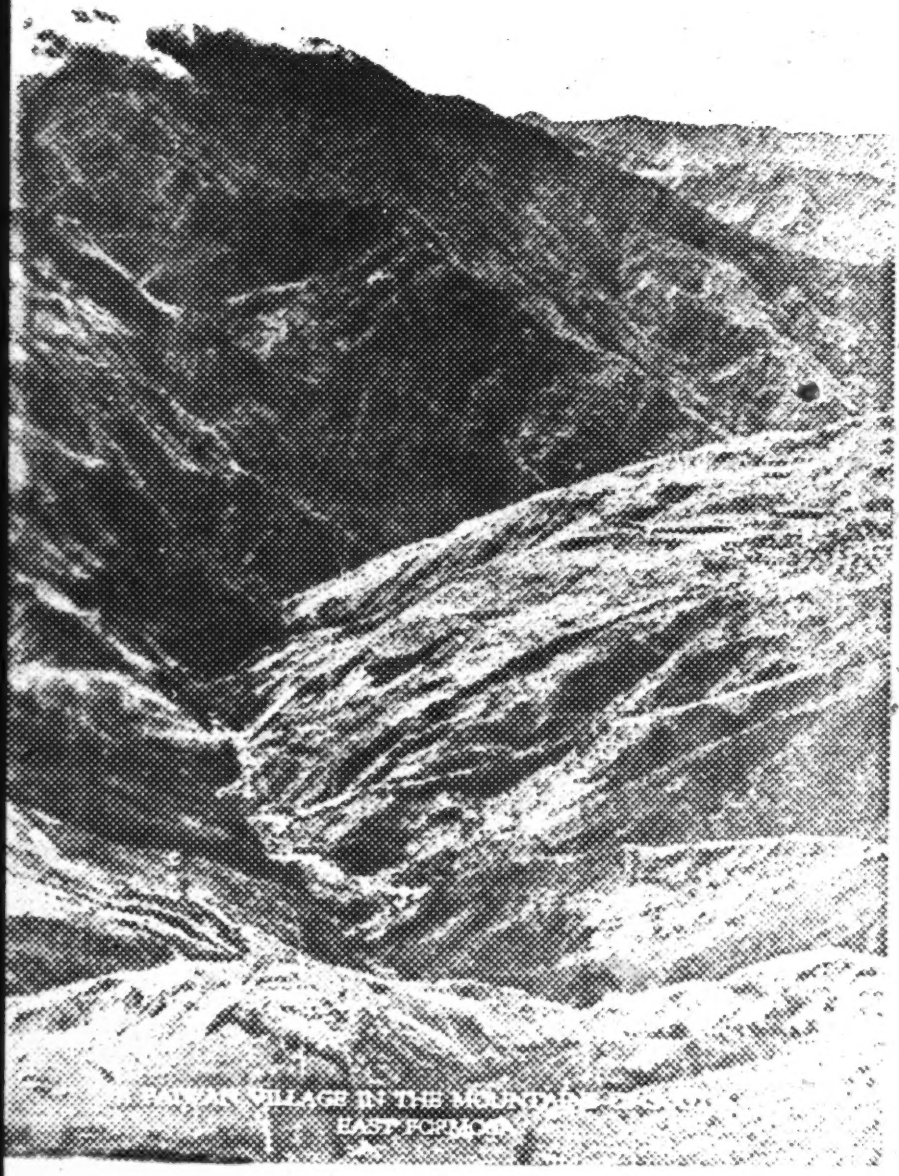
34: Del Re--24-27 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 133, 361, 504, 342, 491 Yami

"A small steamship calls at the island once every ten days, weather permitting. As the sea is frequently rough and Botel-Tobago is surrounded by dangerous breakers, the ship anchors some distance out and passengers and cargo are transferred to land on a catamaran made out of heavy bamboo trunks lashed together. Apart from a small rest-house, police headquarters and the policemen's houses, all the rest are native buildings. The walls of these houses are built of large pebbles piled upon each other without mortar and covered with thatched roofs held down by large stones to prevent them being torn off by the wind. As this blows strongly practically all the year round, the houses are mainly constructed well below the level of the ground and protected by high stone walls over which only the roofs can be seen. The villages are scattered over the island, generally on the foreshore, but a few shacks and storehouses--covered with bamboo and branches of several varieties of trees--are found on the cultivated uplands and in the hills which rise steeply from the shore except where the coast forms a few open bays. During the twenties a good road was built round the island making it possible for the villagers to communicate with each other by cart or bycicle [sic]--a recent and much [pages 25 and 26 contain illustrations] [27] appreciated novelty."

34: Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines

Paiwan

133
361



A Paiwan village in the mountains of Southeast Formosa

51

35: Collingwood--136 [2] D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 361, 609 Sek-hoan

"The following morning we landed on the southern side of the bay, where we were to find the native village, of which no trace however was visible from the ship. We were met upon the beach by a number of men and women, who were in no respect, either of dress or feature, similar to the Chinese, and along with them, after the first expressions of surprise and curiosity, we entered the village. This is rudely walled, the entrance being through doors at either side, by which we passed into an assemblage of huts constructed chiefly of grass and bamboos. The grass is woven into a kind of trellis or mat, which is placed against the sides, while the chief part of the walls is constructed of upright sticks, the interstices being imperfectly plastered with mud to keep out the weather. The door is of bamboo, and fixed upon a rude hinge, the lower part revolving sometimes upon the bottom of an earthern cup, to give freedom of motion. The roof is a thick thatch of grass and herbs (in which a species of Turk's-cap lily is largely used), and is supported by bamboos irregularly disposed among it. At one end is often an overhanging shed, containing a supply of firewood, of which there is everywhere abundance."

40: Kirk--15 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 166, 311, 361, 657, 177.36 Japanese

"The government of Formosa, as a part of ko-min-ka, has adopted a policy of removing the aborigines from their remote mountain homes to small parcels of land on the plains where they can be more easily watched and where they may acquire some skill as tillers of the soil. The agricultural possibilities of the lowlands include rice fields, livestock, sericulture, and sugar cane. Not infrequently, when the authorities have tried to pull a village up by the roots and transplant it at the foot of the mountain, the natives have openly rebelled against their rulers. But the soldiers quickly subdue the ringleaders and continue their policy of 'removals' according to schedule. The government errects huts on the plains, rent free, for the mountain families and prepares rice fields and vegetable plots, which are also free from tax. Free medical care is provided."

"Naturally enough, the tribes living farthest up in the high mountains are most resistant to change. The Atayal, the Bunun, and the Paiwan, for example, will continue to annoy their Japanese rulers for some time to come. The Atayal huddle together in colonies and are most difficult to move; the Bunun live apart from one another in the mountains and are more easily moved to the foothills, where small villages are ready to receive these involuntary migrants. (4)

4. Interview with T. Soda, Professor of Public Health, Taihoku Imperial University.

In the course of a few years the old culture of the Formosan primitive will probably be only a memory, for the Japanese will have pushed their policy of ko-min-ka far into the high mountains. Fortunately, several scholars of the Imperial University have done extensive research in the origin, history, and customs of the aborigines, and these men are trying to preserve for future generations a true picture of native Formosan culture as it was before the coming of Chinese and Japanese."

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

INVESTIGATION OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CHALA'ABUS PAIWAN, PINGTUNG HSIEN

WEI HWEI-LIN
Translated by CHEN CHI-LU

This is a preliminary report of the field-works among the Chala'abus Paiwan of Pingtung Hsien. Members who participated were Messrs. Ho Ting-jui, Tang Mei-chun, Huang Hsün-ch'eng and the present writer.

Chala'abus village was chosen because: it is one of the important and old tribes of the Central Paiwan, and, is the center of the Chimo racial group of the Paiwan. We have noted after the field-session that the village had other significances: (1) The village consisted of twelve aristocratic households whether of the Chimo or of the Paiwan groups. The village organization was thus rather complicated in structure. (2) The dwelling houses and their arrangement had been well preserved in their original form. (3) Old traits in material culture, such as stone-engraving, wood-carving, designed weaving, and embroidery, had been also well kept. (4) The ethnic character is rather conservative. They have been comparatively less influenced by the Japanese and the Chinese as compared to the other groups of the tribe.

Because of the limitation of time and investigators, we emphasized tribal organization and chieftanship of the village. Our field-work was undertaken from Feb. 1 to 15. Because of the complexity of the culture, the investigation is by no means a complete one.

SETTLEMENT TYPE AND DUAL ORGANIZATION

Chala'abus village is situated on the south-eastern slope of Mt. Nan-ta-wu and stands on the northern bank of the Lai-i River or the Upper Lin-pien River. The population of Chala'abus village was 158 households and 948 persons at the time of our investigation. With the Exception of 12 households who had moved to Chinasan which lies between the village site and the plain below it and formed a separate hamlet by themselves, all the other 146 households were concentrated on the two adjacent fan-shaped slopes which in the present report are referred to as the village site. The village of Chala'abus hence consisted of two parts: the south and the north-parts. Each of them occupied a fan-shaped slope. The south-part was called Chinimoan or "the living land of the Chimo", and the north-part Pinaiwanan or "the living land of the Paiwan". The village site was on a slope of 30 degree to 45 degree inclination, with the width north to south 80 M., and length east to west 100 M. Dwelling houses, including floors and roofs, were built of slate. All these houses had small front yards paved with slate. A continuous row of houses of the same level had their yards adjacent on the same level; but communication between two rows of houses was by means of narrow stair-ways, because the front yards of houses in the rear row were always on a level with the roofs of the front houses. The village is thus in a terrace form. Chinimo[illegible] consisted of eight terraces, and Pinaiwanan ten. Each terrace had a row

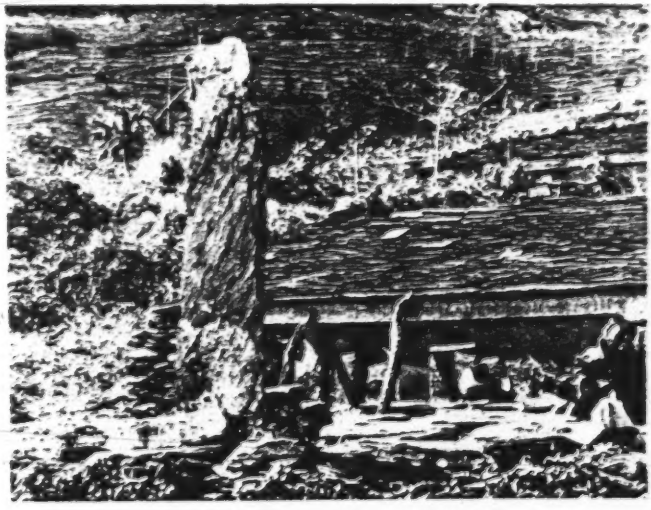
49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

of five to twelve houses. Chinimoan had 55 houses and Pinaiwanan 101. The cultivated fields around the village were possessed by the aristocratic households (*ssam na mamatsayiran*) of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. By annexing and transition of these fields, their state of possession had become rather complicated. The distribution of aristocratic households had also become rather complicated too. The village had 12 aristocratic households, 9 of them belonged to the Chimo. Among them was the *ruvaniau* household which was of the highest rank. The *ruvaniau* also in charge of the *satsilapan* household which was saved as a village temple in time of our investigation. These two households were both situated on the upper part of Chinimoan. The other 8 Chimo aristocratic households were equally distributed in the two hamlets. The *tfaluŋi*, the *matsiliat*, the *gumul*, and the *voto* were in Chinimoan, while the south *tfalas*, the north *tfalas*, the *tarapatea*, and the *tfalusaŋiu* were in Pinaiwanan. Two of the Paiwan aristocratic households, the *lusiguan* and the *alifulan* were in *Pinaiwanan*, and the *atsinajan* was in southeast end of Chinimoan. From the distribution of those households, therefore, we may say that the significance of the distinction of Chinimoan and Pinaiwanan has been lost. But by their possession of hunting grounds (*aluliapan*), the existence of dual organization in the early days has been revealed. The village had 6 localities of hunting grounds, two lay south and east of the village, *pasulaval* and *vuit*, and belonged to the Chimo chiefs, four lay in west and north and belonged to the Paiwan chiefs. At the time of investigation, *alulialiav* and *pasulaots* belonged to the *lusiguan* household; *patsavatsavan*, south *tfalas*; *pasupaots*, north *tfalas*. The latter two may have been annexed by the Chimo. The fishing grounds were similar in condition to hunting grounds. The Lai-i River (or the *pasulaval* river as it is called by the natives) was the fishing grounds of the Chimo. Most of the lower part belonged to the *atsinajan*, *lusiguan*, north *tfalas*, *gumul*, *tara'atea* and the south *tfalas* respectively. The tributary of the Lai-i River, which is called *pasuivelin* by the natives, was originally the fishing grounds of the Paiwan but it was then divided into two parts and is owned by the *atsinajan* and the north *tfalas*. The Chimo though they predominated over the Paiwan in hunting grounds, and equalled the Paiwan in fishing grounds, had less influence on aspects of religious and ritual. *Para'aree*, the priest of the most important religion rite *malɔvo*, the five-years-feast, was a member of the *atsinajan* household of the Paiwan. The ceremonies of *malɔvo* was initiated in the *lusiguan* and *atsinajan* of the Paiwan and then performed in Chimo households. Two of the three *puliŋao* or priestesses who sang songs for inviting gods were Paiwan. But the *pusao* or the six-years-feast was performed by the Chimo priest and priestesses. The *para'aree* and *puliŋao* of these two groups have acquired their techniques from their own group. This teaching had been kept secret from each other.

By the above mentioned facts, we may assume that the Paiwan are the natives and the Chimo came later. The Chimo though predominated over the Paiwan in economic and political power, but the Paiwan have maintained their position in religious life.

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

1. 來義村 Pinaiwanan 作村之大部及 Chinimoan 作村之一角 (凌純聲攝)
Scene of Chala'abus Village, Pingtung Hsien

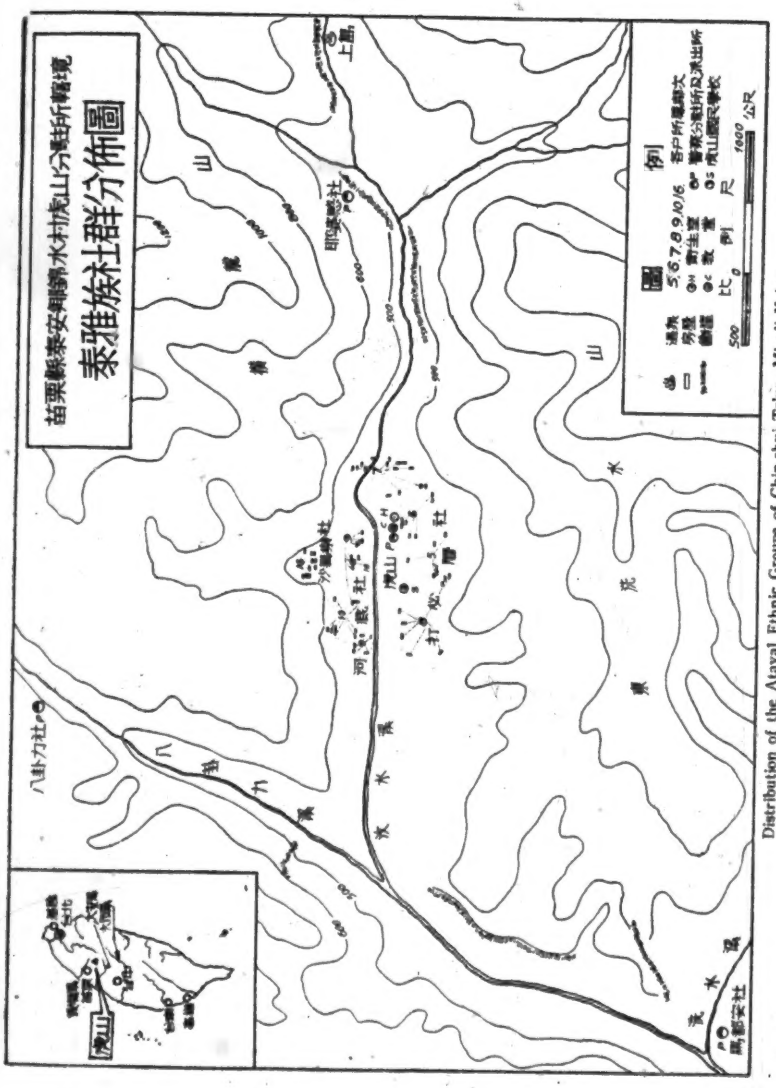


2. 來義村大頭目之宗家與祖先石柱 (何廷瑞攝)
The prime house of the *aruramay* and ancestral pillar, Chala'abus Village, Pingtung Hsien

/P. 112 a (facing p. 22, Chinese text)/

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Atayal

● 361
101



Distribution of the Atayal Ethnic Groups of Chin-shui Ts'un, Miaoli Hsien

/P. 127 b (facing p. 30, Chinese text)/

51: Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

different localities, so that their cultures, though similar, are not uniform. The native tribes also differ considerably in the degree to which they have been acculturated and in the type of culture change that has taken place.

The Ami

The Ami live in the Taitung Rift Valley, which runs in approximately a north-south direction for 150 kilometres along the east coast of Formosa. Some Ami live on the east coast proper. The Ami tribe is the largest on Formosa. They are divided into five groups by dialect and cultural differences. The number of households and population of each group, based on the census of 1937, are as follows:

Group	No. of households	Population
Pei-nan	859	9546
Heng-ch'un	461	4403
Hai-an	1159	11760
Hsiu-ku-luan	2008	15861
Nan-shih	1713	8436
Total	6200	50006

The chief traits of the Ami are intensive agriculture and fishing; pile dwellings; paddle-and-anvil pottery; long wooden shields; feather headdresses; clans[1]; matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence; classificatory or Malayan kinship terminology; parent-child nymic linkage; and age-grades.

Tavarong is a town of 5,000 population situated in the central part of the Taitung Rift Valley, in Hualien Hsien. It belongs to the Hsiu-ku-luan group and is regarded by the Ami themselves as the oldest settlement in the whole Ami area. About one per cent of the Tavarong townsmen are Christians; the rest hold to their native religion.

Gods, spirits, and souls

The Ami term for gods, which include also spirits and souls, is *kawas*. The Tavarong Ami believe in two kinds of *kawas*. The first kind, which may be considered natural gods, include *maratau*, *tšidar*, *borar*], and others. *maratau* is a male tutolary deity who resides in heaven. According to informant Maran-Namo?, *maratau* is the god of "politics and strength". In former days, when the Ami were at war with their neighbors, the Atayal, they prayed to *maratau* for protection[2]. *tšidar* is the female sun goddess, and *borar*] the male moon god. The sun goddess is held to be more powerful than the moon god. Maran-Namo? while explaining the designs on the houseposts of the house of the *kakita:n* (priest), stated that *tšidar* is the almighty deity and holds the supreme position over

1. Utsurikawa [1935] reported about 55 clan names for the Ami, but he gave no clan names north of the Vataan, Tavarong, and Karuran areas.
2. According to Furuno [1954:3-42], *maratau* is connected with headhunting and is the god of crops and game, as well as being the war god.

16: Müller--235 [7] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 372, 178

For firemaking the natives for the most part use firestone, but they also have matches which they obtain through barter. The aborigines on Botel Tobago obtain fire by rubbing two sticks of wood together. This method was used on the main island in former times and among the Tsarisen and Vonum tribes is still employed today for certain religious festivals, especially for lighting the sacred flame. Many of the Tsarisen and Paiwan aborigines also use a fire drill.

18: Kakyo--67 [3] E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 372

They strike fire from stone.

22: Wiedfeldt--9-10 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 372 Atayal

They now make a fire with flint and steel, which they get from the Chinese, but in isolated cases they are already using Japanese matches. It is said that in the interior they still make a fire by rubbing two sticks together, which was said to be the only method used by the border tribes also up to two decades ago. The legends and customs with which the peoples of colder countries invest the obtaining and keeping of the fire which is such a vital necessity in their lives are unknown to the Atayals. They are also unacquainted with conflagrations, for after preparing a meal, they put out the fire, inasmuch as they do not need it to heat their dwellings. Moreover, the fire would find little to feed on [10] in the luxuriant foliage surrounding it and in view of the high degree of humidity.

22: Wiedfeldt--33 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 412, 241, 372 Atayal

If man, as Franklin says, is an animal that makes tools, then the Atayals, with the implements and weapons that have been enumerated, are well past that boundary, although they lack hoes, fishing-rods, and all kinds of metal tools. They have mastered fire, and they can clear the land for planting by using fire.

14: Tamai--96 [13] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 386 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwan men tattoo their face with a dotted line extending from the top of the head to the bridge of the nose and from the lower lip to the chin. The women have only the line on the forehead; on the lower part of the face the design consists of horizontal lines. The dye used for tattooing is indigo.

21: Asai--3 [2] - L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 226, 396, 476 Yami

"Among the Yami there is a fishing league. (The Yami live between Formosa and the Philippines on a very small island.) The Yami live on fishing—not much agriculture. They are very skillful in constructing boats. There are one-man, two-men, and the largest are 10-men boats. In the construction of 10-men boats, 10 members are necessary. They form a union. Sometimes it takes more than a year to build a 10-men boat. The men who have built the boat always fish in that boat and always together. The fish is divided among them. Such groups are voluntary rather than hereditary."

34: Del Re--23 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan-Aborigines
116, 625, 437, 178, 415, 396, 531 Yami

"Besides acting as schoolmasters and, when necessary, as doctors, the police control (as in the case of other tribes) the exchange of local products against implements imported from Formosa, which are replacing the primitive stone and shell ones used for cultivating the land, or for working wood out of which they make their domestic utensils, some of which are very handsomely carved. The Yami are particularly skilful in building canoes, no less graceful than swift and seaworthy, decorated with elaborate designs and painted sometimes in red, white and black."

10: Schumacher--226 [6] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 531, 285 Chin-hoan

A European had a good deal to tell from the time he spent in the mountains of Formosa. He mentioned fine matting, surprisingly beautiful carved work, gold ingots, and poisoned arrows.

11: Haguenauer--39 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 281, 411, 531, 727 Atayal

Meanwhile, [MC: during the ceremonies following a successful headhunting expedition] the head had been boiled, and the skin of the scalp and hair were removed. These were not discarded, for they became the property of the successful hunter, and he decorated his weapons with them.

14: Tamai--96 [10] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 293, 411 Chin-hoan

All the Tschinwan men carry a knife, a rifle, and bow and arrows wherever they go.

14: Tamai--96 [18] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 293, 411, 858 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwan men always wear a sword on their left side, even when they are indoors. When they go hunting or are going away for another reason they also carry a rifle. Boys start to wear their sword when they are seven or eight years old.

14: Tamai-- 97[9] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 352, 721, 411, 574 Chin-hoan

Mr. Kurosaki writes in the Osaka-Asaki-Shinbun as follows: "When we arrived in Togasha we were completely drenched. The Tschinwans, according to their custom, built a fire in two places in their houses. The house in which we lived was very large. There was one bed in each of the four corners. In this house we also saw two baskets made of bamboo and filled with sugar cane, a wooden mortar, a pot which was placed on the floor, and several plates on a rack. Many braids of Chinese which had been killed hung from the walls. On one of the beds we saw three spears, three swords, and two rifles. A number of heads, bones, rifles, and hide of stags were suspended from the timber of the roof. Our host had two blankets which he very kindly offered to us.

16: Müller--233 [7] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 437

Firearms consist chiefly of Mauser rifles or modern hand arms which they obtain through barter from the Chinese. They take off everything that tends to make the rifle heavy, sometimes even the sight. They also get gunpowder and ammunition from the Chinese. Guns with matchlocks, which formerly were used by everyone, today are hardly used at all.

16: Müller--233-234 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411

Spears are used for bear-hunting, chiefly in the central and southern regions. [234] They get the iron spearheads from the Chinese.

16: Müller--234 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411

Sometimes the natives still use bows and arrows in battles, but in the north they use them only to hunt birds. They often use poisoned arrowheads.

7: Joest--59 [4] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 411, 531 Chin-hoan

The weapons of the Chinwans consist of bows and arrows and of a spear 10' to 12' long; the latter is made of oak or ash wood and the spearhead consists of a small Chinese knife attached with a piece of string. Chinese rifles with matchlocks have now taken the place of these spears for the most part. These are six feet long and are made of an iron cylinder. The shaft is long, narrow, and crooked; they draw designs on it for ornament. The matchlock is inserted into the cock. Every warrior carried a second matchlock which is wrapped around the wrist of the left hand. They carry their powder in a horn which hangs from a string of beads around their neck, and the cartridge box is usually attached to their belt.

These rifles do not often hit their mark. From what I have seen I would say that the natives cannot hit the target if it is further than five or six feet away; every time they shoot, the rifles hit their cheek so that they bleed. They carry paper plugs in a special case. In their belt they wear a Chinese knife on which ornaments have been drawn.

16: Müller--234 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 293

Swords exist in all sizes and shapes, and there are some with curved blades. They make only the sheaths themselves; one side consists of wood, the other of wiring. They often suspend the hair of humans or bears from the point of the sheath; on most swords there are grooves to mark the number of heads which have been cut off with that sword. The sword is the constant companion of the aborigines of Formosa; they wear it on a string around the waist, and it serves as an ornament as well as a weapon.

18: Kakyo--68 [2] E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 411

They no longer shoot exclusively with bows and arrows, but already know the use of firearms.

19: Guérin and Bernard--555 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 411, 714

The apparatus for fighting or hunting is more dignified; it consists of a bread knife, whose sheath is of wood which has been painted red, and this is slipped through the belt; there is a long gun with a fuse, and in front of it two or three powder-horns are suspended from strings of false pearls; in back the man carries a coat which is folded into the net, a bag for balls, a parchment case containing eight powder charges in eight bamboo holders; then around his wrist is a cord, a lighter with a fire-stone, and some banana marrow instead of a tinder; sometimes the hunter has a bow, and in that case he always uses it with consummate skill.

22: Wiedfeldt--14-15 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 177, 224, 721 Atayal

Each Atayal makes his bows [15] out of the flexible wood of the Katsura. He makes his arrows out of bamboo reed. Nowadays most of them have metal tips, which he gets from the Chinese, but formerly they had nothing but wooden tips which had been hardened by fire. He still uses arrows with three wooden tips for shooting birds and as fire-bolts, the destructive effects of which on Japanese houses were demonstrated by the last Schimptonoff war. He also makes himself a spear two meters long, with a tip of wood, antelope horn, or recently of metal forged for this purpose by the Chinese in Amoy. Shields and helmets are unknown. Instead of them, one always carries a net which he has woven himself of ramie, for the purpose of carrying home the game which he has captured or the skulls he has taken.

Presumably within the last generation, they have acquired a knife, which is 40 cm. long, from the Chinese. Every Atayal carves and decorates the handle for this knife himself. His most important and most cherished weapon is the gun, which he has been getting for one or two decades from the Chinese and Japanese, and which he is continuing to get even now, despite the law which forbids the importation of guns. At least, I have seen at the sentinels' posts modern guns which were taken from Atayals by the Aiyu guards. Most of the guns, to be sure, are old-breech-loaders, or even muzzle-loaders, which might conceivably be dangerous to the person shooting. There is said to be a scarcity of bullets. An Atayal living in the interior is said to have learned how to pour bullets from the Chinese, but can not satisfy the demand.

24: Anonymous--92 U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 221, 411

The spears of the aborigines are more than five feet long. They can hit a target from a distance of a hundred paces without error. Their bows are made of bamboo, the string of hemp; the arrows are long and pointed, but they have no feathers. Those who work in the fields consider the last day of the harvest as the end of the year.

26: Honda--471[2] N-3 (1896) 1897 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 411, 883 Bunun

In the village of Namaka I observed one extraordinarily large house occupying an area of about 140 square meters. It was the community sleeping-house for all unmarried men. The interior has a floor of bamboos. A fireplace is found in the center. There are no partition walls to mark off rooms. The house is open on two sides and on the remaining two the roof slopes down quite low and provides some protection against bad weather. As many as 85 skulls, all of the Chinese, were suspended from the ceiling. All of the men of the village were armed with daggers approximately 40 centimeters long.

31: Hofmann--623 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 261, 411 Tsou

Although the natives consume great quantities of food and drink at banquets, they are able to go without food for days. When they are hunting, they often lie in wait for a whole day and night; they shoot the game only when they are very close. They are therefore not very good marksmen; they get their guns, which are not of a very good quality, from the Chinese. Since powder is difficult to get they are forced to use it sparingly. They do not hunt for beasts of prey such as bears (Ursus malayanus), leopards, wild cats, etc., and they seldom shoot birds.

31: Hofmann--626 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411 Tsou

All the natives carry a sharp knife (this is imported from China, since the natives themselves are still in the paleolithic age and have no wrought metals) at all times. Whenever they stop on a longer march, they take out the knife and whet it on a sandstone.

34: Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami

YAMI TRIBESMEN. NOTE BASKETWORK FISHING-HELMETS WORN ON SPECIAL OCCASIONS AND BAMBOO SPEARS

212/411

36: Dodd--74 U-2 1865 (1885) Formosan Aborigines
116, 293, 411

"Every man [MLB: of the northern tribes] who possesses a gun (pâhtûs) wears round his neck curious-looking priming-flasks full of powder, and over his shoulder, or round his waist, an oblong-shaped case, made of skin, often containing several cylindrical-shaped wooden receptacles full of powder. He has generally about him a small bag containing shot and long iron projectiles almost the size of the little finger, which are slipped down the muzzle of the long-barrelled matchlock on top of the powder without any wad between. Matchlocks, however, are not very common in the interior, and even the border tribes are only scantily furnished with them. The majority of the men are armed with bows and arrows, with which they make good practice at stationary objects. Bowmen wear round their waists a deer skin strap, or arrow-belt, and not a man is without a long knife called lalāo. Another common appendage is a bag made either of hempen cloth or skin, about four or five inches broad and nine or ten inches long, in which they place dried tobacco leaves."

36: Dodd--76-77 U-2 1865 (1885) Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 531

[MLB: The author is discussing the knives used by the northern tribes.] "The blade of the lalāo is about a foot and a half long and is always kept sharp. It is set in a haft of wood, which is usually adorned in the same way as their pipes, with carvings and pieces of metal. The blade is protected by a sheath of wood on one side and an open wire work guard on the other. At the end of this scabbard is often fixed part of the tail of a Chinaman, or other enemy, who has fallen a victim in some border war or on some head-hunting expedition. The lalāo is a most necessary article to possess, for with it they cut their way through the jungle and thick undergrowth, with it they give the death-blow to the game they hunt; they use it in dividing the animals they kill, they eat with it as sailors do with their knives, they cut and split firewood with it, and last of all they cut off the heads of their enemies with this most useful implement. The blades are made by Chinese and are obtained by the savages in barter for deer's horns, &c.; often they are taken from the bodies of Chinese killed by them [77] in their numerous encounters with their would-be exterminators."

37: Steere--306 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 181, 224, 411, 226 Sek-hoan

"They are great lovers of hunting and fishing, and are very skillful in making snares for deer and other kinds of game. They generally hunt and fish in large bands, for the sake of protection from the savages, from whom they are always liable to attack. They frequently surround a space of country and drive the deer and other game through a ravine or some other place, when they are easily shot. They use fire-locks quite generally for defense and for hunting, though some of the poorer ones still carry bows and arrows, and many go to their fields or from one village to another armed with lances. They have a curious but very effectual way of fishing the shallow streams that flow through their country, this by damming them and turning the water to one side of the channel, leaving most of the bed of the stream dry, and the fish and shrimps in little pools and under rocks, where they are easily captured."

37: Steere--308 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 293, 411, 554, 721, 266 Chin-hoan

"The arms of these savages consist of a few fire-locks procured of the Chinese, and used principally in hunting, and lances and large knives used in hunting Chinese heads. They decorate these weapons with tresses of Chinese hair, and when upon the hunt for Chinese, carry highly ornamented red bags for carrying home the captured heads. They make regular expeditions every year down to the border land, where they lie in wait for the Chinese who come into the forest after rattan, bamboo shoots, etc. Human heads have a recognized value among them, and a man's importance depends upon the number of heads he has taken. The base of the skull is cut off, and the brain extracted, and the head then thoroughly dried, the teeth being generally knocked out--to make necklaces. We saw twenty-four of these skulls upon one small platform, and apparently the property of one man. I could find no proof that they are cannibals, though this charge is frequently laid to them. They may drink the blood of their enemies, as I saw the Lek-whan drinking warm deer's blood, but the bodies of the Chinese killed by them are generally left lying where they fell."

37: Steere--310 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 304, 411, 226, 501 Chin-hoan

"The dress of the men is a hunting shirt made of deer or monkey skins, that does not protect the arms nor legs. The women wear a sort of tunic of Chinese cloth, and protect the fore-part of the leg with a sort of close-fitting gaiter from the thorns and spines with which the forest is filled. They do not tattoo, but have a custom of knocking out the eye-teeth of the boys, so that they reminded me of squirrels. They are not warlike, but use rude bows and arrows for hunting and protection when they are too poor to get firelocks. They are great hunters, and large strings of monkeys' and bears' skulls hung about their dwellings. I saw them fishing with small dip-nets among the pond-lily roots and leaves, and catching a species of cat-fish (Silurus). They also fish with rude spears. They use, in navigating the lake, huge hollowed trunks of camphor trees, that look as if they may have been in use a hundred years. They are very awkward and heavy, and appear to have been hollowed with fire. They are open at both ends, the water being kept out with earth and sods."

37: Steere--312 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 302, 326, 411 Chin-hoan

"The hair of the men was allowed to grow long on the back of the head, but was cut square across the forehead, above the eyes. The women do not tattoo the face, but tattoo three bands across the back of the hands, with crosses over the knuckles, and two lines down the back of the lower joint of the fingers. The men tattoo the inside of the arms in bands that run to the shoulders and cross the breast. Tattooing among the men did not appear to be general, and may be confined to the chiefs and head men. They are armed with bows and arrows, firelocks and lances, though the latter weapons were the most common, being in the hands of every one. I saw a very heavy, rude gun-barrel, said to have been forged by them, and there was a hut in the village that was evidently used as a blacksmith shop."

40: Kirk --13 [2] S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 437, 486, 712, 177.43 Japanese

"According to Japanese reports, these outposts of the Empire are no longer sorely needed. (2) The wire fence is not electrified, and the guard line is no longer heavily

2. Yosaburo Takekoshi, Japanese Rule in Formosa (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1907).

patrolled. Certain Japanese traders who obtain special permits may go beyond the guard lines and barter with the natives, but they must not bring into the mountains either arms or ammunition. Consequently, the only way the primitive can get modern weapons is by smuggling them into the hills."

40: Kirk-- 14 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 181, 224, 177.22 Japanese

"As the Japanese have carried away all firearms found in native villages, the savages have complained that this policy of confiscation has worked an unnecessary hardship on many nonhostile groups. Without guns, the aborigines are seriously handicapped in one of the absorbing interests of their lives--bird shooting and bear hunting.

The officials have replied that hunting, after all, is 'contrary to the principles of humanity' and that the primitive should turn their attention away from warlike pursuits to tilling the soil and raising corn and potatoes. The Japanese are hoping that this plan will force the savages to adopt 'gentler ways of living.' As late as 1934, headlines in the newspapers, such as 'Rebellious Savages Found-- Leader Anatex Killed by Machine Gun Fire,' would seem to indicate that the mountain tribes are by no means entirely subjugated."

6: Kirchhoff--32 [4] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 286, 322, 412 Pepo-hoan

In respect to crafts also, the Chinese have stamped their individuality on the Pepo-huan. But the Pepo-huan continue to manufacture their wooden vessels in the traditional way, and the knife handles also, in which they insert the blades they buy from the Hakka. Their wives manufacture coarse materials from pineapple and nettle fibers.

14: Tamai--96 [9] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 415, 412 Chin-hoan

Most of the Tschinwan implements used for eating are made of wood or clay and are very plain; the kettles are made of brass. Even the Tschinwan agricultural instruments such as plows are made of wood. There are hardly any iron tools such as sickles.

22: Wiedfeldt--18 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 412, 482 Atayal

Their chief [MC: agricultural] tools are a stick, a spear, or an antelope horn. These are used for loosening the ground and for removing the product. The stick also serves as a support and for carrying loads on their shoulders. Aside from this, they also use the hunting net for transporting products. The long knife which we have already mentioned is carried nowadays by most of the men. They use it as a hatchet, a sickle, or a hoe.

22: Wiedfeldt--33[2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 412, 241, 372 Atayal

If man, as Franklin says, is an animal that makes tools, then the Atayals, with the implements and weapons that have been enumerated, are well past that boundary, although they lack hoes, fishing-rods, and all kinds of metal tools. They have mastered fire, and they can clear the land for planting by using fire.

22: Wiedfeldt--14 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
413, 415, 177 Atayal

As tools [MC: in an Atayal hut] there is nothing more than a weaving frame, a spindle, and a pestle for pounding millet. Recently, a few clay vessels have been added, which have been acquired by barter from the Chinese.

7: Joest--59 [5] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 415 Chin-hoan

All the Chinwans carry a pouch which they sling over their arm or shoulder. These are made either of raw hide or of strings in the manner of a net. In this pouch they carry everything they need during the day, their pipe, tobacco leaves, firestone, steel imported from China, food, and perhaps even the head of an enemy.

7: Joest--60 [8] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 354, 415 Chin-hoan

Instead of lamps, the Chinwans use torches made of bamboo or grass. Bamboo containers filled with water are placed along the walls.

14: Tamai--96 [9] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 415, 412 Chin-hoan

Most of the Tschinwan implements used for eating are made of wood or clay and are very plain; the kettles are made of brass. Even the Tschinwan agricultural instruments such as plows are made of wood. There are hardly any iron tools such as sickles.

18: Kakyo--67 [2] E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 415

They are familiar with the use of iron and earthenware vessels (which they have received, however, from the Chinese).

22: Wiedfeldt--10 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 271, 312, 415 Atayal

Their staple drink is fresh water, which is generally brought to their huts in partially slit bamboo trunks from the nearby brook. They also use hego, a kind of elder, for this purpose. If the stream is farther away, the water is brought to the hut in bamboo staffs.

22: Wiedfeldt--14 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
413, 415, 177 Atayal

As tools [MC: in an Atayal hut] there is nothing more than a weaving frame, a spindle, and a pestle for pounding millet. Recently, a few clay vessels have been added, which have been acquired by barter from the Chinese.

22: Wiedfeldt--18 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 243, 251, 415 Atayal

For winnowing the millet and the rice they use bowl-shaped baskets. They store it in shallow baskets.

24: Anonymous--91 [9] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 251, 262, 354, 415, 513

They have no blankets--when they sleep they cover themselves with their clothing. Nor do they have separate kitchens. Their stove consists of a rack three feet high on which they place a large pan. The members of the household stand around the pan on a stool and scoop out the liquids which are cooked in it, such as a soup made from rice or millet. Their spoons consist of an empty coconut shell. They eat dry rice with their hands. They crush rice in a mortar (ch'uang), preparing no more than is to be consumed at one time. They preserve millet, wheat, and clothing in a container made of a pumpkin shell (hu-lu-hu).

31: Hofmann--621 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
415 Tsou

The men used cups made of pieces of bamboo,...

34: Del Re--23 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 625, 437, 178, 415, 396, 531 Yami

"Besides acting as schoolmasters and, when necessary, as doctors, the police control (as in the case of other tribes) the exchange of local products against implements imported from Formosa, which are replacing the primitive stone and shell ones used for cultivating the land, or for working wood out of which they make their domestic utensils, some of which are very handsomely carved. The Yami are particularly skilful in building canoes, no less graceful than swift and seaworthy, decorated with elaborate designs and painted sometimes in red, white and black."

37: Steere--309 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 415, 311, 313, 241 Chin-hoan

"Their household utensils consist of a Chinese iron pot, and a few gourds and water-tight baskets of rattan for holding water. The light they furnished us was a pine torch. I saw no native pottery among these or other savages of the island. They seem to possess no cultivable valleys, so that they are compelled to cultivate hill sides so steep that we were compelled to use both hands and feet in climbing them. They cut down the timber and let it lie until dry, and then set fire to it, burning off the leaves and small limbs, leaving the trunks and stumps upon the ground. They then build low irregular terraces of the small pieces of slate with which the hills are covered, to keep the soil and crops from washing away. They plant sweet potatoes, and a kind of rice that needs no irrigation, but their principal food is millet. After a couple of years or more of use, they allow the lands to grow up again, the second growth generally being a species of alder. After a few years of rest, the land is again ready to be cleared and planted. Their implements are their knives and sharpened sticks, the very steepness of the land cultivated, rendering it more easily cultivated with such poor tools. A mis-step would often send a hundred pounds of stones and earth sliding down."

22: Wiedfeldt--28-29 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 685, 691, 421 Atayal

Civil cases among the Atayals [29] really amount to nothing more than contests about property and possession, the former between clans and the latter between families. ... Since there is no surveying and no fences, disputes about property lines are frequent and are difficult to decide. The Atayals have no written records. They do not know how to deal with the conflicting statements of different people, no matter how greatly they rely upon the testimony of eye-witnesses because of their great love of the truth... They do not consider it feasible to take the short additional step of determining a contested boundary line according to the testimony of the oldest people. They think this is too difficult and too uncertain in view of the importance of the matter.

It may be shown that the Atayals recognize the existence of such a thing as a corporation from the fact that the clan has property, buys and sells land, that it has definite representation, and that action may be brought against it, as it may bring action against someone else. In spite of this, I do not think that the Atayals see the clan as a special repository of their legal rights. It is more probable that they merely regard the head of the clan as the member who has to take care of the joint liabilities of the families in the clan together with them and as their authorized agent. Taking the law into one's own hands is not limited to cases of self-defence. For example, if an adopted child runs away, and the adoption money is not returned, the head of the family can take another child from this family or clan without further ado. [43] Other legal principles, such as fixing a term, or full power of attorney, are also known.

22: Wiedfeldt--43 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 421 Atayal

In the field of property law among the Atayals, the most important institution, ownership, is clearly present as the complete and exclusive right to dispose of a thing. There is no such right to dispose of persons. The purchaser may neither kill nor mistreat a child he has purchased. Every individual is the absolute owner of his possessions, which even follow him to the grave. The clan is the owner of the arable land. The hunting-grounds are the joint property of several clans. The law is closely adapted to the economic possibilities, for the land is of no value to the individual family after two or three years, but it continues to be of value to the clan. During such time as they keep the land planted, the family enjoys undisputed possession of it. The families do not have even a temporary share in the ownership of the hunting-grounds, which are the common property of several clans. The members of the clans in question, accordingly, have only the right to use the hunting-grounds, without any special duty to be performed in return, unless one considers as such the general duty to defend the members of the clan. If, thus, property, ownership, and usufruct appear to be legal concepts which are common among the Atayals, on the other hand they are completely unacquainted with hypothecary law, mortgages, and taxes on real property.

22: Wiedfeldt--43-44 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 421, 581, 584 Atayal

In the field of marriage law... [44] the Atayals clearly recognize the idea of monogamy, which is generally practised. They are acquainted with the idea of betrothal, which they accomplish by means of making a payment on the price of the bride. The betrothal may be dissolved by paying it back. Marriage itself is minutely, one might say, exhaustively regulated as to the terms under which it may be made and unmade. It is not unsuitably connected with the only form of contract that they know of, that of cash purchase. Married couples live, so to speak, with separate property rights, for each one retains the property which he or she has brought to the marriage, and ultimately takes them along to the grave. Anything that is acquired during their married life, such as provisions, belongs to both persons equally, and is left to the survivor.

22: Wiedfeldt--33-34 F-5 (1913) 1914* Formosan Aborigines
116, 417, 283, 286 Atayal

They can build suspension bridges up to 30 meters long out of Katsura wood, and they can span mountain streams with strips of rattan, the ends of which are fastened to projecting rocks or trees. [34] Although these are only continuations of the trees that overhang the mountain brooks of Formosa, and which provide a natural connection which is somewhat strengthened by the rattan, nevertheless this process of making bridges by tieing the trees together is a considerable technical accomplishment on the part of the Atayal men. On the feminine side, it is paralleled by the weaving of garments with the primitive loom. Perhaps this may even be regarded as a superior accomplishment; the ramie grass, like the hemp, passes through their hands nine times.

Administration of justice among the natives.

When peoples live as simply as the mountain natives of Formosa, they obtain practically everything that they need from nature, and so there is no necessity or even a desire to possess more than they need for the present day. Accordingly, there are no quarrels such as those which arise about property and possessions when people live close together and have to struggle to meet their daily needs. If a private disagreement arises about a piece of property, the whole native community is not disturbed, but leaves it to the wronged individual to take care of the matter. Some of the Formosan tribes, such as the Vonum in the central part of the island, say that there is no theft whatsoever, and that it is not a question of stealing to take fruits and vegetables which others have gathered. Other tribes, however, which engage in tilling the soil as well as hunting, have domestic animals and many valuable objects. There are rich and poor citizens, and they know the meaning of property infringements. In all of the tribes, however, there are certain actions which are regarded as an insult against their conception of law and as a disturbance of public order, and so these cannot be tolerated. In conformity with these ideas, some form of controlling and punishing these illegal actions has been devised. According to the prevailing views, the same deed may be judged a light or a severe offence by the different tribes, and the punishment will be a mild or a stringent one.

34: Del Re--19-20 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosans-Aborigines
116, 619, 621, 183, 577, 421, 437 Yami

"The above [MLB: reluctance of Yami youths to enter government service] follows naturally from the basic principle of [20] their community life, namely that all members of the tribe have full and equal rights and freedom of action limited only by tribal custom which represents the collective will of the community freely accepted by and identifired with that of the individual. This also finds practical expression in their communal attitude towards all except a very few strictly personal belongings such as small canoes and ornaments. Everything else is held in common by the village. Uncultivated land, or land that has ceased to be cultivated, is the property of the community, but anyone who so wishes may take and cultivate it and in this sense it may be called his. Should he allow it to run wild, however, he cannot prevent another from cultivating it and enjoying its fruits. The large canoes and articles of clothing are also communal. In the event of a native wishing for something in the temporary possession of another he need only ask the present owner for it, but is in turn expected, as a matter of course, to do likewise. Such transactions are not necessarily in the nature of an exchange nor is a regular system of barter practised except for goods from outside."

34: Del Re--20-23 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 183, 421, 577, 627, 777 Yami

"The real secret of the smooth working of their system of life may be attributed to the absence of any selfish possessive feeling in respect of things and persons based on deep-rooted 'natural' ethical principles which allow the reciprocal claims of the individual and the community to be harmoniously adjusted in a spirit of freedom and equality. An illuminating instance of [pages 21 and 22 contain illustrations] [23] the application of these principles (6) is seen in the custom, which still persists though

6. According to VF (Pt. I, p. 9) community of property is not usual among other Formosan savages.

frowned upon by the police, of settling every community dispute by means of a wrestling match followed, in cases where the two parties are not satisfied, by a bloodless duel. When this occurs, the two opponents armed with bamboo lances and wearing rattan armour proceed to the seashore accompanied by their seconds and there fight it out. It rarely happens that either is seriously injured or killed, because this would be considered highly unlucky and must therefore be avoided."

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

ƥulti	„	*talialuƥ*	„
aviaŋaŋ	„	*tsiŋulol*	„
tsaovarul	„	*ɾuvaniau*	„
ɾalide	„	?	
atsaʔatsaraŋ	„	?	

B. Tax and labour

All dwelling lands (*inaraŋ*), hunting grounds (*aliuƥaŋ*), fishing grounds (*ƥana*), cultivating lands (*atuŋaŋaŋ*) and things above the land were owned by aristocratic households. A commoner in order to have some lands to till, some grounds for hunting and fishing, and stones and fuel to be collected in the valleys or on the mountains, must submit himself to some aristocratic household as a serf (*unutal*)., and is obliged to pay taxes to render feudal labours to his feudal lord. Taxes are of the following kinds:

a) *wadis na satsɔmul*—tax for hunting animal
b) *wadis na ƥana*—tax for fishing
c) *wadis na atsaŋ*—tax for domesticating animal
d) *itsivoŋ*—wine tax
e) *iluƥluƥ*—tax for collecting fuel
f) *paʔa*—tax for trading
g) *paʔa lura ta putsel*—tax for marriage

Feudal labours of a serf to his feudal lord are of the following kinds:

a) Land tillage (*pataʔalaŋ*): Each aristocratic household has preserved a portion of tilling land for its own. This portion of land is called *vavutɔloŋ*. The *vavutɔloŋ* of the *ɾuvaniau* household was tilled by all commoners of the village. Other *vavutɔloŋ* were respectively tilled by serfs of those households. All products of these *vavutɔloŋ* belong to the aristocratic households. This land-tillage system has been employed in Chala'abus village to substitute the land-tax.

b) House-building and house repairing (*jiraŋuts*): The commoners have the obligation to build or repair houses for chiefs. All commoners are obliged to render this kind of service to the *ɾuvaniau* and *sadilapaŋ* households.

c) Miscellaneous duties (*painuma a tsɔvatsɔvuŋ*): Commoners must render services to chiefs' households in their marriage, funeral or other occasions of the same kind.

d) Travelling service (*putsatsalaŋ*): A chief may require certain commoner to accompany him when travelling.

C. Tributary and audience

The representative of the big chief in other villages must pay visits and tributes to his overlord the *ɾuvaniau* household after the harvests of millet and taro. Tributes presented by a *pinairaratse* to his overlord include 20 bundles of millet ears, a bottle of wine, a pig, 10 bunches of betel nut, a bag of groundnuts. In time of the five-years-feast, the chiefs of Chala'abus will be invited to visit villages where they have their representatives. At the death of the *pinairaratsɔ*, the overlord must condole the family of the dead and at the same time appoints the *usam* or heir of the family to succeed

19: Guérin and Bernard--557-558 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 343, 352, 422

Across from the savage dwelling there is a granary on piles where the family provisions and treasures are stored; bouquets of rice, barley, chickweed and millet are artistically arranged; then in the coffers of a savage house you find woven materials, clothing and festal decorations, Chinese [558] scalps and money.

22: Wiedfeldt--37 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 422, 432, 434 Atayal

Their huts, tools, weapons, and clothing constitute personal property, which no one sells. Even the pigs, which they have recently begun to raise and sell, do not count as a source of personal income. They serve only for the clan feasts.

21: Asai--7 [2] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 423

"Land tenure. In the Atayal tribe, some land is held in common. This common land has some ritual significance. Any piece of land which one family wants to cultivate can be used by that family. There is no fixed rule of possession of land, only the common land is fixed."

22: Wiedfeldt--16 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 423, 224 Atayal

The antelope hunt and the wild boar hunts are not carried on by individual clans, but as a joint adventure of several clans in their common hunting-ground. For reasons similar to those which now require a minimum size for the formation of a private hunting preserve, the hunting-grounds of the Atayals are not distributed among the individual families, but to dekane, that is, hunting associations of from four to five clans. They are not permitted to hunt on the hunting-grounds of strange dekane. The hunters lie in wait for the game, attempt to wound it by arrows or bullets, and then pursue it until it collapses under the onslaught of blows from the spears. Speed and endurance in running are among the virtues of the Atayals.

22: Wiedfeldt--16-17 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 423, 614, 621 Atayal

Every clan is the permanent owner of a fixed piece of arable land of about 100 to 130 hectares in size. No one knows how or when this land was assigned to the clan. [17] Every family of the clan may take as much of this clan land as it wishes.

22: Wiedfeldt--17 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 592, 423 Atayal

Since every Atayal family can count on only the labor which its own members supply, and the produce of the fields must furnish them their food, the families have tracts of land which are pretty much the same size. Out of a total of twenty families, only two particularly large families, between which a wedding was about to take place, had 1/5 more land than the usual area of 60 to 70 are. [MC: an are 0.02471 acre]

22: Wiedfeldt--17 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 423, 311, 241 Atayal

As long as the family is making use of its plot of ground, their possession of it is protected. As soon as they leave it, which happens after two, or sometimes three crops, because the soil will not produce anything any more, any other family of the clan can take possession of it. This does not generally happen, however, before seven years have passed, and the field has become covered with a luxuriant growth of bushes and trees.

22: Wiedfeldt--26 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 423, 614, 432, 574 Atayal

The arable land is the property of the clan. It protects the members in the undisturbed possession of the fields which he has planted. If one clan becomes much larger than another, for example, if it becomes much larger than one which has become reduced in numbers in fighting with the Japanese, the larger clan sometimes buys a piece of arable land from the small clan, paying it about 10 rokoschkaha [MC: clothing used as money] for a hillside plot of 12 hectares. The members of the clan fix the payment of this price by the families in the clan assembly, according to their funds. The families that settle on this hillside have to contribute more heavily. Also, the fines imposed upon the clan are collected in the assembly, as is also the price of the bride for a member whose family can not raise the money, but whom they wish to retain in the clan. Fines are paid to the head of the clan who is entitled to receive them. He organizes a feast with them, or hands the fines over to the family to whom they are due, and the family uses them for the same purpose.

22: Wiedfeldt--37 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 423 Atayal

Land does not belong to individual families.

25: Plaut--41-42 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 423, 578, 628

Settlement of quarrels. Quarrels naturally arise from many sources, the most frequent being hunting, slander and, among bachelors, love. Each tribe has its hunting territory, which it has possessed for a long time, and it has definite boundaries which members of other tribes are not permitted to cross. If anyone is found hunting in a preserve where he has no right to be, he has to pay a fine [42] to the offended tribe. If his statement contradicts that of his accuser, his own chief forces him to fight a duel with the other man in order to avoid a general quarrel.

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

of five to twelve houses. Chinimoaŋ had 55 houses and Pinaiwanaŋ 101. The cultivated fields around the village were possessed by the aristocratic households (*usam na mamatsaŋiran*) of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. By annexing and transition of these fields, their state of possession had become rather complicated. The distribution of aristocratic households had also become rather complicated too. The village had 12 aristocratic households, 9 of them belonged to the Chimo. Among them was the *ruvaniau* household which was of the highest rank. The *ruvaniau* also in charge of the *satsilapan* household which was saved as a village temple in time of our investigation. These two households were both situated on the upper part of Chinimoaŋ. The other 8 Chimo aristocratic households were equally distributed in the two hamlets. The *tʃaluŋi*, the *matsiliat*, the *gumul*, and the *voto* were in Chinimoaŋ, while the south *tʃalas*, the north *tʃalas*, the *tarapatea*, and the *tʃalusaŋiu* were in Pinaiwanaŋ. Two of the Paiwan aristocratic households, the *lusiguan* and the *alijulan* were in *Pinaiwanan*, and the *atsinajan* was in southeast end of Chinimoaŋ. From the distribution of those households, therefore, we may say that the significance of the distinction of Chinimoaŋ and Pinaiwanaŋ has been lost. But by their possession of hunting grounds (*aluliapan*), the existence of dual organization in the early days has been revealed. The village had 6 localities of hunting grounds, two lay south and east of the village, *pasulaval* and *vuit*, and belonged to the Chimo chiefs, four lay in west and north and belonged to the Paiwan chiefs. At the time of investigation, *alulialiav* and *pasulaots* belonged to the *lusiguan* household; *patsavatsavan*, south *tʃalas*; *pasupaots*, north *tʃalas*. The latter two may have been annexed by the Chimo. The fishing grounds were similar in condition to hunting grounds. The Lai-i River (or the *pasulaval* river as it is called by the natives) was the fishing grounds of the Chimo. Most of the lower part belonged to the *atsinajan*, *lusiguan*, north *tʃalas*, *gumul*, *tara²atea* and the south *tʃalas* respectively. The tributary of the Lai-i River, which is called *pasuivelin* by the natives, was originally the fishing grounds of the Paiwan but it was then divided into two parts and is owned by the *atsinajan* and the north *tʃalas*. The Chimo though they predominated over the Paiwan in hunting grounds, and equalled the Paiwan in fishing grounds, had less influence on aspects of religious and ritual. *Para²aree*, the priest of the most important religion rite *malɔvo*, the five-years-feast, was a member of the *atsinajan* household of the Paiwan. The ceremonies of *malɔvo* was initiated in the *lusigunan* and *atsinajan* of the Paiwan and then performed in Chimo households. Two of the three *puliŋao* or priestesses who sang songs for inviting gods were Paiwan. But the *pusao* or the six-years-feast was performed by the Chimo priest and priestesses. The *para²aree* and *puliŋao* of these two groups have acquired their techniques from their own group. This teaching had been kept secret from each other.

By the above mentioned facts, we may assume that the Paiwan are the natives and the Chimo came later. The Chimo though predominated over the Paiwan in economic and political power, but the Paiwan have maintained their position in religious life.

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

ARISTOCRACY AND LINEAGE SYSTEM

The political system of Chala'abus village is aristocratic and resembles that of the feudalism of the Chou Dynasty. It is established on two foundations: (1) The first is the tax and tributary system based on the ownership of land. (2) The second is the class system based on lineage rule.

The class system of Chala'abus differs with that of the North Paiwan. The North Paiwan system has three grades: (1) the ***mamatsanjiran***, (2) the ***maluvtsivtsik***, and (3) the ***pualu***. The Chala'abus system lacks the third grade ***pualu***. The aristocratic class is generally called ***mamatsanjiran***, and is divided into two subclasses: (1) the upper grade is called ***avusamaŋ***, (2) the lower grade is again subdivided into the ***maluvtsivtsik*** or consanguineous, and the ***naitsu a nᵊnmax*** or affinal. The big chief ***ruvaniau*** belongs to the Chimo group. Three ***maluvtsivtsik*** of the ***ruvaniau*** are the south ***tfalas***, the north ***tfalas***, and the ***tfaluŋi***. Among the ***naitsu a numax*** are the ***voto***, the ***taraᵊatea***, the ***gumul***, the ***matsiliat***, and the ***tfalusanjiu*** of the Chimo, and the ***atsinajaŋ***, the ***lusiguaŋ*** and the ***aliolaŋ*** of the Paiwan. The big chief ***ruvaniau*** possesses one third of the cultivated land of the village. The north and the south ***tfalas*** possess another one third. And the remainder is in the hands of other chiefs of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. These chiefs rent their lands to commoners of the villages, so commoners are serfs (***unutel***) and nobles landlords. Each chief has a vassal household (***utsiputsipoŋ***) to take care of the rental business. The office of the vassal is hereditary, but he is a commoner and owns no land by himself.

The above mentioned aristocratic system is established on the basis of the lineage system. One who first established his household in the village is regarded as the grand lineage. The elder offspring, regardless of sex, is the heir or ***usam*** to succeed the household. Offspring other than the heir will leave the household and establish a new one when he is married and is regarded as the lesser lineage or ***muluvtsivtsik***. The succession of the lesser lineage is similar to that of grand lineage. But offspring other than the heir of the lesser lineage will be degraded as commoner when he departs the household. The ***utsiputsipoŋ*** is a commoner who is chosen by a aristocratic household to be their vassal. The heir of the ***utsiputsipoŋ*** household succeeds his father's office. It is worth to note that members of the grand lineage of the ***utsiputsipoŋ*** are prohibited to intermarry with members of the grand lineage of their aristocratic household.

LINEAGE RULE AND MARRIAGE RULE

A. Lineage rule

The kinship organization is a lineage group with a family as its nucleus. Each family has its own ***umax*** or house. The ***umax*** or house has a special significance to the Chala'abus family system. Each house has its ***yataŋ a numax*** or house name. One who is born in the house is named after the name of the house. Members live in the house include a married couple, the heir or heiress and sometimes his or her spouse and other unmarried offspring of this married couple. The elder son or daughter succeeds his or her parents as the head of lineage group and remains to live in the house. Other offsprings are either married to the heir or heiress of another household

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

631
621

ɟulti	„	*talialup*	„
aviaŋaŋ	„	*tsiŋulol*	„
ʦaovarul	„	*ɾuvaniau*	„
ɾalide	„	?	
atsaʔatsaraŋ	„	?	

B. Tax and labour

421
423
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All dwelling lands (*inaraŋ*), hunting grounds (*aliupaŋ*), fishing grounds (*pana*), cultivating lands (*atunaŋaŋ*) and things above the land were owned by aristocratic households. A commoner in order to have some lands to till, some grounds for hunting and fishing, and stones and fuel to be collected in the valleys or on the mountains, must submit himself to some aristocratic household as a serf (*unutal*), and is obliged to pay taxes to render feudal labours to his feudal lord. Taxes are of the following kinds:

a) *wadis na ʦatsəmul*—tax for hunting animal
b) *wadis na pana*—tax for fishing
c) *wadis na atsaŋ*—tax for domesticating animal
d) *itsivoŋ*—wine tax
e) *iluplup*—tax for collecting fuel
f) *paʔa*—tax for trading
g) *paʔa lura ta putsel*—tax for marriage

Feudal labours of a serf to his feudal lord are of the following kinds:

a) Land tillage (*pataʔalaŋ*): Each aristocratic household has preserved a portion of tilling land for its own. This portion of land is called *vavutəloŋ*. The *vavutəloŋ* of the *ɾuvaniau* household was tilled by all commoners of the village. Other *vavutəloŋ* were respectively tilled by serfs of those households. All products of these *vavutəloŋ* belong to the aristocratic households. This land-tillage system has been employed in Chala'abus village to substitute the land-tax.

b) House-building and house repairing (*jiraŋuts*): The commoners have the obligation to build or repair houses for chiefs. All commoners are obliged to render this kind of service to the *ɾuvaniau* and *sadilapaŋ* households.

c) Miscellaneous duties (*painuma a tsəvatsəvuŋ*): Commoners must render services to chiefs' households in their marriage, funeral or other occasions of the same kind.

d) Travelling service (*putsatsalaŋ*): A chief may require certain commoner to accompany him when travelling.

C. Tributary and audience

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The representative of the big chief in other villages must pay visits and tributes to his overlord the *ɾuvaniau* household after the harvests of millet and taro. Tributes presented by a *pinairaratse* to his overlord include 20 bundles of millet ears, a bottle of wine, a pig, 10 bunches of betel nut, a bag of groundnuts. In time of the five-years-feast, the chiefs of Chala'abus will be invited to visit villages where they have their representatives. At the death of the *pinairaratsə*, the overlord must condole the family of the dead and at the same time appoints the *usam* or heir of the family to succeed

22: Wiedfeldt--35 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 592, 425 Atayal

The Atayal household subsists on the complementary labors of man and woman on a piece of arable land of about 70 are. [MC: one are. = 0.2471 acre or 100 square meters] There is no lack of land for the family. Therefore it has no market value for them, but it does have one for the clan, as is shown by the prices which the clan pays, when it can get a piece of land under favorable circumstances, which is rarely.

22: Wiedfeldt--37-38 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 426, 556, 614, 622 Atayal

The richest man in the tribe is said to have 250 rokosch-kaha. [MC: ornamented sleeveless jacket used as money] The next richest is supposedly one who has 80. Since the first man is the head of a clan, probably all of this is not his private property, but merely belongs to him as the representative of the clan and is derived from rather large fines. Be that as it may, since the families have an average of 20 to 30 rokosch-kaha, there are no great inequalities of income among the Atayals. As to their other possessions, there is almost no difference between families. The ornaments which serve as money are not used for any other purposes than those which have been mentioned. In particular, it is never loaned, so that capital in the sense of money, and also interest, are unheard of. If the clan helps a family to assemble the amount needed for a fine or for the price of a bride, this is done from a feeling of solidarity, but the family does not repay the amount, nor does anyone expect them to do so. If a family breaks a tool, the neighboring family helps them out. [38] by giving them the tool if they have two of them. When the first family has made another tool, they give it as a gift to the second family.

6: Kirchhoff--31 [3] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 426

The Chinaman misuses the unsuspecting nature of the brown "half savage," lends him money the latter needs in order to buy a wife, a cow or a shotgun, or to drink Samschu (rice brandy) or smoke opium. Thus he turns him into his debtor, who unsuspectingly pledges his house and possessions, until finally the Chinaman has him as his wretchedly poor tenant.

25: Plaut--42 [2] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 426, 685, 696 Paiwan

Since the Paiwan till the soil, they occasionally have quarrels about the ownership of a piece of property. The matter is usually arranged in this way. A wants to borrow a sum of money from B and he lets him work a field as security and as a return for his kindness. After one or two years he wants to pay back the loan, but B prefers to keep the field and claims that the business about the loan was purely an oral agreement, and that A owes him a much larger amount, or else he says that he has sold the field and that the alleged loan was the purchase price which he paid. The affair is taken to the chief. He summons both parties, examines the case, realizes that A's claim is a just one, and commands B to restore the field. In case B refuses, the chief takes the sum of money from A, goes to B's house with two men, hands him the money, and forces him to surrender the field. Then B also has to replace all the gifts which A has given to the chief and his companions for their trouble, or else he has to defray the expenses for the feast which A has as a thank offering. If the chief is unable to decide which man is right, he confiscates the field and declares that it is the common property of the tribe. This procedure is called Kuikon, a word which is probably borrowed from the vocabulary of the Chinese settlers, and which is derived from Kwi-kung, meaning "to fall back to the public", that is to the state.

37: Steere --304-305 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 511, 427, 779, 771, 166 Pepo-hoan

"The Pepo-whans are very poor, having mortgaged the poor lands they now occupy to the Chinese, so that they live principally upon sweet potatoes, the one rice crop that the land produces going to pay rent or the interest on their debts. They burn charcoal and the women carry it in baskets upon their heads to the Chinese villages for sale. They were visited about three years ago by Dr. Maxwell, a Scotch missionary, and they received Christianity readily, the Chinese worship of idols and ancestors having but little root among them, while the traditions they still possess of their ancient teachers probably influenced them to some extent. There are now several hundred christians among them at Kamana, Backsa, etc., with a number of schools and chapels established. The Pepo-whans of Baukimseng, differ from their brethren farther north in their ancient language, and the women, instead of a turban, wear a broad conical hat, like the Hak-kas near them, and this is highly ornamented with tinsel and bits of glass. They are crowded back upon the poor stony lands near the mountains, and they go to their fields armed with lances and fire-locks to protect themselves from attack. The Pepo-whans have nearly lost their love for hunting and fishing, and support themselves almost entirely from the produce of their fields. There seems to be but little hope of regaining a foot-hold on the [305] western side of the island, and they will probably be compelled to migrate, like their brethren who have gone before them, to the east coast."

37: Steere--310 [3] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 592, 311, 427 Chin-hoan

"Their houses are large, grass-covered barracks, made of bamboos and wattles, daubed with mud. The roof is supported by a large central post, and to this are hung the firelocks, bows and arrows, etc., that belong to the four or five families that occupy the house in common. The locality of each family is shown by the fire burning on the ground, and by the low bank of bamboo that serves for a seat and bed. The lands about the lake are rich and easily irrigated, and well fitted for rice; but the Tsui-whan have allowed the Chinese to enter, and these, taking advantage of the savage love for strong drink and feasting, are fast gaining possession of all the lands, and the poor Tsui-whan are becoming serfs of the crafty Chinese."

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

ARISTOCRACY AND LINEAGE SYSTEM

The political system of Chala'abus village is aristocratic and resembles that of the feudalism of the Chou Dynasty. It is established on two foundations: (1) The first is the tax and tributary system based on the ownership of land. (2) The second is the class system based on lineage rule.

The class system of Chala'abus differs with that of the North Paiwan. The North Paiwan system has three grades: (1) the *mamatsaŋiran*, (2) the *maluvtsivtsik*, and (3) the *pualu*. The Chala'abus system lacks the third grade *pualu*. The aristocratic class is generally called *mamatsaŋiran*, and is divided into two subclasses: (1) the upper grade is called *avusamaŋ*, (2) the lower grade is again subdivided into the *maluvtsivtsik* or consanguineous, and the *naitsu a nᵊnmax* or affinal. The big chief *ruvaniau* belongs to the Chimo group. Three *maluvtsivtsik* of the *ruvaniau* are the south *tʃalas*, the north *tʃalas*, and the *tʃaluŋi*. Among the *naitsu a numax* are the *voto*, the *taraᵊatea*, the *gumul*, the *matsiliat*, and the *tʃalusaŋiu* of the Chimo, and the *atsinajaŋ*, the *lusiguaŋ* and the *aliolaŋ* of the Paiwan. The big chief *ruvaniau* possesses one third of the cultivated land of the village. The north and the south *tʃalas* possess another one third. And the remainder is in the hands of other chiefs of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. These chiefs rent their lands to commoners of the villages, so commoners are serfs (*unutel*) and nobles landlords. Each chief has a vassal household (*utsiputsipoŋ*) to take care of the rental business. The office of the vassal is hereditary, but he is a commoner and owns no land by himself.

The above mentioned aristocratic system is established on the basis of the lineage system. One who first established his household in the village is regarded as the grand lineage. The elder offspring, regardless of sex, is the heir or *usam* to succeed the household. Offspring other than the heir will leave the household and establish a new one when he is married and is regarded as the lesser lineage or *muluvtsivtsik*. The succession of the lesser lineage is similar to that of grand lineage. But offspring other than the heir of the lesser lineage will be degraded as commoner when he departs the household. The *utsiputsipoŋ* is a commoner who is chosen by a aristocratic household to be their vassal. The heir of the *utsiputsipoŋ* household succeeds his father's office. It is worth to note that members of the grand lineage of the *utsiputsipoŋ* are prohibited to intermarry with members of the grand lineage of their aristocratic household.

LINEAGE RULE AND MARRIAGE RULE

A. Lineage rule

The kinship organization is a lineage group with a family as its nucleus. Each family has its own *umax* or house. The *umax* or house has a special significance to the Chala'abus family system. Each house has its *ŋataŋ a numax* or house name. One who is born in the house is named after the name of the house. Members live in the house include a married couple, the heir or heiress and sometimes his or her spouse and other unmarried offspring of this married couple. The elder son or daughter succeeds his or her parents as the head of lineage group and remains to live in the house. Other offsprings are either married to the heir or heiress of another household

22: Wiedfeldt--24 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 428 Atayal

Produce, provisions, and, since recently, also dogs, chickens, and pigs, are left to the surviving partner. Children who have lost one parent do not inherit anything, so that there are no prerogatives attached to primogeniture.

22: Wiedfeldt--44 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 428 Atayal

Among the Atayal tribes there is only a rudimentary form of an inheritance law. The surviving spouse inherits, irrespective of children, relatives, or clan, the provisions and whatever property there is in the form of ornaments. Recently, they have also begun to inherit the dog, the hen, and the pig.

24: Anonymous--91[7] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 428, 764

When someone has died, they hang colored rags on the door of his house. All the belongings of the deceased; his tools, dishes, and garments are divided among the members of the family. They keep the body under the bed for three days, then all the neighbors assemble, carry the body outside, and sprinkle earth on it. They do not have coffins, but bury the body deep in the earth. If the family moves to another place they exhume the body and take it with them.

25: Plaut--59 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 428, 591, 594, 601, 611

The family has two forms, depending upon whether it is continued in the woman's tribe or in the man's. Among the Puyuma and the Amis it is based entirely on female descendants. Here the oldest daughter is always the heiress of the house, the other daughters receive a share of the property but the sons do not have the right to inherit anything. They are obliged to leave the house and to marry into another...The Tsarisen, on the other hand, only consider the sons as members of the family, but they frequently marry into the woman's house, too. The same thing is true of the Peipo. In one part of the tribe it is customary for the husband to enter his wife's family. Today the Atayal only recognize the man's tribe, but the fact that they only have one word (yaki) to denote the terms ancestor and grandmother, seems to indicate that in former times they observed matrilineal succession too, and they have the custom that the mother is the only one entitled to name the newborn child.

In other tribes it is impossible to determine whether women ever played a similar role or not. Among the Tsoo, for example, the oldest son succeeds his father as master of the house, and the younger ones do not marry into other houses but found separate establishments with a part of their inheritance. The same thing is true among the Bonum. In the Spayowan tribe, the male line seems to have been the dominant one for centuries, for there is just one word, wonu, to designate the grandfather and the grandson.

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
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Paiwan

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LINEAGE RULE AND MARRIAGE RULE

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49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

or establish a new house if not married to an heir or heiress. There is, thus, a lineal relation between these households. One which has a further relationship with the household from which it derived is lower in rank. Their lineage rules may be summarized as follows:

a) A household is the nucleus of this lineage system.

b) The lineage who first established their house in the village is regarded as the grand lineage or ***mamatsayiran***.

c) The house and the name of the house are succeeded too by primogeniture regardless of sex. The heir or ***usam*** must remain in the house and succeed to the name.

d) Each offspring other than the heir who is married to the heir of another household or establish a new household and take a new house name if married to one who is not the heir, is called the lesser lineage or ***maluvtsivtsik***.

e) The rule of succession of a lesser lineage is similar to that of a grand lineage. The son of a lesser lineage is degraded to become commoner or ***tala?alalak***.

f) Offspring of a vassal household other than the heir are degraded as commoners.

g) If the household has no heir, it is succeeded by the second son or daughter, even he or she is married out. This second son or daughter who has established a lesser lineage of his own, will give his own lineage up, and return to his prime house to succeed to the lineage. If a lesser lineage has no heir, it may be succeeded to by members from the grand lineage. The vassal will take care of the grand lineage when the heir to succeed the lineage is not yet decided.

B. Marriage rules

a) Residence

1. The heir of a household must remain in the house, and have his spouse come to live with him.

2. Family members other than the heir may marry a heir of another household and goes to his spouse's house.

3. When both the husband and the wife are no heir or heiress, they will establish a new house and have a neolocal residence.

4. If a heir marries with a heiress, this new couple will succeed to both households.

b) Class

1. One who marries one of his own rank is called ***metsevoŋ***. Their offsprings belong to the same rank.

2. One who marries one of a higher rank is called ***sluŋua***. He himself and his offsprings will have a higher rank too.

3. One who marries one of a lower rank is called ***sluŋoja***. He and his offsprings will have a lower rank too.

The Paiwan practise endogamy but not in a strict sense. It may be estimated by the quantity of the bride price. A certain quantity of bride price is set for a certain

22: Wiedfeldt--44 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 429, 614, 768 Atayal

The widow is the authorized guardian of the children, and can therefore sell them, or can demand the bride-price for a marriageable daughter. If she is not capable of performing this duty, a neighbor who is a member of the clan, or the head of the clan intervenes. At a glance, this recalls the modern system whereby many municipal authorities may exercise a general guardianship.

22: Wiedfeldt--39-40 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 43, 464, 592 Atayal

In spite of lack of good management, one may speak of an integrated Atayal economy, which, for all its crudity, corresponds to the economic ideal of complete self-sufficiency ...Atayal economy has a certain technical equipment, and recognizes real economic labor. It has values and prices; it has currency; and it has marketable wares for which there is supply and demand. [40] It consists of many uniform and individual domestic economies, which are based on the complementary labors of the men and women of the family, and in which a lack of labor is met by a money payment to the household. There is no such thing as supporting a family by labor brought in from outside.

16: Müller--232 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 292, 431

The women wear a broad loincloth which covers their thighs. The loincloth of the men consists of a piece of cloth 60 to 70 centimeters long and 50 centimeters wide which they tie around the loins so that the two ends cover their genital organs. The loincloth, which as a rule is dyed dark blue, and the manner in which it is worn, indicates to what tribe the wearer belongs and whether he comes from a family of low or high standing. Loincloths are often given as personal presents. Among the Ataiyal group there is one tribe which uses only leaves as loincloths, and several tribes which do not cover themselves at all.

Since that aborigines always cut and sew in straight lines, the shape of the garment never fits the body.

16: Müller--233 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
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Hairpins [are] made of shell. Among the Tso'o aborigines this is the customary gift for brides.

22: Wiedfeldt--9[2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 263, 177, 824, 431 Atayal

As a condiment, they like salt best of all. If this is lacking, they use as a substitute the small, salty berries of the mabu tree. The Taroku are said to have learned how to get salt from the sea from the Chinese by way of the Amis who border them to the south. Recently there have been isolated instances of their giving this necessary condiment as a gift and also as an article of barter to the tribes in the interior, after the Japanese prevented the importation of salt. Otherwise they use as a spice a kind of ginger which they get from the root of a species of banana, and to which they attribute a strengthening effect.

22: Wiedfeldt--37-38 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
431, 621 Atayal

If a family breaks a tool, the neighboring family helps them out [38] by giving them the tool if they have two of them. When the first family has made another tool, they give it as a gift to the second family.

22: Wiedfeldt--26 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 423, 614, 432, 574 Atayal

The arable land is the property of the clan. It protects the members in the undisturbed possession of the fields which he has planted. If one clan becomes much larger than another, for example, if it becomes much larger than one which has become reduced in numbers in fighting with the Japanese, the larger clan sometimes buys a piece of arable land from the small clan, paying it about 10 rokoschkaha [MC: clothing used as money] for a hillside plot of 12 hectares. The members of the clan fix the payment of this price by the families in the clan assembly, according to their funds. The families that settle on this hillside have to contribute more heavily. Also, the fines imposed upon the clan are collected in the assembly, as is also the price of the bride for a member whose family can not raise the money, but whom they wish to retain in the clan. Fines are paid to the head of the clan who is entitled to receive them. He organizes a feast with them, or hands the fines over to the family to whom they are due, and the family uses them for the same purpose.

22: Wiedfeldt--37 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 422, 432, 434 Atayal

Their huts, tools, weapons, and clothing constitute personal property, which no one sells. Even the pigs, which they have recently begun to raise and sell, do not count as a source of personal income. They serve only for the clan feasts.

4:Grajdanzev--38 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 433, 454, 511, 464

"The Japanese sources quote the following figures as proofs of their economic progress: in 1938 the aborigines produced 34,079 koku of rice, they received ¥ 230,253 for sugar cane raised on their fields, and ¥ 52,713 for silk cocoons; they had 29,247 pigs, 8,142 water buffalo, 3,964 cows, and 11,766 goats. Eighteen thousand aborigines had deposits in post offices to the aggregate amount of ¥ 414,000 (1937). Let us examine these figures: 34,079 koku of rice for the population of 90,000 give about 0.3 lb. of rice per person per day, less than one-third the average for Japan, and it should be remembered that rice is the aborigines' foremost crop. When the same division is made of the 29,247 pigs and 11,766 goats, there is little more than one sen per day per capita. If one takes into considera-[sic] crops on the average brought ¥ 13 per year per family, or less than one sen per day per capita. If one takes into consideration the fact that numerous tribal chiefs have many more pigs, goats, savings, etc. than the average native, one may understand the poverty in which most of these 'former savages' now live in the new conditions. Here lies the real cause of their rebellious spirit. They cannot exist on what they have. They have no choice but to work for the Japanese, and the Japan Year Book informs us that there are now 32 per cent of them who 'are able to understand Japanese to the extent of performing some simple work'. "

22: Wiedfeldt--39 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 156, 181, 241, 433 Atayal

Atayal domestic economy produces no surplus which they could give up. Every family plants just as much land as it needs for its own maintenance. Besides, who would take a surplus off their hands, since every family produces the same thing and has enough for itself? The impulse to make a profit, which now dominates our whole life, is completely lacking....Furthermore, the Atayals have no competition, that motive power of economic life. Indeed, the effort to produce more than the other fellow and thus to dis tinguish oneself may be seen only in the skull hunt. Finally, they do not know how to aim at the greatest possible production with the smallest possible expenditure of strength.

22: Wiedfeldt--40 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 45, 433, 463, 592 Atayal

Atayal economy has developed only one special profession, for the exercise of which there is always a market and which is paid in wages. With this one exception, the families provide for all of their needs themselves, on their own fields, which are theirs as long as they use them. The size of the fields is just large enough to support the family and to keep the family supply of labor occupied. Everything that has to do with profits is lacking, such as the production and sale of surpluses, competition, ground-rent, interest, and employers' profits, as well as all the more important phases and ramifications of economy, from communications to capital and credit.

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116, 422, 432, 434 Atayal

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14: Tamai--96 [22] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 435, 823, 822 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwans are extremely greedy. The objects they covet most are any article with a red color and articles made of metal. For that reason they value coins highly but paper money has no meaning to them.

22: Wiedfeldt--36 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
301, 435 Atayal

The general acceptance of this indigenous money [MC: ornamented cloth] is based on its high value as a means of adornment, and its worth depends on the rareness of the materials and the care with which it has been made.

9: Yamasaki--233 N-5 (1896-1897) 1900 Formosan Aborigines
436

There are also many deer (Cervus Swinhoii), very similar to the Japanese Cervus sika, and also antelopes. The hides and antlers of the deer play a big part among the mountain dwellers as articles of barter.

16: Müller--234-235 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 436

The aborigines are not familiar with the use of money. For trade among themselves they use small pieces of shell money in the shape of beads which they carry on a string. The value of their currency is determined by the bintuan, a square piece of cloth as long and wide as the lower part of the arm, covered with shell beads of the type used for currency. One bintuan is worth about eight Mark. A woman is worth about 250 bintuan, a brass kettle about 1/2 bintuan, etc. Today these coins are no longer [236] made and they are used only for very important transactions such as buying a wife, a rifle, or for paying a penalty.

The usual medium of exchange today is cloth.

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

"Our acino (of shells fashioned like glass beads and attached to China grass cloth) also come from the hontōjin. [MC: Formosan Chinese] Like the other things, we buy them from the hontōjin. These acino are put to use. We always decorate our clothes (75) with them, and also always adorn our hats with the acino. Since we also adorn our

75. Asai Erin informs me that the loom-woven jackets worn by the Atayal are frequently covered with these shell beads.

necks, we look all the more beautiful. The rich always have many acino, and the poor, few. We always use these acino in the settling of accounts. One acino equals one sickle; ten acino equal ten sickles. This is no different from present day money. What we call one piece (76) equals one ten-sen silver coin; ten pieces equal one yen. We

76. Refers to the acino.

call ten pieces one tunux, and this is no different from our present day money. What we call a yen the old people called a tunux."

19: Guérin and Bernard--558 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301, 436

The savage money consists of little white cylinders, like those made of jet, and they are made of the bony parts of certain kinds of fish; when strung on a chaplet, they are worn around the throat and head as if they were jewels; they are marked when they are given to the aborigines, and are arranged in series on pieces of red material.

22: Wiedfeldt--12 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301, 292, 436, 177 Atayal

If such foreign ornaments [MC: i. e. brass rings and glass beads from Japan] have been taken over by the women, the men have kept for themselves the characteristic old ornamental dress. These "things set with precious materials", as the Atayal description runs, have three sizes, which are worn as arm or leg coverings, kinrai, or as a doublet, bintoan, or as a sleeveless jacket, rokosch-kaha. They consist of material dyed red, on which is fastened small pieces of pierced fish-bone arranged in rows and geometrical designs. Since the fish are not to be found in the interior, and the making of these ornaments would be too tiresome and difficult for the Atayals, who have no tools, these ornaments, which the Chinese call schukun, are very highly prized, and their owners like to wear them on festive occasions because they give them a certain amount of prestige. These valuable and lasting, but unnecessary ornamental garments are used as money. The three sizes are worth respectively 3, 5, and 10 yen.

For all settlements and compensations, for the purchase of land by the clans, and the reimbursement of the prophetess, the Atayals have a definite means of exchange which has the same value for all of the Atayal tribes: the materials [MC: which are set] with precious things, which are usually of three kinds. [MC: See page 12 in category 116 or 436 for description] The general acceptance of this indigenous money is based on its high value as a means of adornment, and its worth depends on the rareness of the materials and the care with which it has been made. [37] Ostensibly the Atayals have never wished to learn how to make these things. An old Taroku told me through the medium of the interpreter that they had gotten the precious materials long ago from white men, but the other Tarokus and all the Schimptonoffs denied the truth of this improbable tradition. If it were true, one would be forced to think of Spanish amulets. All the Atayals are agreed on this point, that they were once brought to them from outside, and that for a long time, there has been no new material. According to this, the same quantity of objects used as money, which presumably are fairly safe from the ravages of termites, has been in circulation among them since its introduction, and only the temporary owners change. This is very possible, in view of the fact that there is no economy based on earnings, and in view of the fact that there has been no increase in the population of the Atayals, as well as because of the stagnation of their culture. The objects used as money are the only possessions that do not follow their owner to the grave. Neither tribe nor clan has concerned itself with making of ornaments to be used as

money, nor have they attempted to fix the value of such ornaments, but nevertheless, they are the "legal" means by which all fines are paid. Together with language and customs, money is the only tangible bond that unifies all the tribes of the Atayals. The entire fortune of the Atayals consists of such money.

25: Plaut--33-34 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 436, 609, 656, 177.65 China
636.65

The stations of the Training and Development Bureau [EJ: established by the Chinese in 1884 to facilitate the acculturation of the Formosan natives] did not have a conspicuous success. Part of the blame may be laid on the changeable and distrusting nature of the savages, but the greed of the Chinese settlers and officials was the principal cause of the failure. For example, the natives were accustomed to bring their products into the settlements and to exchange them for wares which they [34] used for farming or for decoration. But the Chinese, who were only thinking about the momentary profit and not about the consequences, also sold them weapons. Finally the Government forbade any unrestricted trade with the savages, and it set up a market in each bureau, and said that it was the only place where barter should be permitted. However, the officials, who were entrusted to superintend this, were not reliable. They used their position for personal profit, and they permitted the natives to be cheated. It is not surprising, therefore, that this aroused the old ire among the savages, and that they used every opportunity to gain revenge by beheading some of the Chinese.

25: Plaut--41 [2] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 436, 684, 837 Atayal

The Atayal in the central part of Formosa punish the guilty wife and her lover by killing them at once. The seducer of a girl is also slain unless the girl's parents agree to accept ransom. The Atayal, who live farther north, make the adulterer give the injured husband between five and ten shell strings (the current money) or a weapon or other objects as compensation.

31: Hofmann--626-627 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 436, 461, 804 Tsou

The natives do not know the value of money. They have several articles used for barter and pay, chiefly cloth. They measure length by spans. [627] Since they have a communist economy they pay by the day, so that the strongest man is hired as a carrier at the same price as the weakest boy. If a distinction were made, they would consider this unjust. In the same way they divide food among themselves so that everyone gets an equal share.

"The Yami have no use for money except as metal which is highly prized, especially silver which, like iron, seems to have been known to the islanders from the earliest times. (7) The former is beaten out into thin silver leaves with [24]

7. See below p. 39 (Legend of Imulud).

which they cover their characteristic large 'extinguisher' ceremonial helmets worn during the Flying-Fish Festival, which are handed down as a communal treasure from generation to generation."

39: Wiedfeldt--11-12 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 436, 555, 622, 802 Atayal

The Atayals have a better idea of counting than they have of measuring time. Most of them, to be sure, can only count up to three or five, and that is sufficient for their purposes. Anyone who can count up to thirty is considered clever, and only a few individuals in the border tribes can count up to a hundred. Some of the Japanese maintain that a smart Atayal of the interior can count up to a thousand, but most people say that this is just talk. Most of the tribes are said to have names for numbers up to five only, and to count further by saying five and one, five and two, five and three, five and four. They have a special word for ten, and also for twenty and thirty. Some tribes are said to know more words for numbers, but they seem to have acquired them recently through Chinese or Japanese interpreters. Most of the clan heads can count this way up to twenty or thirty. If they need to go beyond that, they call in a wise man to help them, if fines are to be paid. They also have to count when they are fixing the prike of the bride or the price for adopted children. They count 25 rokosch-kaha, or 250 yen, by putting down 20 rokosch-kaha, or garments with precious [12] materials, and 10 bintoan, breastpieces with precious materials. Presumably the calculation is made at once in this way, and the reduction to a common denominator is made by the interpreter. In tribes that have lived for years inside the Aitu line, and that accept Japanese money, families will sell a rokosch-kaha together with their profit on it for 13 or 15 yen, because they can conceive only of 13 as 1 rokosch-kaha plus 1 binrai, or 15 as 1 rokosch-kaha plus 1 bintoan, but they can not imagine 11, 12, or 14 yen.

7: Joest--55 [3] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 144, 437, 563 Pepo-hoan

Marriages between Chinese, especially the Hakkas, and Formosan women, occur frequently. Thus a distinct racial group, the Pepohoan, has been formed; they usually form the intermediaries in barter.

7: Joest--55 [4] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 286, 437

The chief articles of exchange are Chinese products such as rifles, powder, brandy, knives, glass beads, and sometimes red flannel, from which the native women pull out the threads to use in their own woven garments. In exchange for this the aborigines offer camphor, the skin of certain animals, dried and smoked meat from deer, boars, and bears, as well as antlers and their native woven cloth which is extremely durable.

7: Joest--62 [6] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 437, 562, 791, 888 Chin-hoan

There are no priests among the Chinwans, but some women hold the office of sooth-sayer. Old women seem to have a great deal of influence. I often saw them giving orders even to experienced warriors or swearing at them if they did not demand enough red flannel as payment for an object. During my entire stay with the Chinwans, however, they never stole anything from me, although I had to pay a high price for everything I bought from them.

11: Haguenauer--30 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 437, 625

The policeman of the savage zone has an entirely different task than his collegues of the metropolis; he is essentially a director of public works, a professor of agriculture, a teacher and a councillor. The policeman even engages in commerce, but it is of a very special kind, for he does not deal in money; there is a fixed rate for bartered products, and according to that he takes the savage goods and exchanges them for sabre blades, knives, pieces of glass, sauce pans, thread, matches, and alcohol.

14: Tamai--96 [5] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 281, 262, 437 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwans use the hide of the animals they eat as raincoats or for barter with the Formosans and Chinese. They cut off only the hair of bears and monkeys and eat the skin.

16: Müller--233 [7] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 437

Firearms consist chiefly of Mauser rifles or modern hand arms which they obtain through barter from the Chinese. They take off everything that tends to make the rifle heavy, sometimes even the sight. They also get gunpowder and ammunition from the Chinese. Guns with matchlocks, which formerly were used by everyone, today are hardly used at all.

16: Müller--234 [5] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 437

Since the amount the aborigines harvest falls far short of the amount they need, they are dependent to a large extent on barter with the Chinese. The articles which they are able to offer in exchange consist of the antlers and hide of stags, as well as cloth which they themselves have made; for these the Chinese give them rice and other articles of nourishment.

19: Guérin and Bernard--567 116, 437, 563 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines

A good many Chinese live on fortified farms which are dotted here and there at the foot of the mountains. Some of them are centers for trade and barter, especially those where there is a savage who has married a Chinese. These women are the natural mediators, and then there are also the half-breeds.

22: Wiedfeldt--16 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 281, 437 Atayal

Every hunt lasts about a week, during which time the hunter lives off his booty. In general, they bring back little meat, which is then consumed at once, for the most part. They throw away the skins, which they do not need in their climate, and which they do not know how to tan, either. Recently, a few tribes near the frontier have begun to use them for barter with the Japanese.

31: Hofmann--607-608 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 131, 437, 712

The border between the cultivated land and that belonging to the aborigines is protected by a method protected by a method which had been perfected by the Chinese settlers and which the Japanese have taken over and modernized. The pioneers had set up a wall, like a small wall of China, along the extreme boundary of the conquered territory; guards were stationed at regular intervals to resist all attempts of the aborigines to break through the wall. The Chinese had trained some troops especially for this purpose. The Japanese restored these Ayu Lines; they stationed guards at intervals of 300 meters and set up fortresses at longer intervals. Thus the boundary is protected by an organized military police who must live in this dangerous region with their families throughout the entire year. There is a permanent state of war. The soldiers shoot all Malayans at sight, while the Japanese and Chinese in this region are never safe. I walked along this line for several kilometers. The Japanese have taken [608] advantage of all the natural fortifications; the wall is set up along the crest of the hills. In the section I visited the line had been moved further up the mountains recently to include the newly conquered territory. The innovation consists in the barbed wire which is strung along the entire line, 170 kilometers long in all; this serves to conduct an electric current with high voltage. To touch the wire would therefore be fatal. The guards make use of the electric current only in times of great danger, especially at night. By thus isolating the aborigines entirely, and preventing the greedy Chinese from smuggling, an occupation in which they are always engaged in spite of the hazards which attend it, the Japanese

hope eventually to wear down the resistance of the Seiban. It is through the smugglers that the aborigines obtain their powder and ammunition as well as salt; without these they cannot wage the battle for their existence for very long. They are still able to obtain these necessities, however, and it is characteristic of the greed of the Chinese that more of them are killed by the electric wire than by the aborigines themselves; I learned this fact from the district officer in Banshoryo, the main locality of that district. So far, eleven Chinese and only two natives had been killed by the electric wire. For barter between the aborigines and the Chinese, the antlers of deer killed by the latter are an important article of exchange. The Chinese pulverize these and use them for medicinal purposes; they pay a high price for them. The natives avoid the dangerous electrical wire by passing through the raging torrents in the valleys; the Japanese call the river which cuts through the boundary at the point where we passed it Kubitorigawa, that is, the river of headhunting.

40: Kirk --13 [2] S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 437, 486, 712, 177.43 Japanese

"According to Japanese reports, these outposts of the Empire are no longer sorely needed. (2) The wire fence is not electrified, and the guard line is no longer heavily

2. Yosaburo Takekoshi, Japanese Rule in Formosa (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1907).

patrolled. Certain Japanese traders who obtain special permits may go beyond the guard lines and barter with the natives, but they must not bring into the mountains either arms or ammunition. Consequently, the only way the primitive can get modern weapons is by smuggling them into the hills."

34: Del Re--19-20 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan-Aborigines
116, 619, 621, 183, 577, 421, 437 Yami

"The above [MLB: reluctance of Yami youths to enter government service] follows naturally from the basic principle of [20] their community life, namely that all members of the tribe have full and equal rights and freedom of action limited only by tribal custom which represents the collective will of the community freely accepted by and identifired with that of the individual. This also finds practical expression in their communal attitude towards all except a very few strictly personal belongings such as small canoes and ornaments. Everything else is held in common by the village. Uncultivated land, or land that has ceased to be cultivated, is the property of the community, but anyone who so wishes may take and cultivate it and in this sense it may be called his. Should he allow it to run wild, however, he cannot prevent another from cultivating it and enjoying its fruits. The large canoes and articles of clothing are also communal. In the event of a native wishing for something in the temporary possession of another he need only ask the present owner for it, but is in turn expected, as a matter of course, to do likewise. Such transactions are not necessarily in the nature of an exchange nor is a regular system of barter practised except for goods from outside."

34: Del Re--23 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 625, 437, 178, 415, 396, 531 Yami

"Besides acting as schoolmasters and, when necessary, as doctors, the police control (as in the case of other tribes) the exchange of local products against implements imported from Formosa, which are replacing the primitive stone and shell ones used for cultivating the land, or for working wood out of which they make their domestic utensils, some of which are very handsomely carved. The Yami are particularly skilful in building canoes, no less graceful than swift and seaworthy, decorated with elaborate designs and painted sometimes in red, white and black."

37: Steere--313-314 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 437, 487, 493 Chin-hoan

"The Kale-whan are in the habit of coming down every third day to trade with the Pepo-whans in the mouth of a large ravine that opens into the plain. The Pepo-whans have a well-beaten cart road leading to the market place, and some fifteen carts, each drawn by two buffaloes, wound creaking along the base of the mountains to the general rendezvous. The day we visited them I noticed [314] that all the time the bartering was going on two or three of each party, savages and Pepo-whans, held upright long lances in the center of the market-place as if this was a signal of peaceful trade. The Kale-whan brought down back loads of wood and grass which they traded for a little cloth and salt and rum, this latter being an article as eagerly desired by these savages as by other savages the world over."

39: Wiedfeldt--12 [2] F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 156, 437 Atayal

The Atayals are shrewd, and know how to act with thought and calculation in everything that concerns their vital needs. Among the border tribes, they have learned how to trade quickly, and they are quick to press their own advantage, the women in barter with the Japanese traders, and the men in their political dealings with the Japanese officials.

40: Kirk--15 [2] S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 437, 625

"The Japanese claim that the savages know nothing about business and that the usual run of merchants and traders take an unfair advantage when they get a chance to bartar with the natives. Consequently, the policeman assumes complete control over native affairs and decides with whom the primitives are to trade."

10: Schumacher--225 [8] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 314, 438 Chin-hoan

The inhabitants of the mountains subsist mainly by agriculture, hunting, the sale of camphor wood and the trade of camphor. The latter is obtained by means of extraction with water and a very simple system of distillation.

19: Guérin and Bernard--564 [3] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 439

Commerce, in the form of barter, plays a vital role among the Formosan tribes. From the Chinese they receive fire arms, gun powder and lead, knives, pottery sauce pans and jars, salt, rice, wine, cotton materials, wool stuffs (destined to be unraveled and mixed with native materials, to give them color and design), needles, thread, buttons, bells, copper, glass ornaments, ivory ornaments, money, etc. In return they furnish hemp, materials, rice paper, bear, leopard, and a great many deer skins, the tendons, feet and horns of deer, the fangs of the wild boar, venison, mushrooms, medicinal plants, kamatchi (a tubercle for dyeing), and above all, the right to exploit the neighboring forests or to cultivate the valleys and turn them into rice fields.

22: Wiedfeldt--38 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 439 Atayal

The objects set with precious things [MC: used as money by the Atayal] are not used in trading either. After all, there is no trading, although it is customary for barter to develop between "savages" and civilized people. There can be none. The fact that there is no means of communication would not be an insuperable obstacle, but would only make things more difficult. The means of communication now in use, such as the fire signals of distress, or the sending of messengers,...are destined only for military and political purposes, and it seems improbable to me that the suspension bridges are made for any other purpose. There is, however, a lack of goods that might be used in barter. "Trade follows the flag", but very slowly, even in the case of a country well equipped for trade like Japan...It does not follow at all for "savage tribes", which have no need of the wares of civilized peoples, except for modern weapons to keep off the traders, and it has not been desired to sell them weapons. The exchange that has gone on up to now between the Atayal border-tribes and the Japanese traders has been very limited as to amount and variety of objects: bright-colored cloth, glass beads, rings, sake, and matches, for reeds, bamboo sprouts, and recently, hides. Such ornaments are more necessary to the Atayals than salt, pots, knives, and metal tips, which they get from the Chinese, who are not protected by any flag. The need of the Atayals for those baubles is just as small as the market which they offer to Japanese economy is unimportant.

22: Wiedfeldt--38-39 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 439, 177.43 Japanese
636.43

What the Japanese really need is the valuable camphor trees which grow in Atayal territory. This important commodity is not bartered, however, and the Japanese control only the camphor trees inside the Aiyu line, pushing this line ahead as they feel the need. The tribes in the interior naturally do not share in this insignificant trade in trifles which has slowly developed in the border territories. Barter between tribes is just as impossible as barter between members of tribes, for all the Atayals produce the same things, and therefore have nothing to offer each other.[39] The Atayals and the Amis, who bound them on the south, hate each other mutually, and have nothing but hostile dealings with each other. Since the Japanese forbade the importation of guns and salt, a contraband barter in these two articles, which can hardly be dispensed with for purposes of defence and maintenance, is said to have developed in place of the former free gift of these things to the tribes of the interior, but no one knew anything about it, or if they did, they were unwilling to say anything about it.

19: Guérin and Bernard--567 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 443, 563

When a Chinese has several children by a savage, he keeps them for several years, and then sends them back to their mother's tribe. The girls marry and learn to hate the Chinese. The sons marry too, but they have more sympathy for their father's race, so they do not take part in the head-hunting expeditions, or in the festivals which follow them; some, however, have innocent tattoo marks on their foreheads. They take charge of the clan commerce and attend to the exchanges. Then there is a system of peddling, which distributes the Chinese products to the most distant tribes.

22: Wiedfeldt--40 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 45, 433, 463, 592 Atayal

Atayal economy has developed only one special profession, for the exercise of which there is always a market and which is paid in wages. With this one exception, the families provide for all of their needs themselves, on their own fields, which are theirs as long as they use them. The size of the fields is just large enough to support the family and to keep the family supply of labor occupied. Everything that has to do with profits is lacking, such as the production and sale of surpluses, competition, ground-rent, interest, and employers' profits, as well as all the more important phases and ramifications of economy, from communications to capital and credit.

4:Grajdanzev--38 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 433, 454, 511, 464

"The Japanese sources quote the following figures as proofs of their economic progress: in 1938 the aborigines produced 34,079 koku of rice, they received ¥ 230,253 for sugar cane raised on their fields, and ¥ 52,713 for silk cocoons; they had 29,247 pigs, 8,142 water buffalo, 3,964 cows, and 11,766 goats. Eighteen thousand aborigines had deposits in post offices to the aggregate amount of ¥ 414,000 (1937). Let us examine these figures: 34,079 koku of rice for the population of 90,000 give about 0.3 lb. of rice per person per day, less than one-third the average for Japan, and it should be remembered that rice is the aborigines' foremost crop. When the same division is made of the 29,247 pigs and 11,766 goats, there is little more than one sen per day per capita. If one takes into considera-[sic] crops on the average brought ¥ 13 per year per family, or less than one sen per day per capita. If one takes into consideration the fact that numerous tribal chiefs have many more pigs, goats, savings, etc. than the average native, one may understand the poverty in which most of these 'former savages' now live in the new conditions. Here lies the real cause of their rebellious spirit. They cannot exist on what they have. They have no choice but to work for the Japanese, and the Japan Year Book informs us that there are now 32 per cent of them who 'are able to understand Japanese to the extent of performing some simple work'. "

15: U.S. Navy--32 [9] (no date) 1944 Formosan Aborigines
116, 464, 563, 461

"The aborigines have proved unsuited for factory work or routine work under confining conditions. Of 45,000 Ami tribesmen in the Karenko industrial area, only 1,000 are considered employable as factory workers. They are said (by the Japanese) to be only 60 percent as efficient as the Formosan-Chinese. Nevertheless, they are being employed to advantage on the hydro-electric projects in the mountains."

20: Alvarez--258 (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 461, 241

"The Igorrotes, in general, are averse to every kind of manual labour, excepting the Amis, who build fine houses and have a handsome home industry. During the agricultural season, they as well as their Pyuma neighbours engage in agricultural work."

22: Wiedfeldt--17 [5] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 461, 311 Atayal

The Atayals have only one crop a year, and they consider the efforts of the Chinese to get two crops a year from the soil as a proof of poor work, because they have to work twice instead of once for their food. The fields are protected against the depredations of antelopes and wild boars mostly by means of a bamboo hedge, which is considered a logical part of the man's work. Corresponding to the rotation of crops, every family has three or four non-contiguous pieces of land.

22: Wiedfeldt--34 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 533, ~~461~~ Atayal

Neither men nor women sing at their work. They only sing when they are sitting in the bush, and they do so to the accompaniment of their instruments which resemble jew's harps, or they sing when they dance after partaking of the millet wine. Even when men are working together, as for example in the hunt, or when they are fishing, or making bridges, there are neither songs nor rythmical cries, nor shouts of encouragement to be heard, which is a thing that astonishes the Chinese and Japanese. Since this is so, there is no basis for the assumption that among the Atayals work originated from the rhythmical games.

26: Honda--473
241, 224, 461

N-3

(1896) 1897

Formosan Aborigines
Bunun

The aborigines are by no means hunters. Only the chiefs and a few of their subjects go hunting. The main occupation of the people is agriculture. In particular, sweet potatoes and millet are important products. In addition tobacco and a variety of pea are grown. The system of agriculture is communistic. Its advantages are that nothing is stolen because nobody is permitted to have private property. Both work and harvest are arranged on a cooperative basis.

The men were willing workers and like to use axes, which makes me believe that they would be good forestry workers.

31: Hofmann--626-627 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 436, 461, 804 Tsou

The natives do not know the value of money. They have several articles used for barter and pay, chiefly cloth. They measure length by spans. [627] Since they have a communist economy they pay by the day, so that the strongest man is hired as a carrier at the same price as the weakest boy. If a distinction were made, they would consider this unjust. In the same way they divide food among themselves so that everyone gets an equal share.

35: Collingwood--140 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 123, 461, 512 Sek-hoan

"It will not be supposed, however, that they were without occupation. In many huts the men were asleep, but towards evening they might be seen with their nets wending their way to the beach. Others I observed engaged over some seething vessels, in which I found they were extracting oil from the bones of turtle. The women had, several of them, naked babies hanging to their bare breasts; others came in from the country with pruning-knives, and laden with large bundles of grass and lily straw, which they laid down to dry in the sun, and which it appeared was ultimately intended for the repair of the thatch. These women had cloths wound round their legs, as a protection while in the field, and broad bamboo hats hanging by their side for wear in the hot sun. Others were spinning thread or weaving cloth, while some were engaged in beating rice out of the husks, which they did by placing it in a hollow stone vessel, under which they put a mat, and then two of them beating it alternately with the end of a heavy bamboo. While some were thus engaged, the idlers allowed themselves to be amused by some of our party, who showed them little tricks, which caused hearty laughter, and which they tried their best to imitate."

7: Joest--60 [9] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 462, 721 Chin-hoan

There is a fair division of labor between Chinwan men and women. The men go hunting and fishing and make their own weapons; since feuds with other tribes are traditional among the natives, they also consider fighting as part of their work. The women cultivate the fields, fetch water, chop wood, and mash rice; they also spin and weave and do the cooking. They go with the men when they are hunting so that they can carry home the game after it has been dried out over a fire.

7: Joest--61 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 264, 462, 574 Chin-hoan

If there is a guest in a Chinwan household, the women usually feed him; the woman tastes each bite herself first.

11: Haguenauer--33-34 T-3 (no date) 1929
116, 462, 562

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

The Tayal woman works very hard. It is her task to go get the wood and the water, to cultivate the millet and sweet potatoes for the household; and it is also she who weaves the clothing. The husband fishes or goes hunting. He takes part in war expeditions and helps guard the village. However, the woman is not a slave, [34] and she is her husband's equal.

14: Tamai--96 [4] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 462 Chin-hoan

Hunting is the chief occupation of the Tschinwan men. The women work in the fields if the weather is good, and they weave or sew clothes if it rains.

19: Guérin and Bernard--556-557 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 314, 462

Women are the only people entitled to exercise the profession, or really the priesthood of tattooing. They use a splinter of resinous pine, which is burning; the flame is held against a polished surface which is covered with a thick layer of a black substance. A thread is sprinkled with this stuff and then held at both ends to show what the design should be. The metallic teeth of a kind of comb are placed on this sketch, [557] and then hammer blows pound them into the skin. The first flow of blood is stanched with a bamboo scraper, and at this moment the tattooer dips her finger into the resinous smoke and rubs it over the wound. The operation is over, the blood soon stops flowing, and the scar is an indelible blue. Most of the clans get their tattooing wood from the Kakaougan tribe, where there are forests which are unusually full of resinous products.

19: Guérin and Bernard--558 [5] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 462

Women do the work in the fields among the savages, and men help them when they are not hunting or taking trips.

19: Guérin and Bernard--559 [3] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 462, 562

Savage wives accompany their husbands on peaceful expeditions, but usually they stay home. They have to do the house work, and a great deal of the cultivation in the fields. The women are real companions for their husbands, and by nature they are happy and gay.

21: Asai--7 [3] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 462

"Agriculture is carried on by the women, the men hunt. Use bows and arrows and spears for hunting. They hunt deer, pigs, fox, bear, leopards."

21: Asai--7-8 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 462, 752, 756

"Medicine men and women do different things. The medicine women are usually very sensitive and sometimes a little insane. They cure diseases, put hexes on individual's enemies. In Bunun they are very careful not to leave hair, etc. around so that they won't have a curse put on them. In the case of serious illness, they believe the person has the soul of the [8] father or mother in them. The medicine woman gives offering to the ancestors and asks that the spirits go away. If a person has pains in distinct places, the pain is caused by an enemy, and the medicine woman must make a counter-charm to make the pain go away."

22: Wiedfeldt--15 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 562, 462, 591, 285 Atayal

The man's obligation is not only to afford protection against enemies, but also to provide shelter against the rigors of the weather. Before he is married, he builds the hut and the small adjoining hut, and prepares them, which takes about four to five months. During his married life he also builds a new hut, if the old one is destroyed by termites or storms, or is used as a place of burial and hence left deserted. He makes all the woven material, from the mats which are used as curtains to the baskets to hold provisions...

The protector, among the Atayals, also becomes an archer and hunter, as well as a fisherman.

22: Wiedfeldt--16 [5] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 462, 562 Atayal

If it is a man's job to take care of protection, then it is the woman's duty to provide food and clothing.

22: Wiedfeldt--17 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 827, 462 Atayal

When a family has selected a piece of land, the man first pulls off or cuts off the branches of the trees on the land, so that the trees will die. The following year he burns off the dry trunks, together with the underbrush and the grass. The Atayals think it ridiculous to claim that these ashes encourage plant growth, and they find the Chinese custom of using human excrement as fertilizer repugnant. When the Formosa maple has red shoots, the woman loosens the ground with a stick or a spear and sows millet. The next year she plants mountain potatoes, or sweet potatoes and beans, and sometimes she plants millet again in the third year.

22: Wiedfeldt--18 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
462, 283 Atayal

The Atayal woman works harder at providing clothing than she does at providing food. She picks and beats the green ramie grass, soaks the sun-dried fibres in water, and beats them again. She spins the fibres into thread by walking around the stationary spindle. She weaves the fibres in a simple pattern, similar to a netting stitch. She makes them into pieces of cloth in sizes to suit the special use to which they are to be put.

22: Wiedfeldt--19 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 593, 462, 512, 533 Atayal

From the economic point of view, Atayal life is based on the cooperation of man and woman in the family. Estimated exactly, the feminine contribution is greater and more essential, as is shown by the moving lament of an Atayal widower:

No woman weaves me garments,
None brings me yams,
None brings me wood,
None brings water,
None plants the fields,
None prepares the meal
For me, starving,
None cleans my hut,
None helps me.

The activities listed here, together with the usual interruptions, keep a woman busy for almost the whole day. Without interruptions, they would take up about a third of a day. A man is busy only at intervals, and is mainly concerned with building the hut and clearing the land, and he scarcely does a twentieth or a thirtieth part of what he is capable of doing.

22: Wiedfeldt--34 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 462, 221 Atayal

Whether the Atayal man merely keeps himself busy, or whether he works, may be doubtful. Still, the annual clearing of the arable land should be considered a regularly recurring, conscious effort directed toward a definite and vital purpose. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the Atayal woman really works in the economic sense of the word, with her planting, harvesting, and preparation of meals, her spinning, dyeing, and weaving. In any case, in contrast to modern conditions, the woman is more of a worker than the man.

22: Wiedfeldt--34-35 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 462, 592 Atayal

Men and women never work together. Each has his or her special occupation in the household... They do not have the division of labor which is common among us today, according to which the man is active outside the house as a producer, and inside the house as a consumer, while the woman occupies herself only with the affairs of the household, but is not engaged in productive economic activity for the benefit of the household. Among the Atayals both parties have their special activities in the household, without which neither the household nor their entire existence would be possible. The man provides protection against the enemy and the weather; he makes the land fit for cultivation, makes weapons and wicker-work. [35] The woman plants and harvests, spins, and weaves the clothes, prepares food and drink. The Atayal household is thus a productive community based on the division of labor...

24: Anonymous--91 [5] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 462, 833, 837

If there is work to be done in the fields, the woman plows while the man stays at home to take care of the children. If the husband and wife cease to have intercourse, whether there are children or not, they live in promiscuity. During the warm season, one may see men and women having intercourse in the nude publicly, but adults avoid being seen by the younger people.

31: Hofmann--620 [3] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 462 Tsou

Most of the natives have small fields on the slopes. I did not see any traces of agriculture near the houses; in the depressions, because of the debris washed down by the rivers, there are few places fit for cultivation. Most of the labor in the fields is done by the women. Within the tribe or tribal village, both labor and profit are regulated according to the communistic principle. Hunting and agriculture are both communal undertakings and the profit is divided equally among all; the children get the same share as the adults.

35: Collingwood--138 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
462 Sek-hoan

"Many of the younger girls were employed in spinning the thread from fibres of hemp; and the cloth was woven by the older women, in pieces about a yard and a half long and a foot broad."

22: Wiedfeldt--35 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 463, 304, 756 Atayal

Division of labor among the Atayals has not yet progressed to the point of vocational training, for every family produces all that it needs itself. There are no artisans. The only exception to this rule is that of the prophetess and medicine-woman, who receives payment for her poisonous drinks, her prophecies, and especially for her tattooing, in the formof gifts which are scaled according to the means of the client, a method of calculation which is current among modern doctors also. The only profession which has been able to develop because it finds a field for its accomplishments in the custom of tattooing, is therefore one of the activities of the women, and, if one considers tattooing treatment of the body, and hence an activity which falls in the sphere of the doctor, it is a profession which in our day women have had to struggle to wring from the monopolistic control of men, while among the Atayals it is handed down from mother to daughter.

22: Wiedfeldt--35 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 463, 177, 231 Atayal

If the keeping of boars has recently produced a kind of side-line for individual Atayal families, this is a case of a recent innovation borrowed from Chinese economy.

22: Wiedfeldt--35 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 476, 463, 224 Atayal

Several women never work together. If several men work together, as for example in making bridges, fishing, or in war, there is no division of labor, but each one does the same thing as his neighbor. They have no ability to organize their occupations. If in hunting, 1/3 of them have guns and act as shooters, while 2/3 of them have old-style weapons and are busier as beaters and runners, without their knowing it the lack of guns has become an advantage.

22: Wiedfeldt--40 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 45, 433, 463, 592 Atayal

Atayal economy has developed only one special profession, for the exercise of which there is always a market and which is paid in wages. With this one exception, the families provide for all of their needs themselves, on their own fields, which are theirs as long as they use them. The size of the fields is just large enough to support the family and to keep the family supply of labor occupied. Everything that has to do with profits is lacking, such as the production and sale of surpluses, competition, ground-rent, interest, and employers' profits, as well as all the more important phases and ramifications of economy, from communications to capital and credit.

4:Grajdanzev--38 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 433, 454, 511, 464

"The Japanese sources quote the following figures as proofs of their economic progress: in 1938 the aborigines produced 34,079 koku of rice, they received ¥ 230,253 for sugar cane raised on their fields, and ¥ 52,713 for silk cocoons; they had 29,247 pigs, 8,142 water buffalo, 3,964 cows, and 11,766 goats. Eighteen thousand aborigines had deposits in post offices to the aggregate amount of ¥ 414,000 (1937). Let us examine these figures: 34,079 koku of rice for the population of 90,000 give about 0.3 lb. of rice per person per day, less than one-third the average for Japan, and it should be remembered that rice is the aborigines' foremost crop. When the same division is made of the 29,247 pigs and 11,766 goats, there is little more than one sen per day per capita. If one takes into considera-[sic] crops on the average brought ¥ 13 per year per family, or less than one sen per day per capita. If one takes into consideration the fact that numerous tribal chiefs have many more pigs, goats, savings, etc. than the average native, one may understand the poverty in which most of these 'former savages' now live in the new conditions. Here lies the real cause of their rebellious spirit. They cannot exist on what they have. They have no choice but to work for the Japanese, and the Japan Year Book informs us that there are now 32 per cent of them who 'are able to understand Japanese to the extent of performing some simple work'. "

15: U.S. Navy--32 [9] (no date) 1944 Formosan Aborigines
116, 464, 563, 461

"The aborigines have proved unsuited for factory work or routine work under confining conditions. Of 45,000 Ami tribesmen in the Karenko industrial area, only 1,000 are considered employable as factory workers. They are said (by the Japanese) to be only 60 percent as efficient as the Formosan-Chinese. Nevertheless, they are being employed to advantage on the hydro-electric projects in the mountains."

22: Wiedfeldt--35-36 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 464, 586, 597 Atayal

Labor, however, is harder to get [MC: than land], and hence female labor, which the man generally has to provide, has a corresponding market value of from 25 to 30 ro-kosch-kaha [MC: ornamented clothing used as money]. This same value [36] serves as the basis of compensation when a marriage is dissolved. If elderly parents have no more unmarried children to help out in their household, they buy young people as laborers. If they have no means, the clan helps to make up the price. In every tribe, 60 to 70 children are sold in this way annually.

22: Wiedfeldt--36 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 464, 567, 597, 886 Atayal

Since the most common of all the contracts of our day, the labor contract, is not known of, either as a contract for service or for labor, the only possibility which ageing people have of getting the necessary labor to enable them to live is purchase. The expression "purchase" gives the wrong impression, and is merely used for the sake of brevity. Just as the price paid for a bride is compensation paid to the family for the loss of labor, so the purchase of children is more a question of adoption by compromise with the physical parents. Children thus acquired are considered real members of the family, and are in no way treated as slaves. For example, it never happens that a girl is bought for sexual purposes. The children are said never to run away. If they did, their family would have to pay back the money which they received for them.

22: Wiedfeldt--39-40 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 43, 464, 592 Atayal

In spite of lack of good management, one may speak of an integrated Atayal economy, which, for all its crudity, corresponds to the economic ideal of complete self-sufficiency ...Atayal economy has a certain technical equipment, and recognizes real economic labor. It has values and prices; it has currency; and it has marketable wares for which there is supply and demand. [40] It consists of many uniform and individual domestic economies, which are based on the complementary labors of the men and women of the family, and in which a lack of labor is met by a money payment to the household. There is no such thing as supporting a family by labor brought in from outside.

22: Wiedfeldt--46-47 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 464, 476, 592 Atayal

Measured by the standards of our present conditions, the Atayals lack the social relationship between employer and labor which has come into being by means of the labor contract, and by means of which the worker places his labor at the disposal of the employer in return for compensation. The Atayals know nothing about bringing outside labor in to help in their own households, nor do they understand the principle of mutual aid between neighbors... They only know how to manage with the labor supplied by the members of their own families and they increase the membership of the family if the need arises. The association of several clans for the purpose of hunting or fishing, and the [47] equal division of the booty among all can not be regarded as the beginning of the social institution of joint production, for there is no integration of labor. It may rather be regarded as a kind of economic union, and considered from this point of view, it would emphasize the difference between the poverty of Atayal life and the great number of economic organizations and unions that characterize our times.

16: Müller--230 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 466, 653, 561, 805 Ami

Among some tribes of the Amis group it is customary to assign public works according to the degree of physical development rather than age, since in some cases they do not even keep track of their age. They divide the men into three to eleven classes and assign these to permanent positions; this includes the construction of roads, guard duty, etc.

21: Asai--3 [2] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 226, 396, 476 Yami

"Among the Yami there is a fishing league. (The Yami live between Formosa and the Philippines on a very small island.) The Yami live on fishing—not much agriculture. They are very skillful in constructing boats. There are one-man, two-men, and the largest are 10-men boats. In the construction of 10-men boats, 10 members are necessary. They form a union. Sometimes it takes more than a year to build a 10-men boat. The men who have built the boat always fish in that boat and always together. The fish is divided among them. Such groups are voluntary rather than hereditary."

22: Wiedfeldt--15-16 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 221, 226, 476, 527 Atayal

Since there are no implements for catching fish, fish are caught only once a year, in spite of the great wealth of fish in the mountain streams. This is a cooperatuve undertaking in which the whole tribe takes part. The chief of the tribe sets a day for the gathering of the chiefs of the clans, and also for catching fish in the large river. It is in the fall, when the trout has reached its full growth and the millet is ripe. Every clan sends at least one representative, and the women and children [16] also come. Every man brings along some poison which he has prepared himself from a species of bindweed. When it is dropped into the river, the fish are supposed to come to the surface immediately and even to hurry to shore, so that the participants in the celebration are able to catch them by splashing their hands in the water, amid laughter and joking. They are divided into as many piles as the number of clans represented, in which process the chief of the tribe sees that justice is observed. The same procedure is followed in dividing the clan allotments among the families participating. Since the fish are immediately roasted on the fire and consumed, this fish festival is a convenient way of feeding the people attending the meeting of the tribe.

22: Wiedfeldt--25 [6] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 476 Atayal

The clan is a family on a larger scale, amongst whose members there is complete solidarity. Like the family, its prime tasks are economic ones, although they are not so vital and are limited to those which constitute the obligation of the man of the family. It is an assembly of the men, and it undertakes those things which require more than the strength or the ability of the individual man. Thus, it takes care of protection against numerous enemies.

22: Wiedfeldt--26 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 476, 614, 736 Atayal

In the hunts, the heads of the clans who take part act as directors and leaders for the members of their clans, for the dekane [MC: hunting association] has no head. If a family belonging to the clan is in distress because of wounds received in war, illness, or death, the neighbors help out, for the clan is a solid unit in aiding each of its members. Poverty or even begging is unknown.

22: Wiedfeldt--35 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 476, 463, 224 Atayal

Several women never work together. If several men work together, as for example in making bridges, fishing, or in war, there is no division of labor, but each one does the same thing as his neighbor. They have no ability to organize their occupations. If in hunting, 1/3 of them have guns and act as shooters, while 2/3 of them have old-style weapons and are busier as beaters and runners, without their knowing it the lack of guns has become an advantage.

22: Wiedfeldt--46-47 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 464, 476, 592 Atayal

Measured by the standards of our present conditions, the Atayals lack the social relationship between employer and labor which has come into being by means of the labor contract, and by means of which the worker places his labor at the disposal of the employer in return for compensation. The Atayals know nothing about bringing outside labor in to help in their own households, nor do they understand the principle of mutual aid between neighbors... They only know how to manage with the labor supplied by the members of their own families and they increase the membership of the family if the need arises. The association of several clans for the purpose of hunting or fishing, and the [47] equal division of the booty among all can not be regarded as the beginning of the social institution of joint production, for there is no integration of labor. It may rather be regarded as a kind of economic union, and considered from this point of view, it would emphasize the difference between the poverty of Atayal life and the great number of economic organizations and unions that characterize our times.

22: Wiedfeldt--52 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 476, 614, 619, 622 Atayal

Although a lack of supplies and transportation seriously cripples the power of the Atayals to act, to act, they have not yet been able to rise to performing any services for the body corporate. [MC: i. e. the tribe] They have only their own persons and their own strength to offer... It is different in the case of the clan. Here the members of the clan join in raising the fines and the purchase prices. One might see in this custom the germ of a tax system. If one were to examine the conditions more closely, one might also discover other basic principles of taxation, such as the consideration of the capacity of the individual to pay, or the imposition of a heavier quota on those who are particularly concerned. The head of a clan who keeps the fines that are paid in may also be regarded as a kind of treasurer. One may see how difficult it is to organize a large number of people to united and permanent activity from the fact that economic means can be levied for the clan, with its social and economic functions which are easy to see, but it is not possible to do this for the tribe even in an emergency. One can see how this difficulty increases with the size of the superior body.

14: Tamai--95 [3] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 481 Chin-hoan

Togasha is situated a distance of about 16 kilometers from Kushaku; on this short stretch the men had to climb five steep mountains and crossed many brooks. While the Japanese found this route extremely difficult, the Tschinwans, who had to carry a barrel, a pig, and several other things, climbed these paths apparently without any difficulty.

19: Guérin and Bernard--553 [3] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 141, 142, 481

The Formosan savages are similar to the higher quadrumanes, such as the gorilla, in their gait. Their arms are long, and they have enormous feet. When they walk the front part of the foot is the only section that touches the ground; this is managed in some way by a perfect manipulation of the toes. The savages are above normal height, except among the southern tribes. The hair of the savages is usually tied in a knot at the back of the head, although it is occasionally cut short. Body hair is not very abundant. The features are those of a race which has been degraded by the difficulties of eking out an existence. Children in the north look very much like Europeans. You are amazed by the variety of physiognomies, for flat faces are seen side by side with Greco-Roman profiles. Unfortunately, the natural beauty is soon destroyed by an artificial ugliness. The southerners look like Malays or Tayals, but they are all extremely vigorous and agile.

24: Anonymous--91 [2] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 481

Both men and women go barefoot, but they do cover themselves with garments. They wear a short shirt (tuan-shan) and a loincloth made of wool (fu-pu). The women wrap grey cotton cloth around the calves of their legs and usually wear flowers in their hair. Boys and girls of fourteen or fifteen years usually tie a belt of plaited rattan around their loins, so that they learn to run with incredible speed and even outrun horses.

31: Hofmann--626 [2] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 481 Tsou

In warfare the natives have the advantage in the mountains since they are very agile, skillful climbers. I was often able to observe this myself; they climbed even very steep slopes at a running pace, and although they were loaded down with baggage, they were secure on overhanging rocks. In the plains, however, they tire very easily, and they cannot make a long march on level ground. When they go on longer walks, the natives protect their heads from the sun with a covering of leaves or flowers; dressed thus they certainly do not inspire fear.

7: Joest--59 [6] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 482, 562, 854 Chin-hoan

Carrying heavy burdens is a task which is scorned by the men; the women carry them by attaching them to a strap which is passed over the forehead. In this manner they carry firewood, game which has been killed, or bamboo filled with water; they carry their children in the same way. Sometimes they carry children on their shoulders; the children are secured by means of a strap which the mother ties around her chest.

11: Haguenauer--32 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
482

A "savage" balances our light baggage on the two ends of a bamboo, places it on his shoulders.

22: Wiedfeldt--18 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 412, 482 Atayal

Their chief [MC: agricultural] tools are a stick, a spear, or an antelope horn. These are used for loosening the ground and for removing the product. The stick also serves as a support and for carrying loads on their shoulders. Aside from this, they also use the hunting net for transporting products. The long knife which we have already mentioned is carried nowadays by most of the men. They use it as a hatchet, a sickle, or a hoe.

31: Hofmann--619 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 123, 482 Tsou

They may be hired as carriers; they carried our baggage quickly and efficiently through the chasms and over the mountains when we continue our expedition on the following day. I visited two villages inhabited by this tribe; I went inside some of their huts and stayed overnight in one of the villages, so that I have some first-hand information about this tribe.

37: Steere--311 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 482, 771, 609, 787, 825 Chin-hoan

"They carry burdens upon a high wooden frame that is strapped to the back, instead of by the universal Chinese method of a pole across the shoulder. I could find but little traces of religion, but plenty of superstitions. I was one day astonished by the band with which I was traveling suddenly all dropping to the ground and beginning to groan as if they expected to die. Inquiring the cause of this, I found that a certain bird, to which ominous powers are attributed, had cried out on the left side of the path we were traveling, and this was considered a bad omen for us. After a few minutes the party got up and moved on, though all were still groaning and beating their gunstocks with their knives; and they did not regain their composure until the same bird was heard to call out on the right side of the path, when they moved on as usual. They seem to have little or no connection with the other savages, but to live in mortal fear of them. If they ever were in the habit of taking the heads of their enemies, it must have been long ago, as the proofs have disappeared."

11: Haguenauer--31-32 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 484

The best way of entering the Tayal territory is to take the railroad as far as Toen, and from there a country bus carries you to Taikei. The "car" is rather rickety, and it is full of chattering Formosan women. They put their hands up to protect their chignons, which are adorned with prized gold hairpins. Everyone is squeezed and tossed around. After an hour's ride we reached Taikei which is a little city set in a picturesque fashion on a hillside beside a broad torrent. You have to take a lorry to go on to Kappanzan. [AN: Kakupanzan] This vehicle consists of a rattan chair, which is perched on a heavy mobile car, that runs along a narrow railroad track. The trip lasts for four hours, and yet the two Chinese who push it scarcely ever stop to rest. At first the track rises as it skirts the western slope of the mountain. Then you reach a pass which is at an altitude of about 800 meters, and from it you can see the whole valley. We stop to rest for a time, and then start down the eastern slope....The almost naked coolies [32] give a good push to the car and then jump up on it. It goes careening down the side, making a noise like that of an express train, and this is very surprising for such a small vehicle. ...There are dangers, for the track has sudden curves, in places it crosses suspended bridges, and I seriously doubt whether the primitive brake would keep you from turning over in case the car left the tracks.

Finally we reach Kappanzan,[AN: Kakupanzan] which is the first large lookout post in the region....

11: Haguenauer--32 [2] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 484

We continue our trip to Gaogan, which is another large post that is twenty-five kilometers further on; and these twenty-five kilometers have to be covered on foot. A "savage" balances our light baggage on the two ends of a bamboo, places it on his shoulders, and takes the lead. We follow on foot, accompanied by an armed guard who is to take us to the neighboring post. The landscape becomes wilder as the trail ascends the mountain flank. And looking down at our feet we glimpse the torrent which we have been following ever since we left Taikei. It flows at the bottom of a narrow and winding gorge; there is little water at this season, and it is just a narrow green ribbon, which slips between the masses of rock. After five long hours we reach Gaogan. The post dominates the torrent which makes a broad curve at this point. The village, consisting of several huts, is on the mountain slope.

22: Wiedfeldt--32 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 646, 527, 484, 576 Atayal

This koto-kumai-roh, or common council [MC: the full assembly of all clan heads of the tribe and honorary chiefs]... meets as a rule at the time of the millet harvest. It begins early in the morning, since most of the clan heads have used the previous day for traveling, and it lasts one to three hours. Connected with it are the community fishing expedition, which supplies the food, and on the next morning, the tribal millet festival. The chief of the tribe opens, conducts, and closes the meeting. He presents the agenda briefly, and then yields the floor to such honorary chiefs and then such clan heads as have something to say. While someone is talking, all the others listen attentively in silence, without interrupting him in any way. Each individual speaks only a few minutes, for it is considered improper to take a long time to express one's opinion.

24: Anonymous--91-92 U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 202, 484

For long journeys, they use a cart drawn by cattle. If they come to a steep mountain path they slide down a rope made of rattan. They cross brooks on large rocks which they have placed in them to take the place of bridges. [92] Messengers who carry public notices wear bells attached so that they ring when they are shaken; these messengers run at incredible speeds.

11: Haguenauer--29 -30 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 486, 625

How do you travel in the savage territory? You have to have a safe-conduct, which is supplied by the Chief of Police who is in charge of the savages. With this passport you can travel under escort along the trails which skirt [30] the "savage zone". You go from post to post. These are generally placed four or five kilometers apart, and they are guarded by Japanese policemen, assisted by natives, who can speak enough Japanese so that they can act as interpreters. Larger posts are placed at strategic spots. And there you find a large exchange post, a school and workshops.

40: Kirk --13 [2] S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 437, 486, 712, 177.43 Japanese

"According to Japanese reports, these outposts of the Empire are no longer sorely needed. (2) The wire fence is not electrified, and the guard line is no longer heavily

2. Yosaburo Takekoshi, Japanese Rule in Formosa (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1907).

patrolled. Certain Japanese traders who obtain special permits may go beyond the guard lines and barter with the natives, but they must not bring into the mountains either arms or ammunition. Consequently, the only way the primitive can get modern weapons is by smuggling them into the hills."

14: Tamai--97[16] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361, 487, 505 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwans of Maraisha inhabit a strategically favorable position; it is difficult to approach their villages from any side. The Japanese expeditionary forces found no suitable roads; what the Tschinwans consider a road to us is barely a path.

Since the mountains are steep and rocky it is difficult to build roads. The best method of transportation is to make use of the rivers.

14: Tamai--97-98 J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 487 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwans are familiar with the following routes: [98]

1. The route across Kushaku and Shinten to Taipeifu.
2. The road to Taikokan, which was built by Lin-Ming-Tschiang and is therefore the best road.
3. The road to Sankakuto.
4. The road along the river which leads to Kelung; it is broad and very steep.

22: Wiedfeldt--38 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
202, 487 Atayal

The fact that there is no means of communication would not be an insuperable obstacle, [MC: to trade] but would only make things more difficult. The means of communication now in use, such as the fire signals of distress, or the sending of messengers,... are destined only for military and political purposes, and it seems improbable to me that the suspension bridges are made for any other purpose.

35: Collingwood--138-139 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 124, 133, 487 Sek-hoan

"Returning to the Kibalan village, the name of which I believe is Shek-fan, we made known to them by signs that we were anxious to visit the mountains, and to meet with the savages. They, however, did their best to persuade us not to go, assuring us that we should be shot. On shewing them our revolvers, however, they seemed to think we should be safer; but, when we inquired for a guide, one and all declared that their throats would be cut if they ventured among the hills. After considerable parley, the sight of a dollar induced one to accompany us, and, having armed himself with his matchlock, we set out; our guide, however, taking good care to keep in the rear of the party. Crossing some paddy fields, and proceeding along a sandy bay to the southward, our path was arrested by rocks, while on our right was a range of hills covered with a seemingly impenetrable forest. On closer examination, however, we discovered a beaten track, and up it we climbed, through a dense vegetation of tree ferns, camphor trees, etc., among which were some beautiful flowers, and many gaudy butterflies, although the overarching trees shut out most of the light. We ascended a considerable distance, tracing the path, which, although faint, was evident, and marking the trees as we ascended; but no trace could we find of the savages of whom we were in search. At length, finding the path less and less distinct, and time failing, we gave up the chase, and descended to the Kibalan village. The track which we had followed, however, was so evidently a more or less frequented one, that, considering the dread professed by the inhabitants of the village of their savage neighbours, it is difficult to understand by whom

it could have been used, unless by the mountain aborigines descending to the plain in search of supplies. Subsequent inquires at Sano, as well as some [139] signs made by the Kibalans, elicited the information (whether true or false) that the aborigines of the mountains could not be reached under two days' journey from Sano Bay."

37: Steere--313-314 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 437, 487, 493 Chin-hoan

"The Kale-whan are in the habit of coming down every third day to trade with the Pepo-whans in the mouth of a large ravine that opens into the plain. The Pepo-whans have a well-beaten cart road leading to the market place, and some fifteen carts, each drawn by two buffaloes, wound creaking along the base of the mountains to the general rendezvous. The day we visited them I noticed [314] that all the time the bartering was going on two or three of each party, savages and Pepo-whans, held upright long lances in the center of the market-place as if this was a signal of peaceful trade. The Kale-whan brought down back loads of wood and grass which they traded for a little cloth and salt and rum, this latter being an article as eagerly desired by these savages as by other savages the world over."

26: Honda--471 [6] N-3 (1896) 1897 Formosan Aborigines
116, 162, 491, 609 Bunun

The next day we marched for five hours through grassland at an altitude of about 2700 meters to the village of Ho-Sha, which has a population of about 300 persons. On the way we passed a hanging bridge of Calamus Rotang which spans the Tinalankei River in a spot where it is about 30 meters wide. In the village of Ho-Sha we were received as on the previous day and once more I had to spend the night in the community building surrounded by smells.

34: Del Re--24-27 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 133, 361, 504, 342, 491 Yami

"A small steamship calls at the island once every ten days, weather permitting. As the sea is frequently rough and Botel-Tobago is surrounded by dangerous breakers, the ship anchors some distance out and passengers and cargo are transferred to land on a catamaran made out of heavy bamboo trunks lashed together. Apart from a small rest-house, police headquarters and the policemen's houses, all the rest are native buildings. The walls of these houses are built of large pebbles piled upon each other without mortar and covered with thatched roofs held down by large stones to prevent them being torn off by the wind. As this blows strongly practically all the year round, the houses are mainly constructed well below the level of the ground and protected by high stone walls over which only the roofs can be seen. The villages are scattered over the island, generally on the foreshore, but a few shacks and storehouses--covered with bamboo and branches of several varieties of trees--are found on the cultivated uplands and in the hills which rise steeply from the shore except where the coast forms a few open bays. During the twenties a good road was built round the island making it possible for the villagers to communicate with each other by cart or bycicle [sic]--a recent and much [pages 25 and 26 contain illustrations] [27] appreciated novelty."

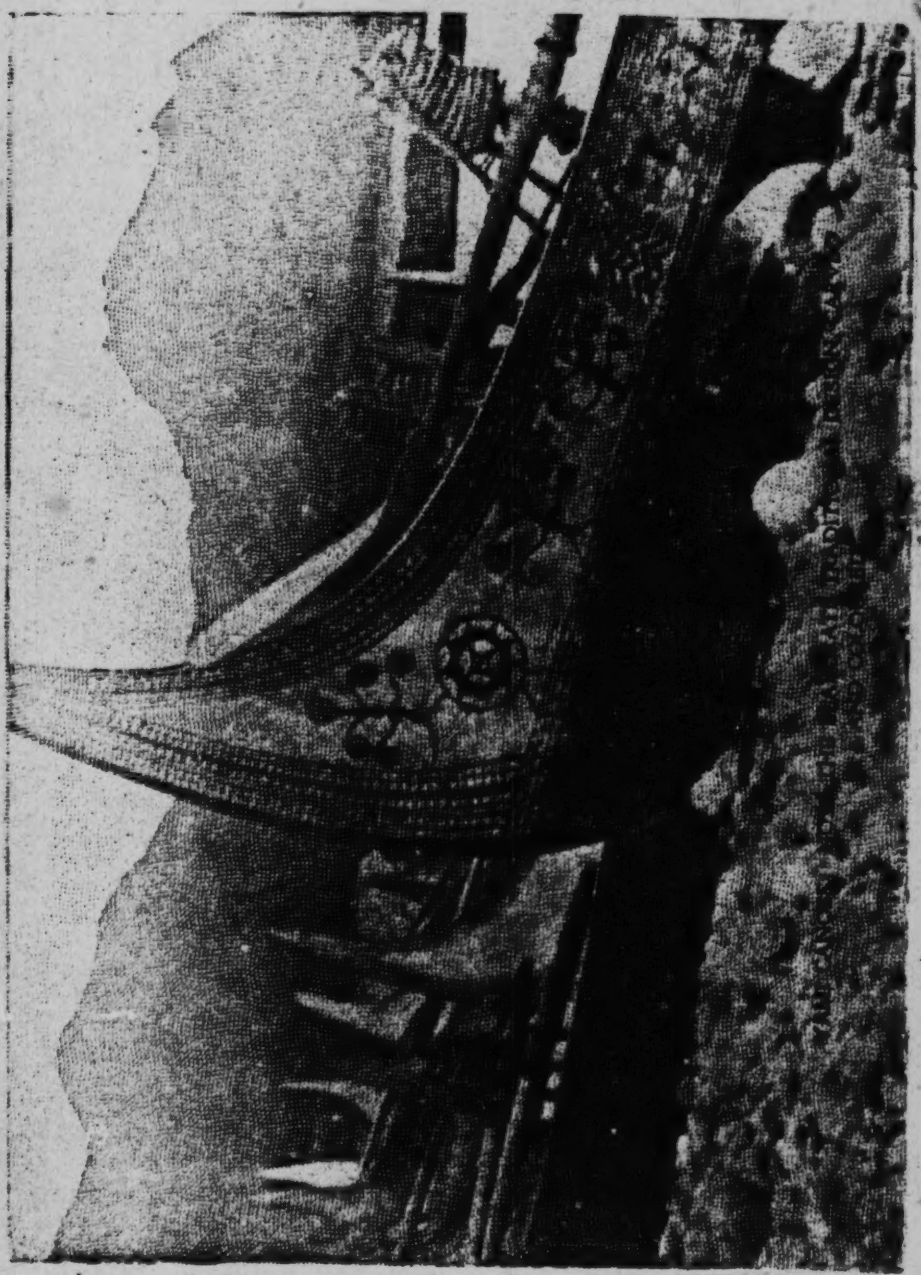
37: Steere--313-314 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 437, 487, 493 Chin-hoan

"The Kale-whan are in the habit of coming down every third day to trade with the Pepo-whans in the mouth of a large ravine that opens into the plain. The Pepo-whans have a well-beaten cart road leading to the market place, and some fifteen carts, each drawn by two buffaloes, wound creaking along the base of the mountains to the general rendezvous. The day we visited them I noticed [314] that all the time the bartering was going on two or three of each party, savages and Pepo-whans, held upright long lances in the center of the market-place as if this was a signal of peaceful trade. The Kale-whan brought down back loads of wood and grass which they traded for a little cloth and salt and rum, this latter being an article as eagerly desired by these savages as by other savages the world over."

7: Joest--60 [11] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 501 Chin-hoan

In the south of the island there is a lake which the Chinese call Lake of the Dragon's Foot. Here the natives make dugout canoes by burning the tree trunks until they are hollow. Their oars have the shape of pointed spades.

34:Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami



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34:Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami

501
133

A 'Ten-Men Fishing Boat' (Chinusitran) Setting Out Between the Coral Reefs

37: Steere--310 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 304, 411, 226, 501 Chin-hoan

"The dress of the men is a hunting shirt made of deer or monkey skins, that does not protect the arms nor legs. The women wear a sort of tunic of Chinese cloth, and protect the fore-part of the leg with a sort of close-fitting gaiter from the thorns and spines with which the forest is filled. They do not tattoo, but have a custom of knocking out the eye-teeth of the boys, so that they reminded me of squirrels. They are not warlike, but use rude bows and arrows for hunting and protection when they are too poor to get firelocks. They are great hunters, and large strings of monkeys' and bears' skulls hung about their dwellings. I saw them fishing with small dip-nets among the pond-lily roots and leaves, and catching a species of cat-fish (Silurus). They also fish with rude spears. They use, in navigating the lake, huge hollowed trunks of camphor trees, that look as if they may have been in use a hundred years. They are very awkward and heavy, and appear to have been hollowed with fire. They are open at both ends, the water being kept out with earth and sods."

39: Wiedfeldt--22-23 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 133, 181, 501 Atayal

The Atayals live on an island but they are not a seafaring people. On the eastern coast of Formosa, where they have settled right down to the shore, navigation is so difficult, even for modern coastal steamers, as a result of an exceptionally strong current, [23] that getting from a boat to a ship even in good weather is sure to mean a ducking, as I know from experience. In bad weather it is impossible to get from a boat to a ship, or vice versa...For the Atayals, who could make only the simplest kind of boats with their few tools, such as hollowed-out tree trunks, or rafts, no navigation is possible here.

22: Wiedfeldt--33[3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 322, 503 Atayal

They know how to build huts, lay canals about a hundred meters long, or bend strong wood, by softening it in water, propping it up at both ends and weighting it down with stones in the middle.

34: Del Re--24-27 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 133, 361, 504, 342, 491 Yami

"A small steamship calls at the island once every ten days, weather permitting. As the sea is frequently rough and Botel-Tobago is surrounded by dangerous breakers, the ship anchors some distance out and passengers and cargo are transferred to land on a catamaran made out of heavy bamboo trunks lashed together. Apart from a small rest-house, police headquarters and the policemen's houses, all the rest are native buildings. The walls of these houses are built of large pebbles piled upon each other without mortar and covered with thatched roofs held down by large stones to prevent them being torn off by the wind. As this blows strongly practically all the year round, the houses are mainly constructed well below the level of the ground and protected by high stone walls over which only the roofs can be seen. The villages are scattered over the island, generally on the foreshore, but a few shacks and storehouses--covered with bamboo and branches of several varieties of trees--are found on the cultivated uplands and in the hills which rise steeply from the shore except where the coast forms a few open bays. During the twenties a good road was built round the island making it possible for the villagers to communicate with each other by cart or bycicle [sic]--a recent and much [pages 25 and 26 contain illustrations] [27] appreciated novelty."

14: Tamai--97[16] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361, 487, 505 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwans of Maraisha inhabit a strategically favorable position; it is difficult to approach their villages from any side. The Japanese expeditionary forces found no suitable roads; what the Tschinwans consider a road to us is barely a path.

Since the mountains are steep and rocky it is difficult to build roads. The best method of transportation is to make use of the rivers.

4:Grajdanzev--38 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 433, 454, 511, 464

"The Japanese sources quote the following figures as proofs of their economic progress: in 1938 the aborigines produced 34,079 koku of rice, they received ¥ 230,253 for sugar cane raised on their fields, and ¥ 52,713 for silk cocoons; they had 29,247 pigs, 8,142 water buffalo, 3,964 cows, and 11,766 goats. Eighteen thousand aborigines had deposits in post offices to the aggregate amount of ¥ 414,000 (1937). Let us examine these figures: 34,079 koku of rice for the population of 90,000 give about 0.3 lb. of rice per person per day, less than one-third the average for Japan, and it should be remembered that rice is the aborigines' foremost crop. When the same division is made of the 29,247 pigs and 11,766 goats, there is little more than one sen per day per capita. If one takes into considera-[sic] crops on the average brought ¥ 13 per year per family, or less than one sen per day per capita. If one takes into consideration the fact that numerous tribal chiefs have many more pigs, goats, savings, etc. than the average native, one may understand the poverty in which most of these 'former savages' now live in the new conditions. Here lies the real cause of their rebellious spirit. They cannot exist on what they have. They have no choice but to work for the Japanese, and the Japan Year Book informs us that there are now 32 per cent of them who 'are able to understand Japanese to the extent of performing some simple work'."

6: Kirchhoff--29 [3] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
116, 144, 171, 511

There can be no doubt that these Formosan natives belong to the Malayan race. Proof of this is offered by their language, their physique and many of their customs, such as headhunting and the community houses in the villages, where the youths and unmarried men sleep together.* Separated into many tribes divided by dialect and varying in

* Joest, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Eingebornen der Insel Formosa," Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, 1882, p. 61.

appearance, these Formosan Malays do not possess any common name. Today, insofar as they live untouched by the culture of foreign intruders, they lead a pretty rough existence, generally as hunters, although they live in small forest villages made up of wretched bamboo huts.

15: U. S. Navy --27 (no date) 1944 Formosan Aborigines
116, 511, 361

"The aboriginal mountain communities can offer no real shelter for Europeans except in the Japanese police stations. The southeastern coastal aborigines have well-developed village life with extensive clearings and fields and established water supplies."

15: U.S. Navy--31 [3] (no date) 1944 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 565, 511 Pepo-hoan

"The marginal people (Pepohoans) in the foothills have a lower standard of living than the Chinese and in their costume and daily habits combine some aspects of both Chinese life and the life of the mountain aborigines. They are usually thought of and treated in the same category with Formosan-Chinese of the lowest living standards."

15: U. S. Navy--31 [4]
116, 511, 342, 361, 177.16
636.16

(no date) 1944

Formosan Aborigines
Japanese

"The aborigines along the southeast coast (the Paiwan and Ami tribes) live in fairly well constructed wooden or stone houses, set among meager patches and fields. They live on a primitive agricultural level, supplementing their livelihood by occasional hunting and fishing. The aborigines living farther back in the mountains or along the northeastern coast live in extreme poverty, hunting and fishing and scratching the earth in small patches near their hovels, which may be thatched huts having a single opening, or bamboo and cane cabins perched on stilts. Gradually the Japanese are forcing them to leave their solitary clearings and to gather in villages on level areas where they can learn to subsist on an agricultural economy of the poorest sort."

37: Steere --304-305 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 511, 427, 779, 771, 166 Pepo-hoan

"The Pepo-whans are very poor, having mortgaged the poor lands they now occupy to the Chinese, so that they live principally upon sweet potatoes, the one rice crop that the land produces going to pay rent or the interest on their debts. They burn charcoal and the women carry it in baskets upon their heads to the Chinese villages for sale. They were visited about three years ago by Dr. Maxwell, a Scotch missionary, and they received Christianity readily, the Chinese worship of idols and ancestors having but little root among them, while the traditions they still possess of their ancient teachers probably influenced them to some extent. There are now several hundred christians among them at Kamana, Backsa, etc., with a number of schools and chapels established. The Pepo-whans of Baukimseng, differ from their brethren farther north in their ancient language, and the women, instead of a turban, wear a broad conical hat, like the Hak-kas near them, and this is highly ornamented with tinsel and bits of glass. They are crowded back upon the poor stony lands near the mountains, and they go to their fields armed with lances and fire-locks to protect themselves from attack. The Pepo-whans have nearly lost their love for hunting and fishing, and support themselves almost entirely from the produce of their fields. There seems to be but little hope of regaining a foot-hold on the [305] western side of the island, and they will probably be compelled to migrate, like their brethren who have gone before them, to the east coast."

40: Kirk-- 17-18 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 182, 511, 177.51 Ami

"The Ami to a greater extent than any other tribe have become assimilated or 'Japanized,' and it may be more than a coincidence that this East Coast group seems to have the best physique and enjoy the best health and cultural conditions.

The Ami have schools for their children, a young men's association for their youth, and credit organizations in several villages. Some of the more prosperous natives are in possession of more than ten ko, i.e. hectares, of cultivated fields, while others have annual incomes of one thousand yen or more in currency. Some villagers also [18] have postal savings. 'The Ami are now enjoying their life as subjects of the Japanese Empire,'

With regard to the natives living on the West Coast plains it can be said that they have practically adopted the tenents of ordinary civilization. The aborigines in the mountainous districts still remain impervious to the light of civilization, and their districts, thus debarred from the beneficence of civilization, are still under special administrative control. In general, the aborigines are not put under legal control, and are accordingly living their own lives in consonance with their own traditional customs. At present, however, most of the aborigines have come to obey the order of supervisory police officials, and have in other ways become law-abiding people ready to

submit to administrative authority. (5)

5. Kokusai Nippon Kyokai, op. cit., pp. 7, 9-10.

22: Wiedfeldt--19 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 593, 462, 512, 533 Atayal

From the economic point of view, Atayal life is based on the cooperation of man and woman in the family. Estimated exactly, the feminine contribution is greater and more essential, as is shown by the moving lament of an Atayal widower:

No woman weaves me garments,
None brings me yams,
None brings me wood,
None brings water,
None plants the fields,
None prepares the meal
For me, starving,
None cleans my hut,
None helps me.

The activities listed here, together with the usual interruptions, keep a woman busy for almost the whole day. Without interruptions, they would take up about a third of a day. A man is busy only at intervals, and is mainly concerned with building the hut and clearing the land, and he scarcely does a twentieth or a thirtieth part of what he is capable of doing.

35: Collingwood--140 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 123, 461, 512 Sek-hoan

"It will not be supposed, however, that they were without occupation. In many huts the men were asleep, but towards evening they might be seen with their nets wending their way to the beach. Others I observed engaged over some seething vessels, in which I found they were extracting oil from the bones of turtle. The women had, several of them, naked babies hanging to their bare breasts; others came in from the country with pruning-knives, and laden with large bundles of grass and lily straw, which they laid down to dry in the sun, and which it appeared was ultimately intended for the repair of the thatch. These women had cloths wound round their legs, as a protection while in the field, and broad bamboo hats hanging by their side for wear in the hot sun. Others were spinning thread or weaving cloth, while some were engaged in beating rice out of the husks, which they did by placing it in a hollow stone vessel, under which they put a mat, and then two of them beating it alternately with the end of a heavy bamboo. While some were thus engaged, the idlers allowed themselves to be amused by some of our party, who showed them little tricks, which caused hearty laughter, and which they tried their best to imitate."

7: Joest--60 [7] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 285, 513 Chin-hoan

They sleep on cots made of bamboo and mats; the women are famous, and justly so, for the attractive plaited mats which they make themselves.

14: Tamai--96 J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 513 Chin-hoan

The houses of the Tschinwans are very plain structures. They are made of crude timber and bamboo. The roof is covered with grass or straw. The entrance is only about one meter wide and about as high as a grown man. The walls consist of various types of leaves, among them banana leaves. Few of the houses have walls made of boards; only a few rich people in every village have these. The size of the houses varies; the largest are about 6 meters long and 5 meters wide. The interior consists of a single room with a few windows. All the members of the household sleep in a sleeping compartment made of bamboo; each couple has its own bed.

16: Müller--231-232 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 352, 513

There is no furniture and no utensils of any kind in the interior of the aboriginal hut, since the natives use them only as a shelter from the storm and rain. There are no boards [232] on the floor. In each of the four corners there is a simple wooden compartment which serves as a bed. At night they place cloths, which they themselves have made, over these and use an ordinary cloth of the kind used for garments as a blanket.

24: Anonymous--91 [9] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 251, 262, 354, 415, 513

They have no blankets--when they sleep they cover themselves with their clothing. Nor do they have separate kitchens. Their stove consists of a rack three feet high on which they place a large pan. The members of the household stand around the pan on a stool and scoop out the liquids which are cooked in it, such as a soup made from rice or millet. Their spoons consist of an empty coconut shell. They eat dry rice with their hands. They crush rice in a mortar (ch'uang), preparing no more than is to be consumed at one time. They preserve millet, wheat, and clothing in a container made of a pumpkin shell (hu-lu-hu).

31 Hofmann--619 [2] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 361, 513, 622 Tsou

When I entered the first village, Teboro, I was received by the chief and treated with great respect; the village is enclosed by a low stone wall, as is each of the houses in the village. The huts are oval in shape; they are made of rough stones taken from rivers and brooks. They are barely 1 1/2 meters high; the ratio between the length and width is 4 to 1. The post which supports the roof consists of a tree trunk which has not been shaped in any way; the roof itself consists of reeds. There is one, or at most two openings without a door; these are on the narrow sides of the house and serve both to give light and to admit air. The hut of the chieftain is somewhat larger. There are niches in the walls which serve as sleeping quarters; the natives sleep on clay which has been beaten flat, while the chieftain sleeps on a bamboo support which is in the center of the hut. The clay floor of the house I visited had been cleaned, but I do not know whether this is always the case.

37: Steere--308-309 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 343, 251, 513 Chin-hoan

"They construct various little rat-proof granaries for storing their millet and rice. These are square, and are made of the bark of trees, and covered with grass, and raised upon four posts three or four feet above the ground. These posts are crowned with round wooden caps to keep the rats and other vermin from ascending. These little granaries are perched all about among the houses. There were in [309] the village several little huts of wattled grass, and not more than four feet square, perched upon bamboo poles twenty-five or thirty feet above ground. I inquired the use of these, but could get no other answer than that the children were sometimes put to sleep in them, perhaps connected with some superstitious custom or rite."

31: Hofmann--623 [4] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 514, 834, 844 Tsou

After the delivery, the mother cuts the sharp umbilical cord with a sharp piece of reed; the newly-born infant is washed in a brook. Both men and women are modest to a very high degree. The men who were our carriers for several days had a high sense of decency, and, if they had to relieve themselves, always hid from the rest.

14: Tamai--96 [12] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 515 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwans never wash, and they eat their food with dirty hands.

37? Steere--307 [3] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 142, 301, 516 Chin-hoan

"Both sexes go barefooted, and from long usage, their feet get as hard as horn, so that spines and sharp rocks do not penetrate them. They appeared to be very flat-footed, the arch of the foot being almost entirely wanting, while the toes were much spread, the big toe turning round toward the heel, so that it almost made a right angle. The women are very fond of wearing ear-rings of white shell, and bands of beads of the same about the head. The men stretch their ears, generally by putting in pieces of bamboo, but upon occasions of display, those who are able, put in disks of white shell two inches or more in diameter."

22: Wiedfeldt--16 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 226, 517, 868 Atayal

Fishing and hunting, especially, are of little use in providing food, but serve as a sport for the purpose of training them in the use of weapons and as a diversion for the leisure time of the Atayal men.

31: Hofmann--621-622 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 273, 292, 517 Tsou

When I visited the bachelors' quarters a festival was in progress. The chieftain was wearing a red jacket made of cloth; the other participants had taken off their deerskin garment and were squatting on the floor of the hall wearing nothing but a simple loincloth made of fiber. There were 60 men in all. All were drinking remi, a fermented beverage, in great quantities. They prepare this from rice and millet which has been chewed by the women; they spit this into a trough and the paste is left there to ferment. When this process is complete the paste is mixed with water and the drink is ready. The men used cups made of pieces of bamboo; one of them was drinking from a [622] beer bottle. They emptied the bamboo cups in a single draught. Some of the men went around to fill the cups and urged those who were slow to drink more. The men embraced each other and tried to empty their cups to the last drop.... They ate sugar with the Remi; the younger boys were given sugar without the beverage, although, when I tested the drink, I found that it had a very low alcoholic content. The men must have consumed large quantities, however, for late at night, when we retired, we heard them shouting and stamping their feet.

11: Haguenauer--43 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
522 Atayal

The Tayal men are like us in feeling that they have to laugh and sing.

7: Joest--61 [13] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 526

The Chinwan men often amuse themselves with target practice; they aim at a leaf which is attached to the trunk of a tree.

22: Wiedfeldt--16 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
526, 555 Atayal

Speed and endurance in running are among the virtues of the Atayals.

35: Collingwood--141 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 123, 156, 526, 562 Sek-hoan

"The following morning a number of natives visited the ship in their boats, and, on bottles being shown to them, they eagerly demanded them. When thrown into the water, half-a-dozen men leaped after them, and vigorous swimming-matches took place for the prizes. They would also dive for buttons of any kind that were thrown in. Soon afterwards several boats, full of people of all ages and both sexes, came alongside and readily ventured on board. Indeed, one great distinction between these people and the Chinese was the entire absence of timidity on the part of the females, who, instead of running away and hiding themselves as soon as they are even looked at, showed the most perfect confidence and freedom from mauvaise honte. They immediately commenced eagerly inquiring for brascos (bottles), and as our supply of these desirable articles was limited (owing to the custom of throwing empty bottles overboard), considerable jealousy was excited among the unsuccessful competitors. There was no idea of barter, and perhaps it was our own fault that we obtained nothing in return for our valuable presents. A number of our visitors were induced to descend to the captain's cabin, where, as lunch was going on, they readily partook of the edibles, and made themselves quite at home. Captain Bullock good naturedly cut off the tassels from his cushions, which were immediately transferred to the hair of the native beauties. After going about the ship, and conducting themselves with the greatest propriety, they returned to the village."

14: Tamai--97 [4] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 527, 585, 291, 556 Chin-hoan

While the Tschinwans have no festivals which recur on fixed dates, they do have occasions for holidays:

1. A wedding.
2. A day in November when summer garments are discarded and winter clothes are put on.
3. The day on which one first puts on a new dress.

These three holidays are celebrated with a great deal of ceremony, the extent of the celebration varying with the financial position of the family.

22: Wiedfeldt--9 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 262, 241, 252, 527 Atayal

The main article of food of the Atayal is millet. They celebrate tribal and clan festivals in connection with the planting and the harvesting of this crop. It is ground by the women in a stump of wood in which a hole has been burned out, or on a stone, by means of a solid round piece of wood. They also eat yams and wild bananas, and more recently they have learned from the Chinese to eat rice and beans, and from the Japanese, sweet potatoes. With this vegetable diet they seldom eat meat, but occasionally they eat large quantities of it; for example, they eat antelope after a successful hunt, or at a wedding feast, and when they eat up the sacrifices. Recently they have begun to eat chickens and pigs, which they have obtained from the Chinese. Fish is eaten in large quantities once a year at the tribal feast.

22: Wiedfeldt--15-16 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 221, 226, 476, 527 Atayal

Since there are no implements for catching fish, fish are caught only once a year, in spite of the great wealth of fish in the mountain streams. This is a cooperatuve undertaking in which the whole tribe takes part. The chief of the tribe sets a day for the gathering of the chiefs of the clans, and also for catching fish in the large river. It is in the fall, when the trout has reached its full growth and the millet is ripe. Every clan sends at least one representative, and the women and children [16] also come. Every man brings along some poison which he has prepared himself from a species of bindweed. When it is dropped into the river, the fish are supposed to come to the surface immediately and even to hurry to shore, so that the participants in the celebration are able to catch them by splashing their hands in the water, amid laughter and joking. They are divided into as many piles as the number of clans represented, in which process the chief of the tribe sees that justice is observed. The same procedure is followed in dividing the clan allotments among the families participating. Since the fish are immediately roasted on the fire and consumed, this fish festival is a convenient way of feeding the people attending the meeting of the tribe.

22: Wiedfeldt--25 [5] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 623, 614, 527 Atayal

The clan assembly consists of the heads of all the families and the successful head-hunters of the member families. It meets when summoned by the head of the clan, which is regularly on the occasion of the two millet festivals. Aside from these two regular meetings, it meets when it is necessary to impose a punishment or to conduct some legal business.

22: Wiedfeldt--26 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 527 Atayal

The degree to which the clan feels itself a solid unit may be seen in the common clan festivals at the time of planting and harvesting the millet. These festivals generally precede the tribal festivals, and only members of the clan are permitted to attend them. No woman who has married into another clan may attend them.

22: Wiedfeldt--28 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 527, 643 Atayal

The two great millet festivals, in which the tribal chief is the leader, also serve to maintain political solidarity and to foster a harmonious attitude in the tribe.

22: Wiedfeldt--32 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 646, 527, 484, 576 Atayal

This koto-kumai-roh, or common council [MC: the full assembly of all clan heads of the tribe and honorary chiefs]... meets as a rule at the time of the millet harvest. It begins early in the morning, since most of the clan heads have used the previous day for traveling, and it lasts one to three hours. Connected with it are the community fishing expedition, which supplies the food, and on the next morning, the tribal millet festival. The chief of the tribe opens, conducts, and closes the meeting. He presents the agenda briefly, and then yields the floor to such honorary chiefs and then such clan heads as have something to say. While someone is talking, all the others listen attentively in silence, without interrupting him in any way. Each individual speaks only a few minutes, for it is considered improper to take a long time to express one's opinion.

7: Joest--59 [4] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 411, 531 Chin-hoan

The weapons of the Chinwans consist of bows and arrows and of a spear 10' to 12' long; the latter is made of oak or ash wood and the spearhead consists of a small Chinese knife attached with a piece of string. Chinese rifles with matchlocks have now taken the place of these spears for the most part. These are six feet long and are made of an iron cylinder. The shaft is long, narrow, and crooked; they draw designs on it for ornament. The matchlock is inserted into the cock. Every warrior carried a second matchlock which is wrapped around the wrist of the left hand. They carry their powder in a horn which hangs from a string of beads around their neck, and the cartridge box is usually attached to their belt.

These rifles do not often hit their mark. From what I have seen I would say that the natives cannot hit the target if it is further than five or six feet away; every time they shoot, the rifles hit their cheek so that they bleed. They carry paper plugs in a special case. In their belt they wear a Chinese knife on which ornaments have been drawn.

10: Schumacher--226 [6] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 531, 285 Chin-hoan

A European had a good deal to tell from the time he spent in the mountains of Formosa. He mentioned fine matting, surprisingly beautiful carved work, gold ingots, and poisoned arrows.

11: Haguenauer--39 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 281, 411, 531, 727 Atayal

Meanwhile, [MC: during the ceremonies following a successful headhunting expedition] the head had been boiled, and the skin of the scalp and hair were removed. These were not discarded, for they became the property of the successful hunter, and he decorated his weapons with them.

14: Tamai--96[6] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 286, 531 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwan women make beautiful cloth with only a few simple wooden instruments and adorn them with various designs; these cloths are called Buanamoan.

16: Müller--235 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 **Formosan Aborigines**
116, 531

The artistic impulses of the aborigines of Formosa manifest themselves only in weaving and wood carving.

16: Müller--235 [4] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 286, 531

They use their hands for weaving, or sometimes small hand spindles. The resulting textile is very durable and the designs are attractive. They often take out the red yarn from woolens which they obtain through barter and weave these into their designs. All the patterns they use in weaving consist of symmetrical arrangements of geometrical figures, arranged for the most part in parallel lines. Sometimes they picture animals in symmetrical shape. The colors most often used are red, white, black, blue, and yellow.

16: Müller--235 [5] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 322, 531

Designs similar to these used in weaving are also found on the carved wooden figures which are used to decorate ear pendants, pipes, etc.

Their artistic sense is revealed in wood carvings as well as in weaving and the preparation of clothes. In general the effort can be observed to arrange geometrical figures symmetrically in parallels, and less often not in parallels, or they favor the representation of animal figures or otherwise, but always in symmetrical forms. The colors they favor are red, white, black, blue, yellow and others.

Presumably within the last generation, they have acquired a knife, which is 40 cm. long, from the Chinese. Every Atayal carves and decorates the handle for this knife himself. His most important and most cherished weapon is the gun, which he has been getting for one or two decades from the Chinese and Japanese, and which he is continuing to get even now, despite the law which forbids the importation of guns. At least, I have seen at the sentinels' posts modern guns which were taken from Atayals by the Aiyu guards. Most of the guns, to be sure, are old-breech-loaders, or even muzzle-loaders, which might conceivably be dangerous to the person shooting. There is said to be a scarcity of bullets. An Atayal living in the interior is said to have learned how to pour bullets from the Chinese, but can not satisfy the demand.

Individual threads are dyed in advance, so that as the weaving proceeds stripes or square figures are formed. The commonest color is a rusty brown which is made from the sap of a root, and is perhaps used to simulate drops of blood. In addition, the greyish blue which is used for tattooing is used, and recently a bright red that they get from the Chinese has come into use. They are especially fond of red and rusty brown, perhaps because they are complementary to the perpetual green of their surroundings.

34:Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami

501/531

34: Del Re--23 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 625, 437, 178, 415, 396, 531 Yami

"Besides acting as schoolmasters and, when necessary, as doctors, the police control (as in the case of other tribes) the exchange of local products against implements imported from Formosa, which are replacing the primitive stone and shell ones used for cultivating the land, or for working wood out of which they make their domestic utensils, some of which are very handsomely carved. The Yami are particularly skilful in building canoes, no less graceful than swift and seaworthy, decorated with elaborate designs and painted sometimes in red, white and black."

36: Dodd--75 U-2 1865 (1885) Formosan Aborigines
116, 276, 531

"The aborigines of the North one and all smoke tobacco. Men and women invariably do so, and even young boys and girls are addicted to this pleasant vice, and as the plant grows wild and Formosa is a feverish and aguish country, it is not astonishing that smoking is such a common habit amongst them. Their pipes are made of hollowed bamboo and the stem (tûtû bidnâ kûi) is also made of very thin bamboo reed, being about half a foot to a foot in length, according to the taste of the owner. The bowls are often very tastefully and prettily carved and are frequently ornamented with pieces of metal. When not in use, the pipe is generally struck in the hair at the back of the head by both men and women."

36: Dodd--75-76 U-2 1865 (1885) Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 291, 531

"The clothing of these so-called savages living in the lower hills [MLB: of North Formosa] adjoining Chinese territory is, especially in the summer months, very scant. It consists chiefly of a coat, called lûkûs resembling very much an enlarged singlet open in the front and as a rule without sleeves. Four straight pieces of native hempen cloth are sewn together two to the back and two in front, leaving room for the arms to pass through, sewn also at the top over the shoulders, but open in front, exposing the chest and stomach. Sometimes they are buttoned across the chest, and sleeves are occasionally worn by border savages. These coats cover the back entirely, and reach down nearly as far as the knees, and although they are usually made of plain, coarse, bleached, hempen cloth, they are almost always embroidered from the waist downwards, or interwoven with either blue or scarlet threads of long-ells, which they obtain from the [76] Chinese borderers.

The patterns vary very much, resembling somewhat the carvings to be seen on their pipe stems and not unlike the tattoo lines and bars on the faces of the women. They shew great diversity as well as regularity of design, and if not imitations derived from outside sources, they indicate not only originality but great taste. In addition to the lûkûs the men wear round their waists a strip of woven hemp four or five inches broad, embroidered in the same way as the lower part of the lûkûs. This girdle or belt is called habbock, and is worn next to the skin as a rule, but sometimes outside the coat. The

lûkûs and habbock are almost the only articles of clothing worn by the men in the lower ranges of hills, but on the higher levels many wear coats with sleeves, and sometimes clothes made of the skins of animals.

In the summer months, one often meets men and boys roaming about with absolutely no clothes on at all. Some consider 'full dress' to consist of a rattan wicker-work closely fitting cap (mobu), others strut about all day long with only the belt or habbock round their waists, with the lalāo stuck in it."

36: Dodd--76-77 U-2 1865 (1885) Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 531

[MLB: The author is discussing the knives used by the northern tribes.] "The blade of the lalāo is about a foot and a half long and is always kept sharp. It is set in a haft of wood, which is usually adorned in the same way as their pipes, with carvings and pieces of metal. The blade is protected by a sheath of wood on one side and an open wire work guard on the other. At the end of this scabbard is often fixed part of the tail of a Chinaman, or other enemy, who has fallen a victim in some border war or on some head-hunting expedition. The lalāo is a most necessary article to possess, for with it they cut their way through the jungle and thick undergrowth, with it they give the death-blow to the game they hunt; they use it in dividing the animals they kill, they eat with it as sailors do with their knives, they cut and split firewood with it, and last of all they cut off the heads of their enemies with this most useful implement. The blades are made by Chinese and are obtained by the savages in barter for deer's horns, &c.; often they are taken from the bodies of Chinese killed by them [77] in their numerous encounters with their would-be exterminators."

39: Wiedfeldt---14 [2] F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 302, 341, 531 Atayal

The Atayal huts are functional structures with no pretence at artistry. One is made just like the next. They have no temples or public halls. They know nothing of plastic art, having no figurees of wood or clay. In contrast to the other peoples of Formosa, they do not decorate their weapons and tools with carvings. They have only two kinds of decoration: interwovem stripes of color and designs in their garments, and tattooing on the face and breast. Both are repeated without change in a definite, fixed manner, according to tradition.

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

his father's office. If the *pinairaratsə* has no heir or if his works were not regarded as satisfactory, the overlord may appoint another household to the office. Taxes collected by the *pinairaratse* need not be forward to their overlords, they may be consumed by the *pinairaratsə* himself.

CLASS AND PRIVILEGE

A. Naming system

A name indicates one's social status. They are of three grades:

a) Names of the big chiefs:
men's names: *arutsaŋal, tʃanupak, tsivuluaŋ, giligilao, palilas, ləŋuŋai, trotsə.*
women's names: *rumurumaŋ, moni, vonum, slup, lutsium, tsipulaŋ.*

b) Names of the second grade chiefs:
men's names: *apitsuaŋ, ulili, pulalujaŋ, tsimuluŋai, tsama, gulagul, raŋaraŋ, apaŋ, tsumul.*
women's names: *tsiankim, lavlav, kalskus, tso'o, rere, ateves, kumara, moakai.*

c) Names of the commoners:
men's names: *maitsəl, guluts, tsuvi* and others.
women's names: *saolalui, alalu, vais, kai* and others.

The *utsiputsipoŋ* have the same names as commoners. The name of an aristocrat is decided in a kins' meeting. To acquire a name above his class he must get a permission from the big chief. The name of a commoner is given by his parents or determined by a divination.

B. Tattooing (*voŋtsik*)

Tattooing is one of the privileges enjoyed by the aristocratic class. A commoner may have tattoo if he has military achievements and is so permitted by the chief. Men tattoo their breasts, backs, arms, and legs; women only tattoo their forearms and backs of hand. The designs indicate their social status, only the big chiefs may have human figures (*pinarutsautsauaŋ*) and snake designs (*pinavulvuluvaŋ*).

C. House decoration

Houses are distinguished by two kinds. The houses of the big chief or the second grade chiefs are always larger in size and more decorative. In front of these houses, there are larger front yards (*assasawaŋ*) and platforms (*aluvuluwaŋ*) which serve as the meeting places of the villagers. On the platform a stone pillar is erected to represent their ancestor which is called *saotsaolai*. House posts, beams, walls, and storage boxes may be decorated with human figure or snake designs. The houses of the commoners, include houses of *utsiputsipoŋ*, are always smaller in size and can not be decorated.

D. Clothing and ornaments

Clothing and ornaments also indicate one's social status. The aristocratic class wear clothes of dark colours—dark blue, dark purple, or black colour. The clothes of the aristocratic class are always embroidered or design-weaved, while the commoners are prohibited to wear such. Several kinds of clothe—*tsapo aliulao* (clothe made of leopard's skin), *vajal a tsinuŋuaŋ* (shoulder cloth), *katin a veŋtsiaŋ* (a kind of trousers)

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

The other part of the *mi?ɭao* divinatory instrument is called *tsohak*. This is a piece of hardwood about 18cm in length. It is held under one foot of the diviner when in use. The end held under the foot is often somewhat thinner than the other end. The other end is about 4cm thick and has two or three grooves transversely carved on one side. These grooves are called *ŋakto*.

During divination, the *tsohak* is placed on the ground with the grooved side facing downward. The end without grooves is held under one foot of the diviner. The central portion of the inner face of the *ɭao* is breathed upon and smeared with ashes before it is used. Then, with the end with the mane-like fibres in his left hand, and with the end with the bamboo-joint in his right hand, the diviner saws the *ɭao* in the *ŋakto* of the *tsohak*. The *ɭao* will be severed by this heavy sawing, and the result of the divination can be read from the shape of the severed end of the part without the bamboo-joint, with the bamboo exterior facing the diviner.

By comparative study, Utsurikawa found that *mi?ɭao* divination has affinities in southeast Asia, particularly with the Kenyah and the Kayan of Borneo and with the Nagas of Assam. He therefore considered this technique as an Indonesian culture trait.

Priesthood

Among the Tavarong Ami, priests were called *kakita:n*. The office of *kakita:n* was hereditary: succession was by primogeniture through the female line. Formerly there were five or six *kakita:n* families in Tavarong, but only one, that of the late Saumah-Kuriu, remains in existence today, and will be described later. The cause of the decrease in *kikita:n* families was, according to one informant, due to the prohibition placed on native rituals by the Japanese authorities. The priestly families consequently declined because they had lost their function. The Saumah-Kuriu family retained its standing as it owned a ceremonial house with carved wooden posts; this house was designated an historical monument in 1935 by the Japanese colonial administration.

This same ceremonial house was reported by Utsurikawa (1936) and Tsijiiwa (1944). The present house keeps its original form today although it has been rebuilt in recent years and now is only one half the size of the original house described by the above two authors. Its present plan and a side-view are shown in the accompanying illustration (Figure 1). According to Utsurikawa, the original house was abandoned in May 1930 on the death of the family head Saumah-Kuriu, a decision reached at that time by the family members on account of frequent misfortune. The house itself is unique: it is the only one in the entire Ami area having carved wooden posts. The designs on these posts are human and animal figures, curved lines, and sawtooth patterns. The geometrical designs are always symmetrical in arrangement. In the changing culture of the Ami, a new type of house has been adopted by the tribesmen. This ceremonial house remains as the only surviving example of their original type of dwelling.

THE FLYING FISH CEREMONY (*Native Drawing*): Note decorated communal canoe and silver helmets

796
532

11: Haguenauer--43 [2] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 533 Atayal

The Tayal men are like us in feeling that they have to laugh and sing. They sing while they are working, and you cannot walk through the mountains without hearing the voices of women in the fields, or of little boys who are gathering reeds in the mountains. Their songs are always improvisations. I discovered that after I had made several unfortunate attempts to transcribe them. It was impossible to make one of the savages repeat the same thing. He improvises on very simple subjects, such as a hunting incident, or a dinner that he is planning to attend. There are no poetic themes.

14: Tamai--96 [21] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 533, 535 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwans are very fond of singing and dancing.

14: Tamai--97 [10] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 609, 562, 533 Chin-hoan

[MC: Mr. Kurosaki, a newspaper correspondent writes about his visit to the village of Togasha.] Although the women appeared to be afraid of us when we first arrived, they soon lost their shyness and were very friendly. When we were warming ourselves by the fire, for example, our hostess came in and played for us on a small, short flute; she played very well. Four young girls also came to us.

19: Guérin and Bernard--559 [4] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 533, 534

The savage women like to sing, and in some tribes they play as well. The instrument is a bamboo segment which is a decimetre long; two copper tongue-like strips are fastened to one of the extremities, and a thread is slipped through each end. When you want to play this instrument, you place its convex side between the lips; your hands pull the two threads and this gives the instrument a movement of traction and rotation, while the tongue keeps pressing the metallic valves. In some of the tribes the women and girls accompany their recitative chant with an obscene motion of their hips, and they do this in the most innocent manner imaginable.

22: Wiedfeldt--19 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 593, 462, 512, 533 Atayal

From the economic point of view, Atayal life is based on the cooperation of man and woman in the family. Estimated exactly, the feminine contribution is greater and more essential, as is shown by the moving lament of an Atayal widower:

No woman weaves me garments,
None brings me yams,
None brings me wood,
None brings water,
None plants the fields,
None prepares the meal
For me, starving,
None cleans my hut,
None helps me.

The activities listed here, together with the usual interruptions, keep a woman busy for almost the whole day. Without interruptions, they would take up about a third of a day. A man is busy only at intervals, and is mainly concerned with building the hut and clearing the land, and he scarcely does a twentieth or a thirtieth part of what he is capable of doing.

22: Wiedfeldt--20 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
554, 533, 721 Atayal

The young man tries to win the favor of his girl by distinguishing himself in the skull hunt, as is shown by the Atayal love songs translated by Florenz.

22: Wiedfeldt--34 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 533, 461 Atayal

Neither men nor women sing at their work. They only sing when they are sitting in the bush, and they do so to the accompaniment of their instruments which resemble jew's harps, or they sing when they dance after partaking of the millet wine. Even when men are working together, as for example in the hunt, or when they are fishing, or making bridges, there are neither songs nor rythmical cries, nor shouts of encouragement to be heard, which is a thing that astonishes the Chinese and Japanese. Since this is so, there is no basis for the assumption that among the Atayals work originated from the rhythmical games.

34: Del Re--37 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 533, 535 Yami

"The above necessarily brief account may serve, to give a general idea of the characteristics of Yami island life in which story-telling, singing and dancing play a very important part. As frequent among primitive tribes, these songs or chants are of the 'carol' type and are accompanied by rythmic movements of various kinds, stamping of feet, clapping of hands etc. The dances do not appear to have a set air which sometimes changes in the middle of the dance. The songs are not specially composed for the purpose and are frequently chosen from among those improvised and sung by men on special occasions--love songs, songs about flying-fish, travel or harvest, which reflect the life, customs and beliefs of the community. In general girls alone take part in the dances which last each for only a few minutes, some being danced in a circle, some in single rows or in two rows facing one another."

37: Steere--306-307 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 157, 771, 533 Sek-hoan

"The ancient worship of the Lek-whan, like that of the Pepo-whan of the South, seems to have consisted of certain idolations, dances and songs, and the worshiping of a boar's or deer's skull. They differ materially from the Chinese in a natural love and taste for music. They have fitted several of their wild idolation tunes to Christian hymns, which they sing with great spirit. They learn European music readily, but seem to prefer their own. They are [307] naturally honest and hospitable, and we had great trouble in getting them to take pay for the articles of food we bought of them."

37: Steere--310-311 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 249, 276, 533 Chin-hoan

"The Tsui-whan raise their own tobacco, and all smoke, even little girls of six and eight years of age. They are great lovers of music, and those who were at work, harvesting and carrying home rice for their Chinese masters, were continually droning a musical but monotonous refrain. I was [311] several times awakened, while stopping in their village by their wild mountain songs, which they sang while at their feasts."

37: Steere--314 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 583, 241, 533, 784, 609 Chin-hoan

"The Kale-whan, in times of scarcity, frequently sell their daughters to the Chinese and Pepo-whans, who take them as supplementary wives and make them useful as interpreters in thus bartering with the savages. While we were among the Kale-whan the chief offered to sell us three girls of the tribe at twenty dollars each, or its equivalent, in barter on fee simple. The poor girls were dressed up in all the finery the tribe possessed, one of them having a beautiful stem of wild red lilies in her hair, and were kept singing nearly all night before our door. They are a very musical people, and at night a large number collected in the house of the chief and the women would sing a monotonous but musical chant apparently as long as they could hold their breath, and then the men would answer in the same strain, winding up every time with a loud inspiration. We went among them during their seed time, and there seemed to be some taboo connected with it that forbade them entering their houses, and we found them all sitting around outside with closed doors, or at least with the slabs of slate that served for doors in their places. About midnight the taboo passed off enough so that they entered their houses, but there was still something that forbade them trading with us or assisting us, they even refusing at first to give us fire. Whenever one of the tribe, led by the display of cloth, scissors, etc., that we had with us, was tempted to trade us a pipe or an ornamented knife-scabbard, some one would pronounce the fatal word parici, and the trade was immediately dropped. There were

some rare plants and land shells in the ravines which I wished to collect, but the savages seemed to think that it would bring some great evil upon them if they allowed me to take away any thing, and they almost compelled me by force to desist, pulling me by the arms and shouting parici in my ears. We were told that this taboo would pass off within four or five days, but we had no time to wait and so did not see them in their usual state."

7: Joest--60 [3] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 534 Chin-hoan

The only musical instrument made by the Chinwan natives is the jew's harp. They are very fond of group singing. As far as I know they have no dances of any kind...[MS: Text of a native song omitted.]

14: Tamai--97 [12] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 534, 584 Chin-hoan

The flute is the only musical instrument of the Tschinwans. It plays an important role in courtship.

16: Müller--234 [3] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 534, 535, 727

The musical instruments of the aborigines are the following:

1. Jew's harp; boys and girls play this instrument and dance at the same time. They either dance alone, with rhythmic motions and jumping up and down now and then, or they dance in groups. The latter takes place chiefly after headhunting expeditions; the young people form a circle and dance around the head.

2. A flute made of bamboo, played by men. This is also played chiefly after headhunting expeditions.

19: Guérin and Bernard--559 [4] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 533, 534

The savage women like to sing, and in some tribes they play as well. The instrument is a bamboo segment which is a decimetre long; two copper tongue-like strips are fastened to one of the extremities, and a thread is slipped through each end. When you want to play this instrument, you place its convex side between the lips; your hands pull the two threads and this gives the instrument a movement of traction and rotation, while the tongue keeps pressing the metallic valves. In some of the tribes the women and girls accompany their recitative chant with an obscene motion of their hips, and they do this in the most innocent manner imaginable.

37: Steere--309 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 771, 764, 534 Chin-hoan

"They do not appear to have any settled religious system, but to be terribly troubled with superstitions and fears of supernatural beings and causes. They are said to bury their dead with terrible fear, hastily covering the body with earth, and then all running away, and no more visiting the spot.

While hunting birds with some boys of the tribe, I strayed into a thick dark grove of bamboos near the village, and when I came out, the people motioned me away with their hands, and would not allow me to come near until the old Lek-whan guide who accompanied us, had baptized me upon the face, and hands, and breast, with water. I afterward understood that I had entered one of their burial places. When we got ready to return, they begged us not to drink of the springs on our way down the mountain, for fear that we should enchant them. They make curious little musical instruments by cutting a tongue in a piece of bamboo, which is put between the teeth, and the tongue made to vibrate by pulling a string tied to the end of the bamboo. The tone is modulated by the breath, as in a jews-harp, which it much resembles in sound."

14: Tamai--96 [21] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 533, 535 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwans are very fond of singing and dancing.

16: Müller--234 [3] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 534, 535, 727

The musical instruments of the aborigines are the following:

1. Jew's harp; boys and girls play this instrument and dance at the same time. They either dance alone, with rhythmic motions and jumping up and down now and then, or they dance in groups. The latter takes place chiefly after headhunting expeditions; the young people form a circle and dance around the head.

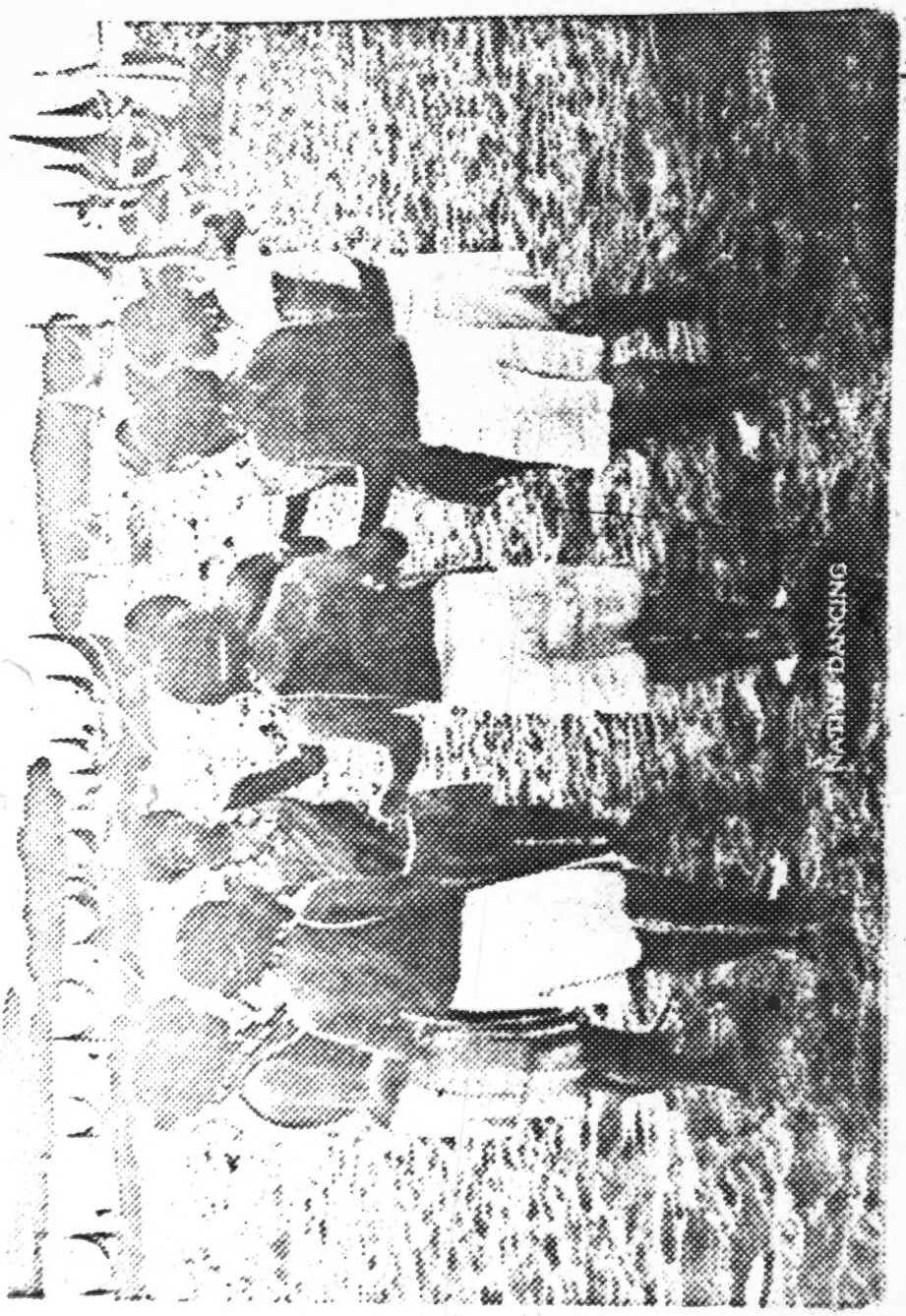
2. A flute made of bamboo, played by men. This is also played chiefly after headhunting expeditions.

26: Honda--471 [4] N-3 (1896) 1897 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 535, 837 Bunun

A strange custom is the removal of the eye-teeth when the children are about five years old. Some of the people displayed tatooing on their hands and faces. The chief ordered the performance of a dance in my honor; ten or more women held hands and formed a large circle, swayed to and fro, and beat the rhythm with their feet as a monotonous song was heard. Men formed in a circle and engaged in the same movements. Marital faithfulness is very strictly maintained; even the chiefs have no more than one wife and are loyal to her.

34:Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami

535



34: Del Re--37 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 533, 535 Yami

"The above necessarily brief account may serve, to give a general idea of the characteristics of Yami island life in which story-telling, singing and dancing play a very important part. As frequent among primitive tribes, these songs or chants are of the 'carol' type and are accompanied by rythmic movements of various kinds, stamping of feet, clapping of hands etc. The dances do not appear to have a set air which sometimes changes in the middle of the dance. The songs are not specially composed for the purpose and are frequently chosen from among those improvised and sung by men on special occasions--love songs, songs about flying-fish, travel or harvest, which reflect the life, customs and beliefs of the community. In general girls alone take part in the dances which last each for only a few minutes, some being danced in a circle, some in single rows or in two rows facing one another."

39: Wiedfeldt--13-14 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 184, 535 Atayal

...The extent to which the Atayals possess imagination may be deduced from their accomplishments in those fields in which imagination is freest: in art forms and in religious concepts. In the field of the simplest artistic endeavor, the dance, [14] the Atayals have the round dance, in which men and women join hands and walk, rather than dance, about... They have no pantomime dances, nor do the individual dancers execute varying rhythmical movements....

17: Norbeck--5 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 128, 539 Atayal

"These tales are mostly stories of mythical times and etiological stories. The tales of mythical times are concerned with the origin and ancient life of the present human beings, and stories of the creation of the universe do not occur. The etiological or explanatory stories, comprising the majority of the tales, tell of magical transformation into birds, insects, and animals as the result either of misconduct by the persons transformed or of injustices against those who transform themselves. For ease in handling, the motifs are here subdivided into the following groups: (1) Tales of Magic Appearance of Food and Requisites for Living, (2) Flood Tales, (3) Tales of the Mythical Period, (4) Tales of Transformation, and (5) Miscellaneous Tales. Some duplication of tale elements occurs since the twenty-eight tales were gathered from two different villages or communities, Daihyō-sha and Takonan-sha (see Map 1 [MC: facing page 12]. (8)

8. Tales 1 to 17 are from Daihyō-sha; the remainder from Takonan-sha."

17: Norbeck--5-6
116, 171, 539, 773

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

"A comparison based upon the comprehensive motif-index of Stith Thompson (9)

9. Stith Thompson, 'Motif-index of Folk Literature,' Indiana Univ. Studies, 19-23, Nos. 96-97, 100-101, 105-6, 108-12 (1932-36).

reveals that nearly all of the tales share motifs with other areas of the world in general outline, although detailed resemblances have a much more restricted range. The incidence of frequency and the degree of similarity, as might reasonably be expected, increases with territorial propinquity, and is particularly marked among the Malay and other unspecialized Mongoloid peoples. These similarities are intensified in the folklore of the Philippines, and particularly in that of the pagan mountain tribes of northern Luzon. A fairly substantial amount of folklore is at hand on the Apayao, Tinguian, Nabaloi, and Bontoc-Igorot, which is here compared with that of the Atayal. Folklore of the Ilongot and Ifugao, for whom the quantity of material available is considerably smaller, has also been utilized for comparison. [6] Since material on the remaining mountain peoples of Luzon is either very limited or unavailable, references to it have been omitted from consideration here."

17: Norbeck--6-7 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-3
116, 171, 539, 773 Atayal

"Tables of motifs in the mythology of the foregoing Luzon groups follow, with references to Atayal tales bearing the same or similar motifs. For the sake of convenience the appended Atayal folk tales are referred to by number.

I. TALES OF MAGIC APPEARANCE OF FOOD AND REQUISITES FOR LIVING

Philippine Version	Philippine Group	Atayal Folk Tale Number
Food, clothing, and anything desired appear magically. (10).....	Apayao	7, 20
As punishment, people must labor for daily needs, with no further magical aid. (11)	Apayao	7, 20
Small basket of rice becomes five pots. (12)	Bontoc-Igorot (14)	7, 20
Pigs and deer emerge from forest		

at call. (13) .....?..	Bontoc-Igorot (14)	7, 20
Food once easily available. Handful of rice sufficient for a family. (15)	Ifugao	7, 20
One teaspoon of rice when cooked sufficient for one person. (16)....	Ifugao	7, 20
Magic betel nut which, upon being chewed, produces deer. (17).....	Nabaloi	7, 20 [7]
Prepared food appears at a word. A small jar containing a single grain of rice supplies an abundance of food. (18)	Tinguian	7, 20
One grain of rice placed in each of twelve jars, which at once become filled with rice. (19)	Tinguian	7, 20

Many additional tales bearing the motif of magic appearance of food appear in the folklore of the above groups. This motif is also common in the mythology of other peoples of the Philippines. The motifs listed above bear the closest resemblances to the Atayal tales.

(10) Laurence S. Wilson, Apayao Life and Legends (Baguio: Privately printed, 1947), p. 82.
(11) Mabel Cook Cole, Philippine Folk Tales (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1916), p. 105.
(13) Ibid.
(14) In ibid., as 'Igorot.'
(15) H. Otley Beyer, 'Origin Myths Among the Mountain People of the Philippines,' Philippine Journ. Sci., 8, No. 1 (1913): 111.
(16) Dean C. Worcester (trans.), Fr. Juan Villaverde's, 'The Ifugaos of Quinigian and Vicinity,' Philippine Journ. Sci., 4, No. 4 (1909): 256.
(17) C.R. Moss, 'Nabaloi Tales,' Univ. Calif. Publ. Amer. Archeol. Ethnol., 17, No. 5 (1924): 345-46. [7]
(18) Fay-Cooper Cole, 'Traditions of the Tinguian,' Field Mus. Nat. Hist., Publ. No. 180, Anthropol. Ser., 14, No. 1 (1915): 191.
(19) Ibid., p. 211."

17: Norbeck--7
116, 171, 539, 773

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

"Flood tales similar to the two Atayal flood tales (Nos. 5 and 19) have been found for the Apayo, Ifugao, Nabaloi, and Bontoc-Igorot. All are based on the general theme that the world was once flat except for one or two mountains upon which the surviving people, usually two, take refuge from the floods, and that the present mountains and valleys were formed by the receding flood waters. Elements from these tales are elaborated in the following section."

"Some individual elements from these tales of the mythical period appear below:

Philippine Version	Philippine Group	Atayal Folk Tale Number
Earth once flat. (24)	Apayao, Bontoc-Igorot, Ifugao, Nabaloi	5, 19
Sun and moon once of equal brightness and there was perpetual daylight. (25)	Apayao, Nabaloi	4 [9]
The moon once also a sun, and it was always day. (26)	Bontoc-Igorot	4
Mountains and valleys formed by rush of receding waters. (27)	Ifugao	5, 19
Shooting the sun with an arrow. (28)	Nabaloi	4
People formerly immortal. (29)	Nabaloi	19

(24) Wilson, op. cit., p. 39; M.C. Cole, op. cit., pp. 102-3; Beyer, op. cit., p. 111; Moss, op. cit., p. 237.
(25) Wilson, op. cit., p. 40; Moss, op. cit., p. 237. [9]
(26) Albert E. Jenks, The Bontoc Igorot (Manila: Dept. Int., 1905), Ethnol. Surv. Publ. I: 221.
(27) Beyer, op. cit., p. 100. Note: only the Ifugao flood tale explicitly states that the mountains and valleys were formed by flood waters. All others begin with the statement that the earth was once flat, and the reader can infer the formation of mountains and valleys from the floods.
(28) Moss, op. cit. p. 233.
(29) Ibid., p. 235."

IV. TALES OF TRANSFORMATION

Philippine Version	Philippine Group	Atayal Folk Tale Number
Boy turns into hawk because parents will not peel sugar can for him. (30)	Apayao	25, and others (31)
Origin of monkeys from women. Planting sticks become tails. (32)	Apayao	8, 24
Boy turns into fish when parents kill his pet pig. (33)	Apayao	23, 25, and others
Vain girl turns into scaly fish. (34)	Apayao	12, and others
Boy turns into serpent eagle because mother is stingy with food. Flies overhead saying. 'I don't need your food any longer.' (35)	Bontoc-Igorot	25, and others [10]
Boy turns into monkey because step-mother did not give him enough food. (36)	Bontoc-Igorot	8, 24, and others

Girl turns into rice bird because mother did not give her enough food. (37)	Bontoc-Igorot, Nabaloi	9, and others
Origin of monkeys from men. Rattan becomes attached to anuses as tails. (38)	Ilongot	8, 24
Men turn into rice birds when woman employer does not feed them. (39)	Ilongot	9, and others
Boy turns into monkey because no one will peel sugar cane for him. Cane becomes tail. (40)	Nabaloi	8, 24
Lazy daughter turns into monkey; roll of cotton becomes tail. (41)	Nabaloi	8, 24
Boy turns into hawk because of mistreatment. Flies over house and tells parents he will eat their chickens in the future. (42)	Nabaloi	25, and others
Woman turns into rock because of shame. (43)	Nabaloi	9, and others

Woman turns into wildcat to punish man for misdeeds. (44)	Nabaloi	22, and others
Lazy man constantly leans on planting stick. He turns into a monkey and stick becomes tail. (45)	Tinguian	8, 24 [11]
A boy is too lazy to strip sugar cane for himself. His mother, in anger, tells him to stick it up his anus. He does so and becomes a monkey. (46)	Tinguian	8, 24
Lazy girl pretends she does not know how to spin. Her companions, in disgust, tell her to stick spinning stick up her anus. She does so, and turns into a monkey. (47)	Tinguian	8, 24
Young wife is told by husband to cut an excessive amount of rice. She turns into a bird and flies off. (48)	Tinguian	9, and others

Boy is sent off to tiresome work of keeping birds from rice field, and turns into bird. Parents plead with him to become a boy again, but he refuses and flies off. (49)	Tinguian	25, and others
Deer which hunters are pursuing turns into a jar. (50)	Tinguian	21, and others
Boy turns into a stone because his grandmother ate the bird he snared. (51)	Tinguian	25, and others

Many additional tales of transformation exist among other peoples of the Philippines, but the most numerous and those of closest resemblance to the Atayal occur in the groups above.

(30) Wilson, op. cit., pp. 105-6.
(31) The Atayal tales which are most similar are listed by number. Where the phrase 'and others' appears, similar motifs may also be found as elements of various other Atayal tales.
(32) Wilson, op. cit., pp. 106-9.
(33) Ibid., pp. 115-16.
(34) Ibid., pp. 134-36.
(35) Jenks, op. cit., pp. 222-23. [10]
(36) Carl W. Seidenadel, The First Grammar of the Language Spoken by the Bontoc Igorot (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1909), pp. 562-65.
(37) M. C. Cole, op. cit., pp. 117-18; Moss, op. cit., p. 291.
(38) Laurence L. Wilson, Ilongot Life and Legends (Baguio: Privately printed, 1947), pp. 40-41.
(39) Ibid., pp. 42-44.
(40) Moss, op. cit., pp. 282-83.
(41) Ibid., p. 283.
(42) Ibid., p. 291.
(43) Ibid., p. 323.
(44) Ibid., pp. 335-37.
(45) Dean S. Fansler, Filipino Popular Tales (Lancaster, Pa., and New York; Amer. Folklore Soc., 1921), p. 414. [11]

(46) Ibid.
(47) Ibid.
(48) Fay-Cooper Cole, op. cit., p. 191.
(49) M.C. Cole, op. cit., p. 53.
(50) Ibid., pp. 68-70.
(51) Ibid., pp. 84-85.
(52) Laurence L. Wilson, Apayao Life and Legends, p. 88."

"V. MISCELLANEOUS TALES

Philippine Version	Philippine Group	Atayal Folk Tale Number
People who lived by inhaling the vapor of cooked rice and who had no anuses; anus made by piercing with pointed stick. (52)	Apayao	3 [12]
Examination of tattoos on back of hands before crossing bridge to Paradise. (53)	Apayao	16
Wicked giant whose skin is so thick it cannot be pierced with arrows. (54)	Nabaloi	6
Giant who violates women. (55) ..	Nabaloi	6
Giant who extends arms across river as a bridge when water is high. (56)	Nabaloi	6

(52) Laurence L. Wilson, Apayao Life and Legends, p. 88. [12]
(53) Ibid., pp. 166-67.
(54) Moss, op. cit., pp. 341-43.
(55) Ibid., pp. 343-45.
(56) Ibid., p. 347."

17: Norbeck--13-14 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 539 Atayal

"1. THE PLACE OF ORIGIN OF OUR ANCIENT ANCESTORS [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale]

With regard to the origin of us Atayal by splitting a stone, it is said that there was a very large stone. It split in two suddenly and two men and one woman emerged from the place where it cleaved. When they looked about them, their surroundings were just deep virgin forests and wild beasts. Thereupon one of the men said, 'I don't like living on earth,' and re-entered the severed place in the stone, so it is said. The other two wanted to stop him, but he had already gone in. Then they said, 'What should we do to increase our number?' and thought about this continually. First the woman went to the ridge of the mountain, spread wide her thighs, and had the wind blow on her. Thus she thought she would become pregnant, but she did not, so it is said. Then once she thought, 'If we two have sexual connection I will become pregnant, won't I?' They did not, however, at once understand how to accomplish this. They tried with the sphincter, the nostrils, then the ears, the mouth, all of the orifices, but accomplished nothing. Then, once, they saw a fly come rushing in flight and alight between the woman's thighs. Pondering on this they said, 'This must be a hint from the gods.' Then, when they tried this, the sexual desire of living things actually became this way (satisfaction was attained in this way), (59) so it is [13] said. After a time the body of the woman became strange,

59. Parenthetical items are those of the Japanese text; such additional

notes as seemed required by my translation have been entered as foot-notes.

and her belly gradually grew larger. When the month came she confined herself to the house (gave birth to a child), and the joy of the father and mother was very great. The origin of us Atáyal, who split a stone asunder and then increased, is thus."

17: Norbeck--14 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 539 Atayal

"2. THE ORIGIN OF DIVINATION BY THE SILEK BIRD [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

When our ancient ancestors went out they had no one who could make auguries, and, therefore, they became sick, were injured, and consequently sometimes died, so it is said. They therefore held a consultation and said, 'We are the representatives of the gods, and we desire to find someone who can do divination.'

One time the other birds had a contest with the silek birds in crossing a river while carrying stones. They said, 'The one of us who is successful will be the one who determines the auspiciousness of the comings and goings of you human beings.' Then the other birds, crying 'kaw-kaw,' tried to lift a stone but it didn't move. The silek birds then took their turn and, crying 'shi-shi,' lifted the stone just as it was, crossed the river, and placed it on the other side. Thus the silek birds won. Thereafter, when people went any place the silek birds determined the auspiciousness."

17: Norbeck--14-15 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 539 Atayal

"3.THE STORY OF THE SHIGUTS TRIBE [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In the time of our ancient forefathers there was a village of the Shiguts tribe where the life of the people was naturally out of the ordinary, so it is said. This Shiguts tribe is said to have eaten only the vapor of cooked rice and boiled vegetables.

A man named Sijuma went there and saw that, although they cooked the rice and boiled the vegetables, they still did not eat the bulk and only inhaled the vapor. The Shiguts were surprised when they saw that Sijuma swallowed the rice and vegetables just as they were and wondered from where he would eliminate the food that he had eaten. Thereupon Sijuma said, [15] 'My people are not like you, who have no anus. We successively eliminate the food that we consume.' Having said this he showed them by excreting right there, so it is said.

Then one of the Shiguts said, 'We also certainly would like to emulate you, who do not eat the vapor of the cooked food. I wonder if there is any way to make an anal opening.' Sijuma said, 'In that case I shall make an anal opening for you. If that is done you can eat rice and vegetables as I can and will be able to eliminate successively.' The Shiguts man said, 'By all means please do make an anal opening for me,' and was very happy, so it is said. Sijuma thereupon heated an iron and when the iron became very hot he made the Shiguts turn his buttocks toward him and suddenly thrust the iron into his buttocks. The Shiguts died at once and so Sijuma secretly fled away.

This Shiguts tribe had very light bodies and ran swiftly. That is because they ate only vapor. When the other Shiguts awakened in the morning they saw that the man whose anus was pierced by Sijuma and who had been left by him was dead. Because Sijuma had run away they knew that he had killed the Shiguts. They thereupon immediately pursued him. Sijuma looked and saw that they were pursuing him and that he was about to be overtaken. He therefore immediately climbed a tree and hid in its branches. In a few seconds the Shiguts, like the rustling of the wind, came pursuing him, but since they did not find his footprints, they went back.

After the Shiguts had left, Sijuma descended to the ground. He was afraid, however, that the Shiguts would again come searching for him, and so he took some betel nut and stuffed it into the hole of an anteater, and also plastered it around the hole. Then he himself was able to get home safely.

As was foreseen, after Sijuma had gone home the Shiguts came back to search and found the hole of the anteater. Seeing that there was blood (60) they thought he was

60. This refers to the red color of betel juice.

undoubtedly in this hole and thrust a spear in. They saw that the spearhead when withdrawn was dripping with blood, and thinking that Sijuma was without doubt dead, they again returned to their homes, so it is said."

17: Norbeck--16
116, 539

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines-1-2
Atayal

"4. THE STORY OF CUTTING THE SUN IN HALF AND RETURNING HOME [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In the ancient times of our forefathers there was only one sun. When it became day it was always only day for a half year, and when it became night, it was always only night for a half year. Everybody was suffering because of this, so it is said. They thought of various plans and then one person said, 'What if we go and cut the sun in half? If we do that it might become night and day alternately.' They then decided to go and cut the sun in half.

Accordingly, for that purpose, they selected three strong young men. These three, carrying their babies on their backs, went on their way, and as they went along the road they planted orange trees, so it is said. They went on and on but could not reach their destination. They saw that they, who had left their homes as young men, had all become gray-haired. They almost reached the vicinity of the sun, but then they all died.

The babies whom they had carried on their backs had all become young men, and so they carried on for their parents. Those young men took the place of their dead parents and at last arrived at the place where the sun emerges. They found that it was very hot. They waited at that place with caution, and lay concealed and eagerly waiting at the peak of the mountain where the sun emerges. They saw the sun come out. It was so hot that it seemed as if it would blind them. So they just waited as they were, and taking an

opportune time, one of them drew his bow; and when he released it with a twang, blood welled up and the man who had shot the sun was bathed in blood from his head on down and died. The others, who were drenched with blood but still alive, returned home, eating the oranges that they had planted on the way over. It is said that when they arrived back home their backs were crooked; they had canes; their hair was gray, and they were extremely old men.

After they had shot the sun and returned home it came about that day and night alternated. During the day the sun came out, and at night the moon came out. After that the life of all the people became prosperous, so it is said."

17: Norbeck--17 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 539 Atayal

"5. THE FLOOD [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

Long ago there were no valleys nor cliffs; the earth was just flat land with no irregularities, so it is said. There were hills, but they were small and, in general, they were the same as the flat land. Furthermore, the directions in which the rivers flowed were uncertain.

Then at one time there was a flood, and even the tiny mountain streams became swollen with water. Then suddenly the water gradually increased and became a sea, and the Atayal therefore all fled to Pappak Mountain. The water again increased and gradually made headway so that they were finally pushed up to the summit of Pappak Mountain.

There all the Atayal held a consultation, saying, 'We wonder why this water is gradually increasing. It may be that the gods are demanding something. How would it be if we offered them a person?' Then, for that purpose, they selected a worthless man whose death was of no concern. When they threw that man into the water, the water immediately roared, and, contrary to expectations, began to increase. They all deliberated and said, 'The gods are undoubtedly angry because we offered a worthless person. How would it be if we offered the daughter of the chief?' Since the chief consented when they spoke to him, they offered up the chief's daughter. Then, in a moment, with

a roar as if the cliff were crumbling, the water receded.

When they looked at the land they saw that there were landslides, and deep valleys and precipices were being formed. In the place where the water had passed there were many fish and eels clinging here and there. They were not able to eat all of them and so they rotted and smelled terribly, so it is said. The old men of long ago have handed it down as a tradition that it was from this time that the precipices, high mountains, and deep valleys around this area appeared."

"6. HALUS [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

Once upon a time a long time ago there was a very large man who was called Halus. It is said that he was sixty fathoms tall. The place where he slept was the size of a division of [18] a field, and the ground in this place was depressed to that extent.

It is said that his phallus was of a size large enough to cross a river and that ordinarily he wound it around his waist. At times when floods arose because of great storms, people came and called him and he made a bridge over the river with his phallus. It is said that he extended both of his arms at the same time and made a railing for the bridge. When women crossed it became hard as iron and did not move, but when men crossed it moved waveringly up and down, and it is said that crossing was an extremely frightening thing.

If he were always this way it could have been a beneficial thing, but actually this was not the case, for this Halus frequently violated the women. When the husbands went to the fields and the wives were in the houses, he would violate them. The women whom he violated had their thighs rent and died, so it is said. It is said that even if the doors were locked he would place his private parts in through the windows and violate the women.

That is not all. When they went hunting he would steal a march and go directly to the roads that the animals traveled and wait there. Then, when the animals came fleeing,

he would open his hands wide, chase them into his mouth, and swallowing them whole, would eat them up. The people wanted to kill him, but although they shot him with arrows, they were like mosquito bites and did not penetrate his body, so it is said. Then everyone was worried and said, 'What is the world are we going to do?' Fortunately, one man had an idea and said, 'Let us heat stones and try to deceive him by saying, 'Wait, some animals are coming.' Then we will try to kill him by causing him to eat the hot stones.' Everyone said, 'This is an excellent idea.'

So then they went to the mountains and heated two stones, and when they had baked them for three days the stones were red. They then went to Halus and said, 'We are going hunting. There are a great many animals. Go to the place at the foot of the mountain and wait very attentively.' Halus was very happy because they had said this, and left. When he was waiting attentively they said, 'A huge deer is coming,' and rolled a hot stone down. However, because this stone passed by Halus's side, they shouted, 'There is still another deer. Watch sharply,' and rolled down another stone. When the red [19] stone rolled down Halus gulped it down. Then a sizzling sound was heard; Halus gave one shrieking cry and instantly died."

17: Norbeck--19-20 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 539 Atayal

"7. A STORY OF THE ANCIENT WAY OF LIFE [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In the way of life of our ancient forefathers, it was not necessary for them to work to the point of getting tired, and actually it was an easy life, so it is said. For the fields they estimated enough millet to produce ten stalks and planted it. This was because, for some reason, when they cooked one grain of millet it filled the pot.

All of their food, whenever anything was wanted, appeared at once spontaneously. When they wanted to eat wild pig, the wild pig appeared of itself. Then, if they pulled out one hair and covered it with a winnow, and after a while lifted it and looked, the flesh of the pig was the size of a mountain. When they wanted deer they also did it in this manner. Thus, when they thought they desired any animal, it was always this way. Also, when they were talking together and said there is no firewood, it appeared of itself. Water was also always this way. When they went hunting, head-hunting, and visiting relatives, if they put seeds of grains inside a bamboo ear ornament they were not concerned with food even if they stayed a long time, so it is said.

However, this changed. A certain man put in ample grain and cooked it, but because it was still half raw he put on a lid. After a while he opened the pot and looked and a sparrow came out, and, crying 'papitspits,' flew off and alighted on the top of a reed. Then the sparrow said, 'From now on if all of you work with all your might you will not starve, but I, nevertheless, will eat. Moreover, lazy people will get no food.' It came

about that from then on they were able to eat only at times when the harvest was good.

The animals, moreover, were vexed with the human beings. The animals were angry because an old woman once suddenly took a very large piece of meat in one slice, and so it came about that they tasted the flesh of animals only when they went hunting.

As for the firewood also: A certain woman was weaving with a loom. The people of the house were about to cook some grain and said, 'There is no firewood.' The firewood [20] then appeared of itself from the window and struck against the cloth. The woman weaving was angry and threw the firewood away. After that it came about that firewood did not appear of itself.

The reason why it came about that the Atayal search with all their might for food is thus, so it is said."

17: Nqrbeck--20 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 539 Atayal

"8. THE STORY OF THE MAN WHO TURNED INTO A MONKEY [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In the time of our ancient ancestors it seemed that there was an exceedingly lazy man. When he went into the fields, he always struck the hoe against stones, snagged it on the roots of trees, and soon broke it completely, and, thus, whenever he went into the fields his hoe never failed to break.

Once upon a time he went to cultivate the soil, but his hoe again snapped at once. Thereupon, he instantly inserted the hoe just as it was into his anus and, saying 'tekerak, tekerak,' jumped into a tree. Hair grew on the handle of the hoe which he had inserted into his anus, and it became a monkey's tail. Hair grew on his body also, and he turned completely into a monkey, so it is said.

This man who turned into a monkey said, 'I am lazy and not fit to become a real Atayal, and therefore I turned into a monkey. I, in this form that I now have, will only wander about here and there and eat the fruit of trees.' Then, just as he was, he turned his back and went along into the trees, so it is said."

17: Norbeck--20-21 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 539 Atayal

"9. THE STORY OF THE GIRL WHO TURNED INTO A PIGEON [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In the time of our ancient ancestors there was once a girl. She had no brothers, only a father and mother. Her mother made her work constantly and she was not often in the house.

Once upon a time her father went head-hunting, and, having been successful, he returned home singing a song. The mother and daughter knew that the father was returning, and the daughter asked for the various necklaces (used in dressing up) as [21] she wanted to go to meet her father; but the mother said, 'Go gather a little firewood,' and sent her off. The daughter went out and returned with the firewood on her back. The father was already close. She said, 'Please give me the necklaces,' but the mother did not give them to her, and sent the daughter out again to draw water. When the girl had drawn the water and returned she said to her mother, 'Father is very near. Mother, please give me my necklaces quickly,' but the mother did not give them to her. The very cold-hearted and ill-tempered mother again made the girl do some work, and because of this the girl at once went outside, and, making a fluttering sound, went flying away.

The mother went out to look and saw that the girl had turned into a bird and was perched on a twig of a dead tree resting. The mother was startled, brought the

necklaces, and, saying, 'Let me give you your necklaces. Come quickly. Your father has returned,' she displayed the necklaces. The girl, making an uncomprehending face, sang 'wa-wa.' She had turned completely into a pigeon."

17: Norbeck--21-22 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 539 Atayal

"10. THE STORY OF THE ORIGIN OF TATTOOING [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In the days of our ancient forefathers there were once an older sister and a younger brother. Although he became of marriageable age the younger brother could not get a wife. His older sister sympathized with him and for his sake went out to look for a wife, but she found none. The older sister thought, 'How would it be if I were to change my appearance and deceive my younger brother?'

Thereupon she said to her brother, 'For your sake I have found a woman. Go for her the day after tomorrow. I will have her wait beneath the tree at the place where the trail divides.' The brother was therefore very happy.

When the promised day came, the older sister went ahead of him to the place. She then tattooed her face with ink, and, before her brother arrived, sat down at the base of the tree at the place where the trail divided. On the promised day at noon, when the younger brother went to see if it were true, sure enough, just as his sister had said, there was ⟨a⟩ tattooed ⟨woman⟩ waiting. Since she was actually there, he brought her home and made her his wife. After that their number increased, so it is said. [22]

In another story the origin of forehead tattooing is said to be a mark indicating that the head of hontōjin (61) has been taken. According to another tale of our ancient

61. This refers to the Formosan Chinese, who form the major part

of the population of Formosa. Since the term 'Formosan,' which is commonly applied to them, is ambiguous in this context, the term hontōjin from the Japanese text is utilized.

forefathers, it happened that in times of war allies were mistakenly killed, and so the marks were put on in order to have no errors while fighting."

therefore held a consultation and it came about that brothers and sisters selected their spouses from outside the family, and brothers taking related persons as wives were called the source of misfortune."

17: Norbeck--22 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 539 Atayal

"11. THE MARRIAGE OF BROTHERS AND SISTERS IS UNLUCKY [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In ancient times it is said that even brothers and sisters indiscriminately became husband and wife. Once upon a time there were a younger sister and a younger brother. One night the two slept together. The mother of the girl arose early and said, 'It is noon. Cook some food.' But the girl said, 'I have a headache,' and did not get up to do the cooking, and the mother therefore cooked the food. When the food was prepared the mother stood up and said, 'Eat the food.' The girl said, 'I have a headache,' and the two of them did not get up. Thereupon the mother got angry and said, 'If you two continue in this way you will probably really be sick. Eat a little.' But they did not comply at all.

The mother, it seems, became extremely angry, and suddenly pulled off the covers. She saw that the two were in an embrace and did not separate. The mother tried to pull one of them away, but the two were locked together and did not separate. The mother was frightened. People came to help and pulled at them, but were unable to separate them, and so they were forced to sever the man's penis. Thereupon the two separated at once, but at the same time both of them died.

The Atayal thought that they had probably incurred the anger of the gods because related people who drank milk from the same nipples had had sexual relations. They

17: Norbeck--23 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 539 Atayal

"12. THE STORY OF TURNING INTO A PHEASANT [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

It is said that once in ancient times there was a lazy girl. She always went to the fields, but there was no evidence whatever of accomplishment of the work she went to do. It is said that she always went just to play. No matter how much she was reprimanded, she did not go to work at all if her parents did not accompany her.

Once her mother and father sent her to the fields and said, 'Go knock down the beans.' At noon they went after her and looked, but there was no sign of her having knocked down the beans. They looked for her but could not find her, and letting it go, they stopped searching. Then they burned the pods of some beans which were knocked down and piled up. When the fire started up a pheasant suddenly emerged from the heaped-up pods and fluttered off, so it is said. The bird said, 'Because I shirked my work, I have become a pheasant. From now on I will eat only the seeds of pods and the fruit of trees,' and flew away, so it is said."

17: Norbeck--23-24 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-3
116, 539 Atayal

"13. THE STORY OF THE SEPARATION OF THE SKHAMAYUN AND THE ATAYAL AND THE ORIGIN OF HEAD-HUNTING [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

Regarding the place where our ancient forefathers originated, it is said that, since their numbers gradually increased, there was insufficient food and they were naturally in troubled circumstances.

They thereupon held a consultation, saying, 'What is the best thing to do? We should hunt for a spacious place that will enable the descendants of a part of our people to gain a livelihood.' They said, 'If we do that we should divide our number, and then go search for a living place in the Front-hill region,' (62) and started to divide their

62. 'Front-hill' is the name of one of the Atayal tribal groups.

number. However, the people who were going to the Front-hill region said, 'There are not enough of us. Let us shout loudly and make a test. We will make up the deficiency in people to the side whose shouting is the fainter, and then again make a comparison,' and part of them went over and gathered together at a distance. [24] Then the Skhamayun (the group going to the Front-hill region) shouted first. After them, the Atayal shouted. Then, as the shouting of the Atayal was superior, the chief of the Skhamayun quickly said, 'Your side is larger. Make up the deficiency in our

number.' Thereupon the Atayal gave people to make up the deficiency. Then, when once again they compared the volume of their shouting, the shouts of the Skhamayun were enough to move a mountain. Then they understood. The Skhamayun had first hidden away some of their number. The Atayal side shouted, but it was unable to match the other. It is said that the chief of the Atayal then said, 'Why are you deceiving us? You are concealing part of your number.' The chief of the Skhamayun at once said, 'You have no reason to be troubled even if we are superior in number. At time when you are involved in disputes, (63) come to our place to hunt heads. If your bird

63. J. W. Davidson, in The Island of Formosa, Past and Present (London and New York: The Macmillan Co., 1903), pp. 566-67, states that the Atayal considers head-hunting obligatory in certain cases, among them the following: 'To be considered victor in a dispute or to recover one's standing after having committed some offense against one's fellows. Thus, when two savages quarrel and cannot arrive at a settlement both parties disappear; and the first to return with a head obtains a settlement of the disposition in his favor.' This statement by Davidson has been corroborated verbally by Asai Erin, co-author of the work here translated.

divination is good, you will take our heads; if your omen is bad, you will not be successful. Don't be worried because your number is small,' and then they departed. The traditional story of the origin of head-hunting is thus, so our ancient forefathers have said."

17: Norbeck--24-27 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-4
116, 539 Atayal

"14. THE STORY OF BUTA DRIVING AWAY THE SKHAMAYUN [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In ancient times when the Atayal were all in the place of origin of our ancestors, the various drainage areas of the streams were the places in which the Skhamayun lived; that is, beginning with the stream of the Taroko people and extending to the place where the streams of the Kalaisan, Nebowan, Teranan, Sebetunux, Tsinbulan, Linahoi, and Pizinoh peoples converge at Tagbiran, all of these headwaters were populated by the [25] Skhamayun, so our ancient forefathers said. Since these Skhamayun were a division of the ancient forefathers of the Atayal, there was also intercourse between them.

With reference to the origin of the hostility between them and the Atayal, when the Buta (the name of an Atayal chief) group went hunting one time, they made a visit to the place of the Skhamayun. Among them was a man called Uloh Nauwi (Uloh, son of Nauwi), and because he was said to have touched the nipples of a Skhamayun woman for a joke, the brothers of the woman were angry and secretly killed him. Buta then became angry and said, 'Why did they kill him when he did it in jest? These Skhamayun intend to challenge us to war. We will drive them out and take the place where they live. If we do so, the range of our twisted hoes will be broad.' Then they all gathered together and conferred upon a plan of attacking the Skhamayun.

After the conference was over they pounded rice (prepared foodstuffs). Then they

first went to the river of the Taroko people. After they had completely driven out the enemy there, in this manner, step by step, beginning with the stream of the Nebowan people, they went to the streams of the Nebowan, Teranan, Sebetunux, and Tsinbulan peoples. They overthrew the Skhamayun at those places and moved to the stream in the Linahoi people's region. Buta went there because it was said that Chief Opil of the Skhamayun was waiting there to attack them.

When they were engaged in fighting one of the Skhamayun chiefs suddenly appeared and said, 'I am Opil the Good.' Buta then immediately fired his bow and killed him. Then he rejoiced saying, 'I succeeded in killing Opil the Good,' but when he looked carefully, it was another man, Opil the Bad, and so his joy had been premature.

According to a story they heard, Opil the Good had escaped and was waiting in the vicinity of Pizinoh stream. Therefore Buta again arose at once and, together with his elder brother (the father of Uloh), went there. When they went and looked, the enemy, as anticipated, lay waiting in ambush. Thereupon Mauwi (the elder brother of Buta and father of Uloh) said, 'Buta, I will go ahead. I am not concerned about being killed by them. I will go (on the road to Hades) together with the spirit of my son,' and he went on leading the way. When they emerged from the cover of a bank, Opil the Good appeared [26] suddenly and, quickly releasing his bow, killed Mauwi. Buta, who instantly took Mauwi's place, released his bow, and at once shot down Opil the Good. Because of this the Skhamayun became completely scattered, so it is said.

Buta took the head of his elder brother and of Opil the Good, and, carrying them on his back, left. Then he stopped at the summit of Kayinan Mountain, buried them there, and again returned to the place of our origin, so it is said.

The Skhamayun who lived in the drainage area of the Sebetunux stream were making the Mohein plain their latest living place. Buta went there and looked out across from Piyawai Mountain. He saw that the Skhamayun were really making the Mohein plain their latest abode, and so he and his men went there, attacked, and were victorious. However, the enemy at once left and assembled at Kin-yaopan plain, and waited in ambush there. At this time the Malipa people also united with Buta's followers, attacked the enemy and quickly defeated them. It is said that the heads which they took were very numerous. The names of these places thereafter became Kin-yaopan 'the place where they attacked' and Tarekan 'the place where they fought,' so it is said.

They lined up the heads they took. The heads the Malipa took extended to two and one-half times the breadth of the river, and the heads which the Buta group lined up extended to one and one-half times the breadth of the river, so it is said.

The Skhamayun fled and went to live at Hemawan plain. Buta and his followers once again rose and struck and scattered them, and this time they caused the death of the man Omao Lawa. Then, referring to this, (64) they called this place Hemawan plain.

64. Meaning uncertain.

The Skhamayun moved once again and took up abode at Payasan. Buta's group once again attacked and scattered them. This time the man Payas Pugao was killed. Thereupon they called this place Payasan. The Skhamayun left this place and lived at Pakowayan. Buta again fought and defeated them. They fled to Panan (65) plain, but Buta's

65. Orthography follows text. It appears that this may be an inadvertent error and that Panan should be Punan.

forces killed Makakowai, and, therefore, they called this place Pakowayan. Buta again attacked them at Punan plain, and once again quickly scattered them. Since this time they killed [27] Puna, they referring to his name, called this place Punan plain. The Skhamayun fled across the river and went ashore at Tsiyayan and waited. There again they fought and again were scattered. On this occasion Katsiyai was killed, and they therefore called this place Tsiyayan. When the Skhamayun fled, Buta at once pursued them. He went as far as Gogo Sliban, and the expulsion of the Skhamayun who were in the drainage area of Sebetunux stream was successful, so it is said. In the last place where Buta put his feet he shot an arrow into a tree and left it there, so it is said. This, they say, is what people today call the butt of Buta's lance."

17: Norbeck--27-28 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-3
116, 539 Atayal

"15. BUTA'S WAR STRATEGY [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

Once upon a time Buta went forth to attack the Skhamayun, and, because his forces were not large, he met with defeat. Thereupon, after due consideration, he said, 'We will wait until the time when the Skhamayun have a feast and then attack.' As they were watching for this to happen, the Skhamayun gathered just at the time of the full moon and held a feast.

The houses of the Skhamayun had boards laid in the manner of those of storehouses, with apertures in between them. It is said that when they slept their hair hung down below their pillows through the apertures. When Buta came to see the state of affairs they were absorbed in holding their feast, and when it grew late they all seemed to be asleep.

Buta then arose and went to reconnoiter. When he looked closely he found they were sound asleep. When the first cock crowed, Buta arose at once and went and tied together the hair of all of them. When dawn came he quickly went into the houses, awakened the people and saying, 'I have come to kill you,' started to kill them one after another. Then and there he killed them all. When he had finished this [the other] (66)

66. Meaning uncertain.

Skhamayun all awakened, and, although Buta escaped they immediately pursued him.

In his path of escape lay a mountain stream with a bridge of vines. When Buta reached this place the Skhamayun seemed to be about to take the risk of following him. Just when Buta had crossed the bridge, it seemed that they also [28] had reached the edge of the bridge. Buta thought it over, calmly awaited his chance and said, 'Come, let us have a match.' The Skhamayun then came on just as they were to try. When they were all on the bridge and the leader was just on the point of setting his foot on the other side, Buta, not missing his opportunity, severed one end of the bridge. Then the enemy, all in one group, suddenly fell into the mountain stream, so it is said. Thereupon Buta, in high spirits, left the place and returned home, so it is said.

Moreover, once upon a time, because the number of his followers was not great, Buta lined up many lighted torches and made the enemy think his forces were large.

Also, once upon a time, just one road went over the steep precipice of a mountain. Buta collected the hides of deer, had people sew them together and laid them out on the path above the precipice. When night came Buta's party advanced, fired their rifles, and challenged the enemy to battle. When the enemy accepted the challenge and advanced, they feigned retreat. The enemy said, 'We will pursue them,' and ran after them, but when they came to the place where the hides were spread, unexpectedly, one after another, they slipped and fell from the cliff. Although the ones in front fell off, the others

still came one after another and slipped and fell off. This was because it was night, and they, not realizing the situation, all kept advancing. When morning came and Buta's forces looked down at the foot of the cliff they saw a mountain of corpses, so it is said."

17: Norbeck--28-29 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 539 Atayal

"16. THE ROAD TO PARADISE [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In ancient times the Atayal said that being a true man or a true woman, just this one thing, was the most important to us who live in this world, and they taught this principle to their children, so it is said. They instructed them in just this way because it was said that those who knew the essential crafts (i.e., true women) and true men were the ones eligible to cross the Bridge of the Gods and go to Paradise.

It is said that there was a Bridge of the Gods which must be crossed on the road to Paradise. In the river below this bridge lived great serpents and many fishes, so it is said. On the near edge of the bridge was situated the house of a [29] watchman, who awaited the souls of the dead, and this was the place where they were judged, so it is said. When there were dead people, the watchman waited at this house at the foot of the bridge and made judgments. If they were judged to be true men and true women, they passed directly over the bridge just as they were without being specially painted with the juice of pigweed. People who were somewhat questionable first had their hands painted with pigweed, and then tried to wash it off. Those who were thoroughly stained and could not wash the stain off although they tried, since they were true men and true women, were allowed to cross the bridge and go on to Paradise, so it is said. The people who were not thoroughly stained and did wash off the stains were made to go

from the direction of the bank because they were evil people.

On this river-bank path were trees covered with thorns; burs grew thickly, and there were great numbers of leeches. The people who came to this place were scratched by the thorns, bitten by the leeches, and their clothes were all covered with burs, so it is said. Some of the people died before they reached Paradise. Some evil people among those who were not permitted passage on the bridge insisted, saying, 'Let us cross the bridge.' Then the watchman deceived them, and, in a kind manner, lightly gave them his hand and allowed them to cross, but when they came to the center of the bridge they were pushed off and were eaten up by the huge serpents and fish."

17: Norbeck--29 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 539 Atayal

"17. THE ORIGIN OF THE WIND [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

The source of the rise of the wind is a deer which lives in a deep pool, so it is said. It is said that the wind blows because he moves about in order to wash his body. The rise of violent winds is due to his thrusting his ears out from the water. A wind that is not strong comes from his thrusting his ears out just a little distance, but as he gradually thrusts his ears out farther, the wind gradually grows heavy. At times when he thrusts his ears out farthest the wind is its most violent, so it is said."

17: Norbeck--30 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 539 Atayal

"18. THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE ATAYAL [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In ancient times this locality was not the abode of the Atayal. Here there were only wild animals and trees. The Atayal did not live here, but in Sabayan there was just one place from which we sprung. At first there was only one man, but because the number increased gradually and the places in the interior became crowded, the people gradually moved down below. By degrees they descended the mountain streams and scattered about in the place where we now live. As the number of people gradually increased, they felled all the trees in this place. In ancient times there were many trees, and there was much room. However, only the Baibuyu (Saisiyat tribe) lived in this vicinity. When the Atayal crossed over the mountains they vanquished all the Baibuyu, and so the Atayal gradually took over their living place. The Atayal gradually defeated the Baibuyu and made them move down the streams, pursuing them to the confluence of the streams at Tamaro. They pursued them to the juncture of the streams at Tamaro, and left only two Baibuyu unkilled. Those two men had hoes, a little salt, gunpowder, and rifles, and so the Atayal saw gunpowder, rifles, hoes, and salt for the first time. They let the two men live and bartered with them for the hoes and salt. In this manner reconciliation was effected between us and the Baibuyu. From that time on we and these Baibuyu lived together."

17: Norbeck--30-31 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 539 Atayal

"19. THE FLOOD [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In ancient times our number was not great. Because the ocean (the flood) came up, the Atayal fled from the ocean and went to the interior. They went to the summit of Pappak Mountain, which was the only place the ocean did not reach. Because the ocean pursued them right to Pappak Mountain, the Atayal fled far away and assembled at its summit. As the food was ample they calmly stayed where they were. In those days they placed heads of millet in their ears (67) and went on trips. If they boiled one grain cut in half,

67. See tale No. 7. [MC: in category 116]

it filled a large iron pot when cooked. [31]

The animals also escaped to Pappak Mountain. The snakes also escaped to Pappak Mountain. The animals and the snakes joined the Atayal, but the relations between the three were excellent and from the beginning there was no quarreling. Because they became tired of being in this place, the Atayal propitiated the ocean by throwing into it an excellent dog. The ocean did not comply; it neither moved nor retreated. Later, when they offered up a splendid Atayal in propitiation, the ocean waters retreated. Thereupon the Atayal once again returned to the place here where we now live.

This place was originally not an evil place. This place where we now live became an evil place because the flood came. The reason that this place became evil is that at the time of the flood, eels crawled on the surface of the land and indented it (made the topography irregular). Although our ancient ancestors again returned to their former abode, they still preserved their millet seeds.

There was a god whose custom it was to enter excreta. Once this god spoke to the Atayal promising: 'If you will wash me off, you will shed your skin successively like the crepe myrtle and never grow old, and you will never die.' However, as they did not wash this god he said, crying, 'If you show me no concern and consider washing me too much trouble, we will be averse to protecting even the small children and will take their lives. The people whom we are not averse to protecting will be left to their own courses, and when their span of life is completed, we will then take their lives.' He spoke thus, and in actuality it was no lie. People died even if they were children. The people whom he had not ceased protecting grew old, and then their lives were taken. This is why our lives have come to be as they are."

17: Norbeck--31-32 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 539 Atayal

"20. FOOD APPEARS SPONTANEOUSLY [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In ancient times our ancestors did not buy things. This was because the various sorts of food appeared of themselves. When they called for water it appeared. When they called for trees, they also appeared. Even when they called for pigs, they also appeared. Deer also came when they called. Once upon a time they called for deer; but, because when the deer came they took more meat than they needed, the deer were [32] angry, fled away and did not return. Since the deer never came again, they got them only when they went hunting. Then the water, the trees and the pigs also became angry, and none of them ever came again. From then on the Atayal had to work. From that time on all people who did not work died of starvation."

"21. THE DECEASED MAN MAKOWAI [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In olden times, as one of our customs, we held harvest festivals. People who did not observe the harvest festival we re always drawn away by a luttux. (68) Once, one of

68. In Japanese text, kami. Footnote in Japanese text equates the Atayal word luttux with the Philippine word anito, 'god' or 'supernatural being.'

our ancient ancestral founders did not observe the harvest festival and a luttux drew him away. His name was Makowai. When he went hunting he fought with a luttux at Puloto Mountain. When he fought there he cut off the head of the luttux, but when he looked at his sword there was no evidence of the cutting. The luttux also cut the Atayal (Makowai), but there was no evidence of the cutting.

Makowai was drawn by the luttux, went along a mountain stream, and suddenly was no longer in this land. The luttux returned in a year, but Makowai, while with the luttux, always said, 'Let us go hunting. Let us go hunting and arouse the animals.' While waiting in concealment out hunting, he killed the luttux's dog with an arrow. The luttux came and saw this, and said to Makowai, 'Why have you killed my dog? For a male dog it is best to cast a spell.' Then the luttux gave him the dog and said, 'If you are

going to cook and eat the dog, then do so. However, we will again go hunting in this place. I will have my child go with you. When the wild pigs to be caught emerge, the child will be able to instruct you.' Then they went hunting, but when they looked at the thing they drove out, it was a frog (actually it was a wild pig, but looked like a frog to Makowai). Makowai bent a stalk of withered pampas grass, inserted the frog, and bound it with a blade of grass. The child of the luttux shouted, 'Please come and see. Uncle Makowai has just caught a wild pig in a trap.' The father [33] went there. Then they all went there and pierced the frog with swords. Then the luttux was happy, and he and his child cooked the frog and ate it. Makowai cooked and ate the dog he received from the luttux. Then he said, 'When I look at the luttux's array of food, I see he has a great deal and I have little,' and thought it strange (because what Makowai saw as a frog was really a wild pig, the amount of flesh was great). Then he returned home.

Afterward they again went out head-hunting. When they looked carefully, the appearance of their quarry was not that of an hontōjin [MC: Formosan Chinese]. After they had pursued it, they found it was a raspberry. When they picked the fruit of the raspberry, it was the head of a hontōjin. Makowai picked all the raspberries on both sides of the river, and when he got home and looked, all the raspberries, which he had put into a bag and brought with him, were the heads of hontōjin. Makowai and the luttux were both scratched and wounded by the raspberries, just as if they had been hit by a rifle. They returned home and performed rites for the heads of the hontōjin. Makowai said,

'I do not understand the food I eat. Although I am told by them to eat, I do not understand what I eat. That is because the god is a spirit.' (70)

70. Note by Japanese translator at end of this passage states: 'Meaning unclear.'

Later, the luttux dispatched Makowai saying, 'Go back. You have killed the things (the hontōjin) we value.' Makowai said, 'How can I return? I don't know the road back.' Then the luttux said, 'All right. I will see you off. I will allow you to take six arrows. When you have used up those six arrows, I will at once take your life.'

It was improbable that the people of Makowai's household would know of his return. Makowai's wife had gone to the storehouse, and Makowai at that time had returned and stood trembling by the storehouse. His wife said, 'Why have you returned? I thought you were dead long ago.' One of the stories I heard thereupon ends. (This tale is confused throughout, and the person switches fromthird to first. The Japanese translator has translated the person as given by the narrator, with a note so indicating. The narrator apparently at times put himself in the place of the character Makowai. Third person has been used throughout in this translation.)"

22. EATING CHILDREN [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In ancient times our forefathers always ate children. A certain wife did not want to eat her child, but was deceived into eating it. When she was going to the fields her husband deceived her, saying to her, 'Leave the child for a little while, as I will go and prepare some food. When the food is cooked I will call you. Don't hurry. Wait until I call.'

The husband then shot the child with a gun and cooked it for his wife's food. When the child was cooked he called his wife. The wife came and the husband said, 'I just killed a monkey.' The wife was very happy and said, 'We're going to eat monkey.' She then said, 'I will go get the child and let it suckle.' The husband had put a stone in the child's hammock after he had killed it. The husband said, 'Don't be in such a hurry to get the child. If you don't eat the monkey now, its flavor may not be good.' The wife then said, 'All right. I'll do that. If I eat it now it will probably be delicious.' The husband said, 'You eat. I finished eating a little while ago.' The husband felt sad because she was about to eat his child. When the wife had eaten her stomach full the husband said, 'Put your dishes over there, and I will show you the head of the monkey you ate,' (he had left the head and the fingers and toes uncooked). Actually it was the head of the child which he had cooked. When the wife looked at the head, she saw it was that of her own child. She began to cry and immediately vomited, and what she

vomited was the size of a mountain. The wife said, 'While I am crying, just as I am, right here, I will make myself vanish,' and in a twinkling she did vanish. The cicada which you see today incessantly crying among the leaves of the trees of the deep forest is what this woman turned into."

"23. TURNING INTO A WILD PIG [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In ancient times some of our ancestors turned into wild pigs. A certain father and son went out to the fields. When it became noon the father and mother sent this child to a hut, saying, 'Go prepare some food.' They also said, 'When we think it is an auspicious (71) time and you have cooked the food, we will [35] come to eat.' The child cooked the

71. Meaning uncertain.

food and waited for his mother and father, but they did not come. The child went out to look for them, but they had already turned into wild pigs and were at the edge of the field. The father came pursuing his son and said to him, 'We have just turned into wild pigs.' He almost bit his son. The son said to his mother and father, 'Father, mother, don't bite me. I am just going to plant some potatoes, taro, peanuts, and sugar cane, and so you may come and eat a little at the edge of the field.'

Wild pigs existed after this. You will notice it has come about that since then, when we plant our fields, the wild pigs come and eat at their edges.

The wild pig said, 'I have turned into a wild pig. I go to eat at the edge of your fields, and when I chase you, if my luck is bad you will shoot me. Then, when you do hit me,

eat me. When your luck is bad and you disregard the bird divination and go hunting, I will bite you.' Ever since then it has come about that when we go hunting with a good bird omen we kill wild pigs; when we go with a bad omen, the wild pigs bite us. That we go hungry is because the wild pigs eat up the borders of our fields."

17: Norbeck--35-36 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 539 Atayal

"24. TURNING INTO A MONKEY [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In ancient times one of our ancestors turned into a monkey. He didn't want to turn into a monkey, but, once upon a time, when he went out to work in the fields and had worked all day, the handle of his hoe broke five times. Then he said, 'Once again I will cut a tree and make a handle. What shall I do if this one breaks?' He completed the handle and resumed work, but when he had chopped twice the handle of his hoe broke again. He thrust the broken end of the hoe into his anus and then, just as he was, turned completely into a monkey. The handle became his tail.

Concerning his food he said, 'Am I one who so indiscriminately eats anything and everything? I will eat only from the borders of your fields.' Then the Atayal said, 'When you come to eat at the edges of our fields, we will shoot and kill you. If our field products are eaten by you, what will we have to eat?' The monkey said, 'It's all right even if you do shoot me. When there is no food, what am I to do? Since I am not [36] concerned about this, when you do shoot me with a rifle, then eat me.' This was the beginning of our shooting and eating monkeys."

17: Norbeck--36-37 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 539 Atayal

"25. TURNING INTO A KITE [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

Long ago, in the time of our ancient ancestors, the kites were also Atayal. The boy who turned into a kite didn't want to do so, but his mother and father were wicked. His mother and father deceived him and said, 'Go clean up outside. When you have done so we will give you some ornaments.' When the boy had finished the cleaning he asked his mother and father, 'Mother and father, please give me my ornaments.' His mother and father said, 'You are not finished yet. Go draw some water. When that is done and you have returned, we will give you the ornaments.' When the boy had returned to the house after drawing the water he said, 'Please, mother and father, give them to me. I am back from drawing the water.' Then his mother said, 'You are not through yet. Go get some firewood. Then I will give you the ornaments.' When the boy returned he said to his mother, 'Mother, please give me the ornaments!' His mother said, 'You are not through yet. Clean our sleeping places, and then I will give them to you.' When he had finished he said, 'Mother, please give them to me,' but his mother and father said, 'You are not through yet. Clean our toilet, and then, when you have finished we will give them to you.' When the boy had finished he said, 'I have finished. Please give them to me.' But they didn't give them to him. His mother said to him, 'I deceived you. Look, you did the work splendidly.' The boy then said, 'Yes, you deceived me. All right, I shall turn into something before your eyes.' The boy went across the way,

entered the storehouse and took his ornaments. Then he arranged them, made them into wings and covered his whole body. When he had finished he called his mother, saying, 'You deceived me. Look at me now.' When his mother and father went to the door to look, he had turned into a kite and flew over the house. The boy said, 'No matter how many things you offer to appease me, I will not return, but that will probably not worry you. There is no reason why you should not be able to see me. From now on I will fly over the house, and when you raise chickens I will [37] from time to time come and seize one or two, then go to a high place and eat them.' Since then it has actually been as he said. When we have chickens he seizes them, goes to a high place and eats them."

17: Norbeck--37-39 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-4
116, 539 Atayal

"26. THE VILLAGE OF ONLY WOMEN [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In a certain place some women lived, and there were only women there. When they felt sexual desires they went to the top of a precipice, and when the wind entered their vaginas they became pregnant. No matter how many children they gave birth to, they were always only female children. Such were their circumstances in the days of long ago. Although there were only women, they were not without a leader. An old woman was their chief.

These women had never seen a man. Once upon a time a dog belonging to our ancient ancestors got lost, and so one of our ancestors went to look for it. He went to the place where the women lived. The man said to the women, 'Hasn't my dog been in this vicinity? It went off chasing a wild pig.' The women said, 'It isn't here. No dogs ever come to our place.' The man said, 'Well, if that is so, all right. I will go look someplace else.' The women said, 'What is that between your thighs. We have never seen such a thing before. Why does the thing between your thighs dangle so?' Thereupon the man said, 'There are also people like you (women) at our place, but don't you have any mates?' Then the women said, 'If you don't mind, experiment with us a little.' The man said, 'In that case, let us go to your sleeping place and sleep.' The women said, 'Experiment a little with each of us.' Then they went to the sleeping place and, one after another, cohabited with the man. No matter how eagerly they moved themselves,

they were not able to achieve satisfaction. This was because there were many women and the man was in no way capable of effecting union with all of them. After the women had finished they called the old woman who was their chief, saying, 'Mother, mother, come here for a minute and try this. It is a pleasant sensation.' The old woman smiled as she approached this place and said, 'What is this that you call a pleasant sensation?' When the old woman arrived she entered the sleeping place, but because the man had already had a great deal of [38] sexual intercourse, no matter how he tried he was impotent. Thereupon the old woman said, 'Why didn't you let me do it first? I am the one who is your chief.' The old woman was offended, and so she took a hatchet and severed the penis of the man who had come hunting the dog. This man then died.

Our kinsmen waited and waited, but the man didn't return. There was a rumor that some women who lived in a good place had killed him. Our ancestors said, 'They killed him, and so we will go kill them.'

Our ancestors departed and surrounded the women they were going to kill. This was because the women had taken the first step. They shot at the houses with rifles, but no one came out and there was not even any noise in the houses. Only bees came out. Our ancestors were dispersed by hornets, and no women to be killed came out. Our ancestors returned, but clinging to their clothes were ants, wasps, honey-bees, hornets, and other insects. These built nests in the trees in this place where we now live. When those bees build nests, we burn them and eat them and their taste is delicious.

Also, there were no small red ants nor large black ants anywhere in ancient days; but, as they came back together with the men who went out to surround the women, they all spread out over the earth.

The women said, 'They tried to kill us but didn't succeed. They stopped attacking because they were afraid of the bees.' However, our forefathers said, 'After all, we were putting the enemy at ease.' Later they went and encircled the enemy again and unexpectedly set fire to the grass, burning them all up, the bees, the ants, and also the women. The houses also turned black and burned down.

When they looked at the burned remnants of the house, there was one hut for pigs remaining, and in it a small girl stood trembling. The men said, 'It is very good luck that we found the girl.' They carried the girl on their backs and took her home with them. The man who took custody of her and took her along was a man from Tahayakan village. They reared the girl and when she was mature secured her a husband. Then a boy was born to her. Later, whenever he (72) wanted anything, he was able to

72. Apparently refers to the 'man from Tahayakan village.'

practice sorcery and get it. Furthermore, he also taught the sorcery to his son. This man from Tahayakan village was from a line of sorcerers, but at [39] the present time

there are no longer any practitioners of sorcery at Tahayakan village. This is because they were all killed. Even if there were sorcerers, what would they be able to do?"

17: Norbeck--39-40 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-3
116, 539 Atayal

"27. THE BRANCHING OFF OF OUR ANCESTORS [MC: Translation of an Atayal folk-tale.]

In ancient times, when our ancestors separated from the hontōjin [MC: Formosan Chinese] the Atayal said to our hontōjin ancestors, 'We are going to part from you. You go below to the plain and we will live in the mountains. Since we are going to separate from you. let us have a conference in order to make our numbers exactly even.' Then, in point of fact, they did assemble and count their number. When they were divided into halves, the hontōjin said, 'All of you shout once with loud voices.' When the Atayal side shouted, the leaves of the bamboo fell. The Atayal then said, 'You shout,' and so the hontōjin shouted, but the leaves of the bamboo neither stirred nor fell. The hontōjin said, 'Our side is a little wanting. That is because the side of you mountain Atayal is larger.'

Then the Atayal made up the deficiency of people on the hontōjin side, but the hontōjin said, 'Let us shout once again.' Then the hontōjin shouted, and the leaves of the bamboo fell. Next the Atayal shouted, but the bamboo leaves neither stirred nor fell. The side of the Atayal was smaller, and the hontōjin side was larger. The Atayal said, 'You hid some of your number. Make up our deficiency.' However, the hontōjin refused, saying, 'We will not make up the deficiency.' The hontōjin all gradually escaped in the direction of the lowlands.

The Chief of the hontōjin said, 'There is nothing to worry about because there are a great many of us. When you are involved in disputes, (74) look at the sesili bird, and

74. See tale No. 13. [MC: in category 116]

if the bird divination is good, it is all right even if you come and kill one of us. When you come with a bad bird divination, we, in turn, will kill one of you.' This was the beginning of the hontōjin and ourselves killing each other.

The hontōjin also say, 'We took the smiths with us at the same time we separated.' And, look, the Atayal are all stupid and there is no one who knows anything. This is because the [40] people who knew smithing went only to the side of the hontōjin at the time of the separation. See, we Atayal do not know smithing. Thus it came about that we buy our implements from the hontōjin. This is because the people who knew smithing were all taken for the benefit of the hontōjin. Our buying things from the hontōjin and also our killing them began after this.

Although we kill the hontōjin, we do not do so indiscriminately. We do not kill people who live in the same drainage area as we. It is all right to kill hontōjin who live in the drainage areas of other rivers. Doing it in this way, we shelter the people of our own river drainage area. Strange people from other places come to kill the hontōjin we shelter. Also, it is all right if we go to other rivers and kill hontōjin.

Our acino (of shells fashioned like glass beads and attached to China grass cloth) also come from the hontōjin. Like the other things, we buy them from the hontōjin. These acino are put to use. We always decorate our clothes (75)

75. Asai Erin informs me that the loom-woven jackets worn by the Atayal are frequently covered with these shell beads.

with them, and also always adorn our hats with the acino. Since we also adorn our necks, we look all the more beautiful. The rich always have many acino, and the poor, few. We always use these acino in the settling of accounts. One acino equals one sickle; ten acino equal ten sickles. This is no different from present day money. What we call one piece (76) equals one ten-sen silver coin; ten pieces equal one yen. We call ten

76. Refers to the acino.

pieces one tunux, and this is no different from our present day money. What we call a yen the old people called a tunux."

17: Norbeck--40-42 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-3
116, 539 Atayal

"28. TATTOOING [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

We Atayal practice tattooing. I will tell you the story of its origin. In the early times of our ancient forefathers there was no tattooing. Once upon a time, in experiment, they tried tattooing their legs, and, since it looked beautiful, our ancient forefathers thought, 'If we, to try it out, put this tattoo just as it is on our faces, it will probably look very beautiful.' This was the beginning of our tattooing our faces. [41]

The ancient tattoos were not like our present day tattoos. At the same time that they had finished the tattooing, the whole faces of our ancient ancestors always turned completely black. Later their tattoos gradually became more limited.

They did not tattoo themselves, but when they gave a fee to a man who came to do tattooing, he put tattoos on their faces. When they tattooed a woman, they began at dawn and when it was sunset they had finished tattooing her. They treated the man who came to do the tattooing with food. This was, so they cleverly thought, to make him contrive a good design. As for the tattooer's fee, a low price was seven banun; (77)

77. In Japanese, taba ('bundle'). Explanatory note in Japanese text states: 'Five each of sickles, hatchets, etc., in a bundle.'

that is, the equivalent of seven of the yen of today. An expensive tattoo was eight

banun; that is, the equivalent of eight of the yen of today. After the Japanese came, the tattooers wanted money and the fee became three yen, but, as a result of our taking the customs of the Japanese (abandoning the custom of tattooing), the fee of three yen also stopped completely.

After our young men return from killing hontōjin [MC: Formosan Chinese] they tattoo their foreheads and chins. Even when they went to kill someone our ancestors took many people, even their children, with them. Then, from the head taken, they distributed one hair to each of the children. After they returned, these people who went out to kill hontōjin were all tattooed. As a result of this, the children grew with the speed of the wind. According to the Atayal custom, a man who has killed many men tattoos his chest. A man who has killed only a few men does not tattoo his chest.

When we return from killing hontōjin, we return with our voices raised in the war cry along the road. When we get home we all go to the place for the heads of hontōjin and sing. On the following day we assemble and dance, and put the heads of the hontōjin in the head stockade. We always place rice flour cakes, which our wives have pounded, into the mouths of the heads. Taking them out again, we let the children of those of us who have returned from head-hunting eat them. We make owao (78) in celebration,

78. Millet wine.

and also go hunting. When our [42] owao is mature, we always invite everyone in the whole village. Then everyone comes and drinks our owao."

34: Del Re--38-42 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines-1-6
116, 539 Yami

"Among the traditional folk-tales of the Yami, the creation myth and the account of the Yamic cosmos given below are of special interest. The former, which presents notable variants among the various tribes, has been written down and translated into Japanese by Dr. N. Ogawa (emeritus professor of the Taihoku Imperial University) and by Dr. E. Asai professor of comparative linguistics in [39] the same university. (12)

12. Myths and Traditions of the Formosan Native Tribes. Texts, Notes. Taihoku, 1935. The Yami legends are given on pp. 751-783.

While not written in verse, such accounts are rhapsodic as will be seen from the creation myth known as the Legend of Imulud--from the village whence it was collected --portions of which are quoted below. It should be added that the legend in question properly speaking combines myth and historical events into a kind of epos.
.....The God saw the flat ground and said: 'Good is the island of Yami!" (Then) he dropped a large stone on Ipaptok. (13) The stone burst and gave birth to a human

13. Ipaptok: i.e. the place where 'paptok' (a coarse leguminous plant) grows, now the name of a village. i is a locative prefix and is affixed to all Yami village names. (AYL, p. 34)

being. (14) The human being ate paptok as there was no other food. He went down

14. Asai (AYL, p. 73) gives the text (n. 4) and translation of the short Yami tale of the two sisters of Imasik who carried a 'lalitan' stone to Ilalai and poured water on the top of it saying 'I baptize you on the crown of the head, and you shall be a man.' The baptism was imitated by the Yami. 'I point the finger at the crown of your head, and your name shall be Sitoronan.' At first his hands and next his hands grew, then his eyes opened. His nose and his ears came out; the hairs grew. He began to speak; he spoke fluently. (He was) a man called Sitoronan.

towards the sea. A bamboo sprang up near the sea. The bamboo split open and gave birth to a human being. (15) The son of the stone descended towards the sea-plain. The

15. cpr. below, p. 62 ff., Creation Myth of the Puyuma tribe.

son of the bamboo climbed up to the uplands weeping. The two met in a misacanthus grove. 'What is our [40] name?' said the one. 'We are tau (human beings) replied the

other. They walked here and there. The son of the bamboo went to Ivalinu. He stopped at Kasavilugan where he found silver. The son of the stone went to Ilatai. He stopped at Imasapau and there he found iron. Then they went to their house at Ikavusidan where they lived. And the son of the stone beat out the hard iron, and the son of the bamboo beat out silver -- soft silver. (16)

16. A more specific account of the finding of iron is given in the following passage from the Legend of Ilalai (AYL, p. 65): 'The ancestors had no iron mattocks. They took stones, split and ground. Those were the ploughing-instruments for the fields. A little later one man went to the shore and found a-float, a drifting board. He saw it. There was much iron, used by overseas people for joining boats together. He took it to the village. He broke it and hammered it, and made an axe, and a blade for digging out yams. He sharpened it, and went to cut wood in the mountain....'

Long were the penes of these two and they were joined to their knee-joints. And the knee-joints swelled and itched. And from the knee-joints of the son of the bamboo issued offspring: a male from the right knee-joint and a female from the left. And a male

issued from the right knee-joint of the son of the stone and a female from the left. These brothers and sisters married and a blind child was born to them, (17) wherefore they

17. A similar misadventure occurred to the child of the first bamboo couple in the Puyuma myth.

exchanged wives. And the daughter of the son of the stone was married to the male child of the [41] son of the bamboo, and the daughter of the son of the bamboo was married to the male child of the son of the stone. And they begat three generations of children.

They built themselves canoes. (But) the (soft) silver bent against the (hard wood of the) tree. 'Let us exchange' (said the son of the bamboo to the son of the stone), 'you take (the) silver and I'll take (the) iron!'

(And they made the following song):----

(Though) I love silver
I have nothing like unto this iron!
We (want to) hew wood,
We (want to) fell a large tree.

34: Del Re--38-42 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines-5
116, 539 Yami

They performed the lauching ceremony: finished were the canoes. The canoes were launched: they were pushed down (into the sea). Ribs were fixed on the outside of the canoe of the son of the stone: ribs were fixed on the inside of the canoe of the son of the bamboo. The canoe of the son of the bamboo was cast aside: it was broken up. The canoe of the son of the stone was launched: it entered the sea. It floated (and) filled with water. 'Bad' said he. He took fibre of the kulan (tree) and stopped the leaks. 'Mended already' said he. He discovered how to make plugs out of the kulan (tree)....

....For five generations those named tau (hu-[42]mans) lived on the uplands. (They said): 'Let us go down to Iminavuit (the sea).' (18)....It was the season of flying fish; they caught flying-fish at Imalamai. (And they made this song):---

From Ipaptok, the place of the bursting-forth of humans,

18. The succeeding passage (AYL, p. 51) tells how the ancestors of the upland (bamboo) people taught their descendants the names of certain animals--swine, fowls, goats. After five generations the 'out-bursters from the bamboo,' now sixty in number, appear to have established themselves as fishermen and were taught by their grandsires the names of many fishes and that of some 77 trees and plants. (AYL, p. 53).

Descending here, to the plain of the sea,
He performed the fish-calling ceremony (19) at Imalamai.

19. min-apa-i-vanua, lit. obj. prefix-caused-to-come-to-land. The fishing is done by torchlight, the flares being fixed to the curved stern of the canoes.

I landed at Isakawalanan.
A torch was lighted:
the fish were dazzled by the fire-flames."

34: Del Re-42-53 U-1 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines-1-8
116, 539

"Another interesting creation myth is that of the Puyuma tribe which, geographically, is located nearest to the Island of Kô-tô-sho. It has some points of resemblance with the traditions current among the Yami, and is of value as a piece of documentary evidence. According to tradition, the first home of the Puyuma was near the village of Chipon, a few chilometres from Taito, on the coast of Formosa, at a place called Panapanayan (see map) where [pages 43 and 44 contain illustrations] [45] in times of emergency, it was customary for the Puyuma tribesmen to gather to deliberate. The founders of the Puyuma tribe were the god Pacomarai and the goddess Paconsel, both of whom issued from a bamboo. The myth is also common to the island of Ka-sho-tô and to the Paiwan tribe. The account is based on the story told Dr. Stewart by a young Yami tribesman.

In ancient days the god called Ibago caused bamboos and other trees to grow on the islands (i.e. Kashotô, Kôtôsho and possibly Taiwan itself). The god then ordered the wind to blow first in one direction and then in the other until the bamboo split open. First a woman sprang out of it, then a man. The god ordered the woman to take the path on the right round the village and to go to his house by the sea. Then he ordered the man to do likewise, but to take the path on the left. The god married them on the sea-shore. The woman gave birth to a female child who had no bones and was blind. Then the god was angry and said: 'This is not good. You are both wicked.' Shortly after the baby died and the god caused the man and the woman both to die.

34: Del Re--42-53 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines-2
116, 539

And again Ibago caused a large bamboo to sprout. This time the man came out first and the woman second. The god then ordered them to go down to the sea-shore, the man taking the path on his right, the woman on his [46] left. Then he married them. From this union was born a male child perfect in body, followed by a girl. Later, another boy and another girl were born, in the same order. But when the first elder children grew older a skin disease covered the whole of their bodies. Then the god said to himself: 'This couple also is not very good. But Ill treat them differently from the other one and shall send them to Saffran (Kashoto).' And the god threw a wooden bridge over the sea, joining the coast to the island. In the island there was a very tall pole which touched the sky, for the sky in those days was lower than it is now. Flocks of black birds flew round and round the pole, and the sky was lifted up to where it is at present.

The younger children of the union married and they too had four children, in the same order. These, notwithstanding the strict order of the god Ibago, ate so much of the fruit of the kira tree, that the god became angry and said to them: 'Because I wish you to be ashamed of having disobeyed my orders and eaten so much of my fruit, from henceforth you shall bear upon your bodies the mark of your shame.' Saying thus he made a hole in the earth and cast them into it. From that day they, who had not known shame and went about naked, began to cover their genitals with strips of tree fibre.

Thus originated the habit of wearing clothes.

For some years they lived in the underworld. Then the eldest pair came up on to the earth again while the [47] younger brothers continued to live underground and earned their living by tilling the soil and cultivating the land for their elder brothers. Then their buffaloes died and they were no longer able to till the fields, so they went down to the sea to fish. But no sooner had they entered the sea than they were changed into large fish and never were seen again. (20)

20. It seems that the natives, believing that these large fish cause storms, instituted an annual ceremony of pacification in which only youths and girls take part, since the original couple changed into fish were also young.

Meanwhile the eldest children of the first coupld (who had remained in heaven) had married each other and had had two children. The girl, who was exceedingly beautiful, obtained permission from Ibago to descend upon the earth in order to visit her cousins. All the youths of the village fell in love with her and wished to marry her, so she chose one. But the unfortunate bridegroom while consummating the union had his penis severed by the sharp teeth that encircled her vulva. The parents of the youth indignant at the death of their son, seized the girl and wrapping her in a red cloth, put her inside

a box which they tied up in a red blanket and cast into the sea.

The current carried the box to a small island. The chieftain of the island seeing something red floating on the sea ordered the box to be brought to shore. When the box was opened and the beautiful girl was discovered [48] he fell desperately in love with her and determined to make her his wife. Having found out in time that her vulva had sharp teeth, he ordered that the lower set should be broken off by means of a stone. Having done this they inserted a sweet potato which, in spite of the precautions previously taken, was severed in two. The chieftain, however, refused to give up hope and having finally managed to extract all the teeth by means of a bamboo joint, he married her and had two children. (21) When these grew up they also married one

21. Similar legends which, according to some psychologists, are connected with the castration complex, are found among the Australian aborigenes. (see Roheim, Australian Totemism, pp. 64, 420.

another and had two children, one female the other male.

34: Del Re--42-53 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines-5
116, 539

One day, returning from hunting in the mountains, the father saw two birds flying overhead and cawing like crows. Surprised at this unusual occurrence, he looked at them carefully and observed that their heads and legs were like those of his children. Hurrying home he asked his wife where his children were. 'They have gone out to play' --she answered--' and I do not know where they are.' The children had gone down to the river to play without telling their mother and when they returned she got very angry and threw boiling fat on them. As soon as the fat touched them, they leaped up into the air lifting their arms crying ka-ka, and were changed into crows. (22) [49]

22. cpr. The Scottish legend of the Twa Corbies which presents some interesting analogies.

Day after day the father waited anxiously for their return, and the longer he waited the more suspicious he grew that his wife had done them some mischief. At last, overcome with sorrow, he died and was changed into a large rock, called bara in the Puyuma language.

After several years had passed, the rock opened and two children issued from it and went to visit the wicked widow and asked her for food. The woman threw them some potato parings. The elder cleaned them and gave them to his little brother who was very hungry. As they could not live on such meagre fare they began to steal sugarcane from

the field of a neighbour in the village. To avoid being discovered they used to cry kît-kîte imitating the voice of a small lizard, so that the villagers should think that spirits were stealing their cane. (23) But the villagers having grown suspicious,

23. cpr. below, p. 64, the malicious activities of the anitos who inhabit the bodies of rats.

spread cinders all round the cane field and so were able to catch the thieves whom they tied and threw into a hut where they fed them on insects, snakes, snails and centipedes. The youngest brother being unable to eat such food, grew daily thinner and weaker. The elder one, however, managed to bite through the rope and to free himself. Hiding in a cave, he built himself a large kite. Launching it into the air he scrambled up the rope and reached heaven (24) [50] where he seized a large knife and flew back to earth with

24. cpr. the reference to the visit to the goddess Siturijau who lived in one of the heavenly villages of the Tau-rô-tô. (AYL, p. 57)

the knife between his teeth. After cutting open the belly of a pregnant woman to avenge himself over the Bunum tribe who had treated him so shamefully, he ran to free his little brother and carried him to the cave. The boy was crying and complaining of pains in his stomach due to the insects which he had eaten, whereupon the elder brother threatened to drive the knife down his throat if he did not shut up, and frightened him so much that he vomited all the insects into a pool called Tomonya, where they still may be seen.

The brothers lived for some time near this pool. Then they went into the mountains where they built themselves a house by the road leading to the village from which they had stolen the sugarcane. One day the younger brother went to visit his aunt (25)

25. The legend appears to be somewhat confused. It is to be supposed that the aunt was a descendant of the stone men.

taking with him a number of small bells which he hung from the rafters of the house and told her that they were going to send an earthquake in order to punish the villagers. He warned her that when the earthquake came the bells would ring, but that she need not be afraid because her house would be protected by their peal. He also told her to impress upon his uncle that when the bells began to ring, he must not leave the house under any pretext. Shortly afterwards the promised earthquake took place, destroying the [pages 51 and 52 contain illustrations] [53] village and killing everyone except the uncle and aunt. But the former, forgetting his nephews' orders, ran into the street and the elder brother thinking he was a villager trying to escape, ran him through with his lance. The elder brother was stricken with remorse over this mishap. Soon afterwards his hands and feet became paralysed. Being now entirely unable to do anything for himself, he was cared for very lovingly by his younger brother whom he had looked after when he

was young and feeble.

The house built by the brothers and the roof-tree of their uncle's house may still be seen at Panapanayan in the country of the Puyumas."

34: Del Re--62-64 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 539, 772 Yami

"The direct interest taken by these gods in the welfare of the tribe is illustrated by the following legend:---

Once upon a time there lived on Kô-tô-sho a very handsome youth who was very poor. One of the Tau-[63]rô-tô goddesses being sorry for him, told her niece to descend upon the island and to marry him. The niece at first refused, but later the aunt succeeded in making her take pity on the youth. Having reached the island, she approached the youth and asked him to marry her. The youth, however, refused her offer saying that he was too poor to keep himself much less a family. The girl finally got her way by promising that she would make him rich. After nine years of marriage, during which she bore him two sons, the mother returned to heaven taking with her the youngest child, leaving the husband and the eldest son behind.

A man still lives in one of the villages of Kô-tô-sho who claims to be directly descended from this goddess.

The figures shown in the 3rd plane (fig. I), Shipariud (right) and Shivairai (centre), are the principal gods of this heaven which is also inhabited by many other divinities the names of which are unknown. The latter are 'anito-demigods' whose main function seems to be that of living at the expense of the other inferior beings of the Yami universe. Being unable to make a living by themselves, and unwilling to work, they steal food from the Yami entering for that purpose into the bodies of rats and other rodents. Whenever a rat

34: Del Re--62-64 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines-2
116, 539, 772 Yami

is killed the anito has to find another abode, which often is the body of a bird or a butterfly. In the course of this transmigration, however, he loses his power to harm. In earlier times the [64] island is supposed to have had no rats which--so the tradition goes --were brought over by a (?) Japanese boat and and [sic] spreading over it ravaged the crops. In view of this, it is easy to understand how it came about that the Yami later added to their universe a plane peopled entirely by a special class of wicked anitos. According to some, these anitos are not naturally evil but only become so when they pass into the body of a rat. It is generally believed that they take pleasure in preventing plants from coming to fruition, or in causing the seed to rot in the earth, or spoiling the crops after they have been harvested."

34: Del Re--64-67 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 539, 772, 842 Yami

"The 4th plane (figure I) is entirely peopled by divinities of female sex called Pi-na-lung-ao, the chief of whom is the goddess Shi-nun-manuri, who exercise a function somewhat akin to that of the classical Moirai. When a child is about to be born the goddess must be consulted to ensure--as far [sic] possible--that an equal number of males and females are born in each generation. Sometimes, however, Shi-nun-manuri forgets the correct number and confusion arises, but this is at once set right in the following generation. At the time of birth the goddesses pour water into a bowl and shake it: if only a small amount of water is spilled the new-born child will have a long life, but if all the water is spilled it will die soon. Length of life depends entirely on the amount of water spilled, nor is it affected by any preceding action of the parents or by what the individual may subsequently do, since once [pages 65 and 66 contain illustrations] [67] determined at birth, nothing can alter man's span of life."

34: Del Re--67-71 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosans-Aborigines-1-5
116, 539, 772 Yami

"The 5th plane is inhabited by the Yami. The two islands shown in the drawing (fig. 1) probably represent Formosa and the near-by island of Ka-sho-to. It will be noticed that the artist has been at pains to distinguish the Yami from the anitos (planes 2 & 4) with their wild looks, dishevelled hair and pot-bellies, from the humans (planes 7 & 8) and, conversely, their marked resemblance to the gods of the second plane.

'Yami-anitos' occupy the 6th plane (fig. I). These seem to be the doubles rather than the spirits of the Yami. According to some, each individual may have as many as eight anitos who, after the death of the host body, continue to live in the same place, as disembodied spirits. Such a belief presents an interesting analogy with the ancient Egyptian ideas concerning the ka. There are certain places reputed to be haunted by these anitos which the savages fear to visit at night or even during the daytime. They are furthermore regarded as harbingers of death. Like the anitos on the 3rd plane, they too may enter into the bodies of rats which makes them evil and, in this form, are undistinguishable from those just mentioned and from the 'anito-men' who live on the 8th plane. They may also enter into butterflies, mantises and cocoons. Rats, too, are believed to have several anitos, one of which acts as the animal's vital spirit. Whether in the form of Yami, men, animals or gods, it is clear that anitos [68] have a double function and can exist with or without bodies. It will be noticed that the 3rd, 6th and 8th planes of existence (in the 9 plane scheme) are, in effect, anito counterparts of the

corresponding divine (2nd), Yami (5th) and human (7th) planes immediately above them, the only difference being that the anitos of the 3rd plane are considered evil spirits, while those of the 2nd are gods and harmless.

The World of Men is situated on the 7th plane (fig. I). About it the Yami have little to say. This, in itself, might be adduced as a proof of their long period of isolation from the outer world. It is believed however that, in the remote past, two Yami, led by the gods, visited the land of men, situated underground (plane 7 (à)(b)), and on their return handed down the following legend told Dr. Stewart, by a young native. The story makes an interesting addition to the numerous Celtic legends of what Alfred Nutt called the 'Hollow Hill' type of Happy Otherworld, except for the important fact that the Yami underworld is inhabited by living beings not ghosts.(31)

31. cpr. also the underworld in the Puyuma legend, p. 46.

Once upon a time there was a family of Yami which had several children. For some unknown reason the father and mother treated the elder brother and sister very cruelly, feeding them only on scraps and refuse. One night the elder brother dreamed of a country under [69] the earth where there was food and gold in abundance and where he and his sister might live happily and in plenty. All next day while at work in the

fields he could do nothing but think of his dream wondering how he might find the way to that beautiful land. When he had finished his day's work, he asked his sister to go with him to the place called Gimu-awungo. Having reached the spot he pulled up a clump of balung-bung grass and found that the roots had left a large hole which seemed to lead into the bowels of the earth. Filled with curiosity he wriggled down the hole followed by his sister and found himself in a world similar to that of the Yami except that there was plenty to eat and the people treated them very kindly. After some years they both married and had children, the brother two sons, the sister only one. Meanwhile the peasant who had seen them disappear into the earth and fail to return, ran to tell their parents, but when these reached the spot the hole had closed up.

After many years the brother and sister came back to their native village bringing their children with them, and were received with much joy and surprise by their parents. A great feast was held to celebrate their return to which all the neighbours were invited. When the mother heard of all the wonders of the underground world, she implored them to take her back with them. They refused to do so reminding her how cruelly she [70] had treated them when they were small. The time having come for them to return to the underworld, the mother announced her determination to accompany them. Upon reaching the spot, pretending that they would let her come too, they told their [sic] her to turn her back; at that very moment the earth opened and they slipped

down the hole while the ground closed over them for evermore, leaving their mother weeping with rage over their disappearance.

The subterranean house of these Yami is depicted on the lower right-hand side of the 7th plane (fig. I). The figure on the upper left seems to be that of an anito which should properly belong to the 8th plane where 'anito-humans' live who, in (fig. II), have a plane to themselves, not here marked. These anitos are in every respect the same as those of the 6th plane (Yami-anitos).

The 8th or lowest plane is the foundation upon which the Yami world rests. The drawing (plane 8) shows the supporting tree-trunks and the serpent Kamurai who causes the universe to snake and tremble every time he coils himself around or touches one of them. When he draws in his breath the wind blows, when he exhales it, the ocean is churned up into furious waves, but when he coils and uncoils himself the earth is shaken by an earthquake. The violence of these disturbances depends upon the violence of his movements and are generally dictated by the caprice of the moment. His anger is [71] mostly directed against other countries. The Yami also believe that if someone were to attempt to escape from the island after committing some evil deed, Kamurai would raise a tempest and sink his ship as he did in the case of the American sailors ship-wrecked upon Kô-tô-sho whom he considered to be criminals and upon whom he wreaked

his just anger using the Yami merely as the instruments of his vengeance. This plane is also inhabited by many snakes and rats.

The second native drawing of the Yami cosmos (fig. II) substantially preserves in a much simplified form, the arrangement of planes of the one described above. It is of special interest, however, because it introduces a new feature, namely the suns which, as previously noted, appear on alternate planes. Such an explanation of the phenomenon of day and night is not found elsewhere among the Formosan savages nor is it clear whether the planes without suns are those inhabited by anitos."

10: Schumacher--225 T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 548 Chin-hoan

Village prostitutes or haischa are completely lacking among the Tschin-Huan in contrast to all the other population elements of Formosa.

19: Guérin and Bernard--559-560 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 548, 768, 837

Although there is no prudery in the language of the savages, prostitution is unknown, and there is almost no adultery; moreover, the husband has rights of a Draconian severity to protect his honor, and he would avail himself of them if it were necessary. [560] In the south, custom authorizes widows to sell themselves, but this was doubtless a means devised to enable them to make a living and support their young children.

16: Müller--230-231 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 553, 551

After a certain amount of time has elapsed, the child is given a name. Among some tribes [231] the custom of lending names is practiced, and only certain names may be used, so that there are many people of the same name within one village. Often the child is named after the father.

22: Wiedfeldt--22 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
551 Atayal

Outwardly this [MC: equal rank of Atayal women to men] is reflected in the fact that when she marries she retains her two maiden names. Children have the father's first name as their second name.

24: Anonymous--91 U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 551, 601, 769, 805

The aborigines of Formosa are very different from the Chinese. They have no family names and no calandar or units of time like ours. The aborigines recognize no other degree of relationship except that of parents, they do not offer sacrifices to their ancestors, and they are not even able to tell their own age.

25: Plaut--58-59 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 551, 562, 594, 611

The family relationships among the savage tribes of Formosa present some striking variations. We do not have enough tradition to tell how these originated, but everything indicates that the form of the family today does not represent either the beginning or the end of its development. And as nature and humanity never develop along all lines simultaneously... there are many things in the family life of the natives which have come from earlier times, and which seem like an anachronism now. For example, all of the tribes are strictly monogamous on the basis of perfect equality between the sexes; yet along with that some of them have matrilineal succession from the time of the mother right, and in spite of that they consider that the husband's relatives are blood relatives. We also find that the same tribe is founded on the male line, and yet [59] the mother is the only one who has the right to name the children.

11: Haguenauer--35 [3] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 553, 844, 854 Atayal

The new-born Tayal baby is bathed at once by an elderly women, his grandmother if possible. Then he is named two weeks after birth. The Tayal baby stays with his mother until he can walk. Until that time she carries him wherever she goes, and he rides astride on her hip, with his mouth at the level of her breast.

16: Müller--230-231 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 553, 551

After a certain amount of time has elapsed, the child is given a name. Among some tribes [231] the custom of lending names is practiced, and only certain names may be used, so that there are many people of the same name within one village. Often the child is named after the father.

16: Müller--231 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 553 Tayal

Among the Ataiyal group, who do not have any surnames, the name of the child is followed by the name of the father. If there is a surname in the family it follows the proper name.

19: Guérin and Bernard--561 [5] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 553, 842, 853

The arrival of a child of either sex is considered a benediction;when it is a month old, the parents select a name. The mother nurses the child as long as she has milk for it, and there is no weaning.

22: Wiedfeldt--23 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 847, 553, 851 Atayal

The father has the right to kill a child, or more accurately, to have someone else kill it, for he never does it himself. With the high value placed upon children, this never occurs except when a child is blind, or deaf, or burdened with some other kind of physical defect. It has the effect, if you will, of making the race a select one. There is no punishment for killing a child that has not yet reached the age of two or three years, and hence does not yet have a name. In view of the high rate of infant mortality, they do not give the child a name until there is some prospect that it will survive. In naming it, the name of one of the grandparents, or of a famous head-hunter of the clan, is placed before the first name of the father.

37: Steere--307 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 627, 553 Sek-hoan

"There are still some remains of their ancient tribal government among them, but the lineal chiefs or head men seem to have purchased small mandarinships, and thus unite the Chinese authority with that inherited. Justice is generally administered as among the Chinese by the elders and head men of the village. They have a curious custom of naming their children after the different kinds of trees in the forests."

39: Wiedfeldt--14 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 553 Atayal

Many of the round dances are accompanied by songs. Apart from this, the young people also sing little songs when they are sitting in the bush. These songs have simple variations in tone, which might be described as melodies. As an accompaniment, or more correctly, as a prelude and finale, they blow a small bamboo pipe, called a dohdonn. By blowing it and pulling at the same time at a thread, a tongue of wood is set swinging and producing soft notes like those of an Aeolian harp. They have no other musical instruments, even in battle, where they would merely be a hindrance to their technique of surprise attack. Their poetry is limited to little songs, an example of which is the touching lament of a widower. Among the songs translated by Professor Florenz Yokohama and printed in Vol. VII of these reports, there are some that are quite interesting. They deal with the hunt, love festivals, work, praise of the ancestors. In other words, they deal with immediate realities in general, without rising to more inclusive concepts.

7: Joest--60 [2] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301, 554, 721 Chin-hoan

Boys are very proud if they can wear bracelets made of the pigtails of a Chinese whom they have decapitated.

7: Joest--61 [8] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 554, 581, 721, 727 Chin-hoan

The natives' favorite way of killing an enemy is to lie in ambush... near one of the enemy's villages and wait for someone, man, woman, or child, to pass; then they shoot an arrow at the victim's back and cut off his head. Then they put the enemy's head in the bag and return home in triumph. A headhunter is received with great honors; a banquet and drinking bout is held and he is popular with the girls, who will not turn him down if he proposes marriage.

11: Haguenauer--36 [3] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 286, 304, 554, 581 Atayal

The Tayal woman prides herself on her knowledge of weaving, for it is only when she is a past mistress in the art that she can be tattooed on her cheeks and around her lips with the marks which will attract the young men to her.

11: Haguenauer--36 [4] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 286, 301, 554, 721 Atayal

Custom decrees that a girl should wear a number of bracelets of brass wire which corresponds to the designs that she can weave. If a man wears these bracelets, they have a totally different meaning; if he has them on just one arm, they are simply ornaments, while if he wears them on both, it shows that he has taken part in a head hunting expedition.

11: Haguenauer--36 [5] T-3 (no date) 1929 **Formosan Aborigines**
116, 304, 554 **Atayal**

By looking at the face of the person to whom you are talking, you can learn much about his rank as a warrior; for the lucky hero has some additional tattooing under his lower lip.

So we see that the capture of a head was not an act of savagery, nor was it purely a matter of individual glorification. It is true that the successful hunter had a right to be tattooed as a warrior, or if he already had this distinction, he might give his head to a younger man so that the latter might have this signal honor. But head hunting was essentially an enterprise which was imbued with a very special kind of religious meaning. It was done with the approbation of the souls of the ancestors, and it was an affair which concerned the whole community.

14: Tamai--96 [14] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 554, 721 Chin-hoan

Tattooing is a mark of distinction. A man who has not killed anyone may not be tattooed, and if he is not tattooed he may not marry. The women, on the other hand, are not allowed to be tattooed until after they are married. Men who have many skulls in their possession are held in high esteem.

14: Tamai--96 [16] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 301, 554, 721 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwans pierce the lobes of their ears; the men put a bamboo stick about an inch in length through the opening, the women use a stick three or four times as long.

Both men and women wear bracelets. The men, however, may wear a bracelet only after they have killed at least one Chinese or Formosan; for each man they kill after that they add another bracelet. Thus bracelets, like tattooing, are a mark of distinction.

14: Tamai-- 97[7] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 353, 721, 773, 554 Chin-hoan

In every house there is a rack to hold these heads [MC: secured in headhunting expeditions against the Chinese], which are considered ornaments. There are among the Tschinwans six famous heroes. They are called Raushuu, Watsushinai, Maraiakao, Yuakanajo, Ocki, and Juwantschümoi. All of these have more than 70 heads on their racks. In three houses the Japanese found heads on these racks that had just been cut off and were still bloody.

16: Müller--233 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 721, 554, 881

"Among the Ataiyal, Tsarisen, Paiwan, and Pyuma aborigines tattooing is a universal custom. Among the men the design consists of one or several vertical lines on the chin and forehead. The first line is usually made after their first successful headhunting expedition, but the children of prominent men sometimes receive theirs before that. The design for the women consists of a network of lines around the mouth extending as far as the ears. Among the Tsarisen tribes, the head of the family is tattooed on the back and on both elbows; the design consists of straight and curved lines. Among some of the Paiwan and Pyuma tribes the women tattoo the back of their hands.

Among the Ataiyal, Vonum, and Tso'o aborigines it is customary to remove the left and right canines of the upper jaw.

16: Müller--240-241 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 554, 721, 881, 582

Among the natives of Formosa, as on all the Malayan Islands, the practice of headhunting is widespread and forms one of the most important traditions. The Ataiyal aborigines practice it to a greater extent than any other group. Those of the Paiwan and Vonum group also practice it a great deal. In former times, according to the Chinese sources, headhunting was practiced throughout Formosa. There are various reasons for this custom. It is considered, first of all, a test of courage. This may be seen from the fact that the tribe which has the largest number of heads in its possession is considered the most courageous. Where there are many skulls there is also great power, according to the text of one song. Every young man [241] who wants to be considered an adult must pass this test. If two men are rival suitors, the girl chooses the one who is the first to return home with a head.

22: Wiedfeldt--14 [5] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 293, 554 Atayal

A man never goes out unarmed, less for the sake of his own security than for the sake of his prestige.

22: Wiedfeldt--20 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
554, 533, 721 Atayal

The young man tries to win the favor of his girl by distinguishing himself in the skull hunt, as is shown by the Atayal love songs translated by Florenz.

22: Wiedfeldt--31 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 685, 554, 802, 614 Atayal

On the basis of this kind of evidence [MC: i. e. skull trophies], disputed land is awarded to a clan, or a penalty is imposed on a clan. The head of the clan then assigns the land to the family concerned, or demands that they comply with the penalty. In business which concerns only the clan, the procedure is the same. All payments are made by the clan heads, with the occasional assistance of a wise man, that is, one who can surely count up to 30. The payment of the price for a bride, and the adoption settlements, etc., are also mostly made with the help of the head of the clan, for the ordinary Atayal can count up to 5 at the most. In decisions of this sort, where there are two steps, one of which is carried out between clans and the other within the clan, there is no difficulty in putting them into effect, as the tangible nature of what is generally recognized as evidence is a help.

24: Anonymous--91 [3] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301, 302, 304, 554

When their hair has reached full growth, they cut off half of it and tie it with a string. They blacken their teeth with green herbs. They pierce their ears, and the opening is so large that they can insert a wooden ring (mu-huan) through it; a piece of ivory is suspended from the ring. Most of them are tatooed on the arms and back, those who like to boast of their deeds even cover their entire body with signs, using the Dutch alphabet. They wear bracelets of cast bronze (chuo) or iron, and they may wear as many as a dozen pairs of these. They try to impress others with a feather headdress which hangs down to their shoulders (niao-ch'-ih) or with shell ornaments (kauri-pei) which they wear on their forehead. These ornaments, besides commanding respect, also have an aesthetic value for them.

24: Anonymous--92 [3] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 554, 721

There is another people on this island; they live in caves and thus resemble the ancestors of the Chinese. They love to kill people and they hand to their enemies' skulls, after they have skinned them and adorned them with ornaments of gold, in their dwellings as a sign of their courage.

31; Hofmann--606-607 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 131, 554, 721 Atayal

Beyond Taikokan, to the east, the mountains ascend steeply. During the bloody battles in 1907, the foothills were wrested from the Malayans. The tribe which lives here, the Atayal, belongs to the Seiban group (the "red savages"); this is a tribe of headhunters which is feared greatly. The practice of headhunting is or was characteristic of most of the Malayan tribes. [607] The natives decapitate their enemies, among whom they include neighboring tribes as well as Chinese, Japanese, and Europeans. The headhunters are not, however, a courageous people. They lie in ambush and take the enemy by surprise, usually while he is at work; then they cut off his head which they preserve as a trophy at home. If a native has taken the head of an enemy, this is his badge of courage. This cruel custom is so deeply rooted in the beliefs and traditions of the Malayans that all attempts to combat it so far have proved unsuccessful.

31: Hofmann--609-610 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 554, 721

I tried, by asking the most reliable informants, to find out the reasons why the aborigines were headhunters; I did not limit [610] this inquiry to the natives in the north, the region I visited, but included those in the south as well. I made this attempt especially because, according to many sources, the aborigines are also cannibals; none of these sources, however, has advanced proof of this fact. Thus Fischer (1) tells the

1. Fischer: Streifzüge durch die Insel Formosa. Berlin, 1899.

story of a chieftain who offered his own child as food to a neighboring chieftain. These horror tales are hard to believe about a people which is not, comparatively speaking, on a very low level of development. The natives are not a nomadic group; they are a settled group living by agriculture, although it is true that their agriculture is very primitive. The motive for headhunting is simply that the head of an enemy forms a tangible proof of courage. The natives keep these trophies in the same way that they keep the antlers of stags or the tusks and heads of boar which they have hunted down.

The moral code of the natives demands that they take revenge on the enemy who robbed them of their fertile land and sent them to the barren mountains. This tradition is handed down from generation to generation, and it is believed that it is actually a good deed to obtain the head of one of the enemies of the country. (2) Their revenge

> 2. For that reason head hunting has increased during the first few years; the Japanese, without harming the natives themselves, have penetrated into their region and exploited it.

is therefore never personal. It is not a question of decapitating the man who has felled a certain camphor tree, for instance. Everyone who belongs to the enemy's party is liable for the common guilt with his head. Since it is also considered an act of courage to get the head of an enemy, this trophy is necessary to one who wants to marry. The bridegroom places the head, a bloody token of his ability to become a husband, at the feet of his bride. A second reason for this custom is a superstition which cannot be eradicated. Thus, in the north, the harvest festival in honor of the gods is celebrated by an offering consisting of several human heads.

On Formosa, headhunting takes the place of a procession held to implore the deity for rain or sun. Finally, headhunting also takes the place of a trial by ordeal. If a

31: Hofmann-610-611 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines-2
116, 554, 583, 695, 721, 782

case cannot be decided, [611] the chief of a tribe, the guardian of the law, proclaims that he who is the first to bring back the head of an enemy, is in the right.

31: Hofmann--619-620 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 281, 554, 721, 764 Tsou

There were several large stone plaques on the floor; [EJ: of the dwelling] these cover the tombs of deceased relatives. The most interesting feature was the large number of trophies obtained through hunting; these are the pride of the chieftain and of the entire tribe. In the house I visited there were more than 500 skulls of boars [620] and more than a hundred antlers, all of them with six branches, some of them quite thick. The natives hang in their huts the skins of animals that have just been killed in order to let them dry out.

34: Del Re--16-19 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 554, 561, 888 Yami

"The respect paid to and the great prestige enjoyed by senior members of the community is not based merely [pages 17 and 18 contain illustrations] [19] on seniority but on the personal qualities and skills of the individual as evidenced by his actions. Thus when, for whatever reason, they are considered to have outgrown their usefulness to the tribe, they automatically lose their position."

37: Steere--308 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 293, 411, 554, 721, 266 Chin-hoan

"The arms of these savages consist of a few fire-locks procured of the Chinese, and used principally in hunting, and lances and large knives used in hunting Chinese heads. They decorate these weapons with tresses of Chinese hair, and when upon the hunt for Chinese, carry highly ornamented red bags for carrying home the captured heads. They make regular expeditions every year down to the border land, where they lie in wait for the Chinese who come into the forest after rattan, bamboo shoots, etc. Human heads have a recognized value among them, and a man's importance depends upon the number of heads he has taken. The base of the skull is cut off, and the brain extracted, and the head then thoroughly dried, the teeth being generally knocked out--to make necklaces. We saw twenty-four of these skulls upon one small platform, and apparently the property of one man. I could find no proof that they are cannibals, though this charge is frequently laid to them. They may drink the blood of their enemies, as I saw the Lek-whan drinking warm deer's blood, but the bodies of the Chinese killed by them are generally left lying where they fell."

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
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565 291 [301] are only allowed to be worn by chiefs; and embroidered *lionpao* (long clothe), *koŋ na kinimaʔaŋ* (long skirt) and *kasuja tsino at səvanaŋ* (trousers) by chiefess.

Ornaments, especially *lailai* (feather ornaments), *patal na paŋaŋiliŋ* (hat-ornament made of leopard's teeth), *taʔata* (shoulder ornament made of a kind of shell), *tsalaral* (silver shoulder ornament), *aliatpula* (glass bead necklace) are only allowed to be used by nobles.

E. Right to perform ceremonies

565 554 a) Felicitation on having an elder offspring is only performed by the nobles. A gun and some iron ware must be sent to the maternal relatives on this occasion. This is called *ləmiɕi*.

565 583 b) A bride price is called *ɕinilɨɕi*. According to the social status, it is divided into three classes: *mamatsaŋiraŋ*, *maluntsivtsik* and *talaʔalalak*. *mamatsaŋiran* consists of a piece of cultivated land (*atunaŋaŋ*) a household of serf (*wadis*), five kinds of iron articles; *maluvtsivtsik* only two or three kinds of iron article; and *talaʔalalak* only two or three iron articles. The marriage ceremony also differs between nobles and commoners.

764 565 c) Funeral rites: At the death of a chief, the whole village wears mourning dresses for five days, *maluvtsivtsik* and *utsiputsipoŋ* a month. At the death of a *matuvtsivtsik*, his relatives and *utsiputsipoŋ* wear mourning dresses for a month, and his *unutel* five days. At the death of a commoner, his relatives wear weeds for a month.

F. Privilege from criminal trial

565 [687] a) A commoner will be fined a penalty of a pig, a bottle of wine, several iron articles by his lese-majesty (*napanuŋatsə*) to a chief. A noble commits no lese-majesty.

[554] b) If a commoner's house is carved, his body tattooed, and his clothes decorated, he is regarded as having committes a crime of arrogation (*napatsəra*). He will be fined a penalty of the same as that of a lese-majesty.

[685] c) The nobles commit no crime of robbery (*tsəmaɨ*).

[682] d) A murderer must pay the equivalence of the price of the murdered which differs according to one's social status. If a commoner murdered a noble, all properties of his own as well as his brothers will be confiscated, and he himself will be exiled from the village.

[684] e) The nobles commit no crime of adultery, but a noble may ask penalty from one who commits adultery with his or her spouse. A commoner who ravishes a chiefess will be heavily punished and exiled from the village.

22: Wiedfeldt--16 526, 555 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

Speed and endurance in running are among the virtues of the Atayals.

31: Hofmann--625-626 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 181, 555, 609 Tsou

On our way back from the Arisan Mountain to Kagi a native, an older man, carried our baggage all the way. This is not the custom ordinarily; most of the natives offer their services only within their own region and return home as soon as they see the first houses of a Chinese settlement. In this case, however, the man wanted to call for his son, a good-for-nothing who had left the leisure of his native village in order to obtain work in Kagi. In another case, a young man had made friends with the Japanese and joined the police force. His work was very satisfactory; [626] he learned to read and write Japanese. After two years, however, he let himself be persuaded by the other members of his tribe to leave the police force and was chosen as a local chief. Thus, although relations between the Japanese and the Tsou natives are fairly good, there is a tendency among the latter to live apart and to retain their freedom. It is only natural that the Japanese scheme for exploiting the island, including the forests sacred to the natives as well as game, is not favored by the natives. While on the surface the Tsou natives now seem by no means hostile to the Japanese, it is not certain that these peaceful conditions will prevail in the future; it is possible that the Tsou natives may ally themselves with the other Malayan tribes against the foreign conquerors. It must be emphasized, however, that these are not bloodthirsty savages; rather they have the mentality of children and are easily swayed by an impulse of the moment. Their gay, happy mood may change in a moment to fear and distrust; then they cry like children. These sudden changes in temperament are frightening to a stranger.

39: Wiedfeldt--11-12 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 436, 555, 622, 802 Atayal

The Atayals have a better idea of counting than they have of measuring time. Most of them, to be sure, can only count up to three or five, and that is sufficient for their purposes. Anyone who can count up to thirty is considered clever, and only a few individuals in the border tribes can count up to a hundred. Some of the Japanese maintain that a smart Atayal of the interior can count up to a thousand, but most people say that this is just talk. Most of the tribes are said to have names for numbers up to five only, and to count further by saying five and one, five and two, five and three, five and four. They have a special word for ten, and also for twenty and thirty. Some tribes are said to know more words for numbers, but they seem to have acquired them recently through Chinese or Japanese interpreters. Most of the clan heads can count this way up to twenty or thirty. If they need to go beyond that, they call in a wise man to help them, if fines are to be paid. They also have to count when they are fixing the price of the bride or the price for adopted children. They count 25 rokosch-kaha, or 250 yen, by putting down 20 rokosch-kaha, or garments with precious [12] materials, and 10 bintoan, breastpieces with precious materials. Presumably the calculation is made at once in this way, and the reduction to a common denominator is made by the interpreter. In tribes that have lived for years inside the Aitu line, and that accept Japanese money, families will sell a rokosch-kaha together with their profit on it for 13 or 15 yen, because they can conceive only of 13 as 1 rokosch-kaha plus 1 binrai, or 15 as 1 rokosch-kaha plus 1 bintoan, but they can not imagine 11, 12, or 14 yen.

39: Wiedfeldt--14-15 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 555, 761, 775 Atayal

According to their ideas, worthy [15] people live on after death. Such persons would include successful skull-hunters and women skilled at weaving. Hence, worth does not include merely the manly virtues... The dead cross the sea to the "great land" by way of the rainbow, and in the process, the unworthy, that is, those who are not tattooed, fall into the sea, or are cast down among the Taroku by the ancestors. The others continue to live together with their ancestors, just as they had lived before, and with the tools and weapons that were buried in the grave with them. This whole story is possibly an attempt to explain the incomprehensible manner in which a person is living and then is dead. In any event, the idea of reward or punishment after death for their actions during life is foreign to them, although their expression, "the wrath of the ancestors", which is applied to infractions of the law, seems to indicate the existence of such a concept.

14: Tamai--96 [24] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 556, 584, 585, 836 Chin-hoan

When a Mota has found a girl he wants to marry and she is willing to marry him, he sleeps with her immediately. The girl then tells her parents and the boy sends them presents through his relatives or friends; the presents consist of cows, antlers, the hide of stags, or other valuable objects. He either sends someone to announce the forthcoming marriage to the girl's parents or does it himself. He invites his relatives, friends, and acquaintances to the wedding, which is celebrated as sumptiously as possible; rich families celebrate a wedding for several days, poor families usually only for one day.

14: Tamai--97 [4] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 527, 585, 291, 556 Chin-hoan

While the Tschinwans have no festivals which recur on fixed dates, they do have occasions for holidays:

1. A wedding.
2. A day in November when summer garments are discarded and winter clothes are put on.
3. The day on which one first puts on a new dress.

These three holidays are celebrated with a great deal of ceremony, the extent of the celebration varying with the financial position of the family.

22: Wiedfeldt--37-38 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 426, 556, 614, 622 Atayal

The richest man in the tribe is said to have 250 rokosch-kaha. [MC: ornamented sleeveless jacket used as money] The next richest is supposedly one who has 80. Since the first man is the head of a clan, probably all of this is not his private property, but merely belongs to him as the representative of the clan and is derived from rather large fines. Be that as it may, since the families have an average of 20 to 30 rokosch-kaha, there are no great inequalities of income among the Atayals. As to their other possessions, there is almost no difference between families. The ornaments which serve as money are not used for any other purposes than those which have been mentioned. In particular, it is never loaned, so that capital in the sense of money, and also interest, are unheard of. If the clan helps a family to assemble the amount needed for a fine or for the price of a bride, this is done from a feeling of solidarity, but the family does not repay the amount, nor does anyone expect them to do so. If a family breaks a tool, the neighboring family helps them out. [38] by giving them the tool if they have two of them. When the first family has made another tool, they give it as a gift to the second family.

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
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Paiwan

or establish a new house if not married to an heir or heiress. There is, thus, a lineal relation between these households. One which has a further relationship with the household from which it derived is lower in rank. Their lineage rules may be summarized as follows:

a) A household is the nucleus of this lineage system.

b) The lineage who first established their house in the village is regarded as the grand lineage or *mamatsayiran*.

c) The house and the name of the house are succeeded too by primogeniture regardless of sex. The heir or *usam* must remain in the house and succeed to the name.

d) Each offspring other than the heir who is married to the heir of another household or establish a new household and take a new house name if married to one who is not the heir, is called the lesser lineage or *maluwtsivtsik*.

e) The rule of succession of a lesser lineage is similar to that of a grand lineage. The son of a lesser lineage is degraded to become commoner or *tala'alalak*.

f) Offspring of a vassal household other than the heir are degraded as commoners.

g) If the household has no heir, it is succeeded by the second son or daughter, even he or she is married out. This second son or daughter who has established a lesser lineage of his own, will give his own lineage up, and return to his prime house to succeed to the lineage. If a lesser lineage has no heir, it may be succeeded to by members from the grand lineage. The vassal will take care of the grand lineage when the heir to succeed the lineage is not yet decided.

B. Marriage rules

a) Residence

1. The heir of a household must remain in the house, and have his spouse come to live with him.

2. Family members other than the heir may marry a heir of another household and goes to his spouse's house.

3. When both the husband and the wife are no heir or heiress, they will establish a new house and have a neolocal residence.

4. If a heir marries with a heiress, this new couple will succeed to both households.

b) Class

1. One who marries one of his own rank is called *matsevoŋ*. Their offsprings belong to the same rank.

2. One who marries one of a higher rank is called *sluŋua*. He himself and his offsprings will have a higher rank too.

3. One who marries one of a lower rank is called *sluŋoja*. He and his offsprings will have a lower rank too.

The Paiwan practise endogamy but not in a strict sense. It may be estimated by the quantity of the bride price. A certain quantity of bride price is set for a certain

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
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582 565 556 583 class. A man of the lower class must pay as much as or more than that of a upper class member if he wants to marry one above himself. The lower class member does not marry one above him because he can not afford to do so.

C. Incest prohibition

601 835 The kindred group of the Paiwan is bilateral. The present writer has assigned it as occasional bi-sexual lineage. No emphasis upon either the paternal or the maternal consanguinities is made. No distinction between lineal and collateral is made in addressed terms, but it is made in indirect and collective terms. Those who have the same parents are called *maluvluŋuluŋa*, those who have the same grand parents, *malusiatsətsəl*, those have the same grand-grand parents, *malusiatsalaitaita*, and those have the same grand-grand-grand parents, *malusiapatsətsəv*. *malusiatsəlsəl* are prohibited to marry. *malusiatsalaitsata* are also called *naŋaˀaŋa putsəl*, they are allowed to marry. *malusiapatsetsev* are also called *naŋaˀaŋa lavatsə putsəl*, they are the most prefered mates. Relative beyond the *malusiapatsətsəv* are called *aolav*. *aolav* are allowed to marry with each other, but they are not as preferable as the *malusiapatsətsəv*, and even the *malusiatsalaitaita*. It is noteworthy that these marriage prohibitions are not to supplement the rule of exogamy but serve as the limitations of the rule of endogamy.

TRIBAL CHIEFTAINSHIP

643 The tribal chieftainship of Chala'abus village differs with the dual chieftainship of the North-Paiwan, and may be regarded as a kind of mutual independence of the three powers: political, religious, and military. The political and economic powers are in the hands of the Chimo chiefs. The religious powers are equally distributed over the chiefs of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. The nomination of a *paraˀare* or priest is determined by a kind of divination called *paiwata*. The military powers fall in hands of the commoners. The office of the priest of the headhunting ritual (*paraˀare na ara*) is held hereditary by the *tsivulaŋaŋ* household of commoner. The tribal chiefs and their offices are listed as follows:

A. Political and economic chiefs:

a) *avusamaŋ* (big chief)·····*ruvaniau*
maluvtsivtsik (consanguineous chiefs)·····*tsaluŋi*, *tʃalas* (south), *tʃalas* (north)
naitsu anumax (affinal chiefs)·····*lusiguaŋ*, *atsinajaŋ*, *alijulaŋ*, *taraˀatea*, *gumul*, *matsiliat*, *voto*, *tʃalusaŋiu*.

b) *pinairaratsə* (representatives of the big chief of other villages)·····*tʃalas* (north) a representative of the *tsulivuaŋ*, the big chief of Kunanao village.
tavalaŋ a representative of the *karaŋiraŋ*, the big chief of Kulalus village.

c) *ut.. atsipoŋ* (vassals of the chiefs)·····*ruvaniau*, *tsapalai*, *tavalaŋ*, *suajoŋ*,

16: Müller--230 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 561, 646

In all those tribes where there is a tendency toward autonomy, there is a marked division according to age levels among the men who hold the vote.

21: Asai--7 [5] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 561 Ami

"Age classes in Ami tribe."

16: Müller--230 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 466, 653, 561, 805 Ami

Among some tribes of the Amis group it is customary to assign public works according to the degree of physical development rather than age, since in some cases they do not even keep track of their age. They divide the men into three to eleven classes and assign these to permanent positions; this includes the construction of roads, guard duty, etc.

31: Hofmann--620-621 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 561, 621 Tsou

The most striking feature in the villages of the aborigines are the houses for bachelors (cf. Fig. 5). Both of the villages I visited, Tebor and Tappan, have a large hut of this type; it may be easily distinguished from the rest since it is erected on pilework, while the other houses are built of stone. The lower story is open on all sides; the upper story is open along the front of the house and has a straw roof. The natives climb up to the hall on a tree trunk in which notches have been cut; this is by no means easy. [621] In this hall all the unmarried men live together. Here the natives also hold their councils of war and discuss all the important affairs of the tribe, so that this hut is, as it were, their ministry, parliament, and stock market. No woman may enter this sanctum under any conditions.

34: Del Re--16-19 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 554, 561, 888 Yami

"The respect paid to and the great prestige enjoyed by senior members of the community is not based merely [pages 17 and 18 contain illustrations] [19] on seniority but on the personal qualities and skills of the individual as evidenced by his actions. Thus when, for whatever reason, they are considered to have outgrown their usefulness to the tribe, they automatically lose their position."

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
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surviving example of their original type of dwelling.

The *kikita:n* managed the religious ceremonies which were entirely concerned with the staple crops, millet and rice. The following were the more important agricultural rituals:

misauma	millet-sowing
mikolas	millet-weeding
mihavai	millet-harvest
misapanai	rice-sowing
mi?ot?ot	rice-weeding
mibanai	rice-harvest
irisiŋ	New Year, following termination of *mihavai* in mid-September

We will describe the *irisiŋ* and the function of the *kakita:n* during this rite in a later section.

Age-grades

561

We will describe the Tavarong Ami age-grading system in detail for two reasons, firstly, because some inaccuracies about this system have appeared in the literature, and secondly, because age-grading is at the heart of the Ami social structure.

The Ami age-grade system has been discussed by Ino (1910 and 1912), Koizumi (1928), Okada (1932a and 1932b), Kamura (1939:259–277), Furuno (1945:285–320), and others. Okada describes Ami age-grading as follows:

> The age-grade systems of the tribe may be separated into two forms: those consisting of three class divisions—childhood, youth, and manhood with old age (found among the Nan-shih, Hsiu-ku-luan, and Hai-an groups); and those consisting of four class divisions—childhood, youth in the prepartory stage, youth, and manhood with old age (found among the Pei-nan and Heng-ch'un groups). The Ami age-grade systems may also be classified according to names above the youth class into three types: 1) those having a limited group of names which are cyclically used, 2) those in which names are assigned to all new grades, and 3) those which combine the previous two types. (Okada 1939: 14).

Okada has pointed out that the Nan-shih group and Vataan of the Hsiu-ku-luan group belong to the first classification; the Pei-nan, Hai-an, and Heng-ch'un groups and Tavarong of the Hsiu-ku-luan group to the second; and Kiwit of the Hsiu-ku-luan group to the third classification.

Wei in a recent article (1953) only recorded two types based on the assignment of names to age-grades. He names the first type of Okada as the "Nan-shih type" and the second as the "Ma-lan type". Okada's third type which is represented by Kiwit is classified by Wei under the "Nan-shih type". Wei also stated that

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
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561 the age-grade system of Tavarong belongs to the "Nan-shih type". By comparing grade names collected in Tavarong by ourselves with those recorded by Sayama 1914:133) and Furuno (1945:300-1), we find that we are in agreement with Okada that the Tavarong age-grade system belongs to Wei's "Ma-lan type" instead of the "Nan-shih type". In other words, in Tavarong new names are assigned to all new grades. A reconstructed name list compiled by us for this paper giving grade names covering a period of 110 years will clarify this point:

GRADE NAMES COLLECTED BY CHEN AND COE IN 1953	GEADE NAMES RECORDED BY FURUNO IN 1938	GRADE NAMES RECORDED BY SAYAMA IN 1914	EQUIVALENT AGES OF GRADE MEMBERS IN 1953
Ratavok			16-20
Rariwas			21-25
Ratodo			26-30
Ratoron	Uratorun		31-35
Ravuvok	Uraboak		36-40
Rati?ol	Uratior		41-45
Ratomai	Uratomai		46-50
Mawai	Umaowai		51-55
Rati?un	Uraowau	Uradewas	56-60
Ratsogau	Uratsogau	Uratsugau	61-65
Gaku?a	Urakoa		66-70
Rapara	Uraparo	Urarabe	71-75
Rao?ets	Uraoets	Uraoits	76-80
Ratoto	Uratodo	Uratodo	81-85
Ratavok	Uratabok	Uratabok	86-90
	Uratsiyan	Urateam	91-95
	Umaorad	Umaorad	96-100
	Urawau	Urawau	101-105
		Urakoha	106-110
		Urateo	111-115
		Uratomai	116-120
		Urasadok	121-125

Furuno and Sayama recorded the grade names shown in the second and third columns in Japanese *kana* characters. Therefore, in the romanization, some minute differences in the names have been unavoidable. It will be noted that some changes of names have taken place; for instance Furuno (1945:301) reported that the age-grade name Uradewas was changed to Uraowau. One can also see from the table that although new names are assigned to new grades, there is a tendency to re-use names of former grades, although this is by no means done cyclically.

The age-grades are open only to males. At the age of 15 or 16 years[8], a boy

8. Our informant Vudai-Katf said that 18 years was the usual age at initiation.

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

participates in the *misuḷar*, the initiation rite, and becomes a member of the first grade. Since the initiation rite is held only once every five years in the *saḷuratan*, the assembly hall, two or three days before the *irisiŋ*, there is some range of ages at which boys are initiated. On the day of the *misuḷar* all the old grades are promoted, although their grade names remain unchanged. A member of the Rariwas grade, for instance, remains so throughout life. Vudai-Kate reported that the interval between initiation rites was longer in the ancient days, and that it was reduced because of the increasing village population which has resulted in the increase of members in each grade.[9] Each grade has its monitor, callad *komol no surar*. Persons showing abilities for leadership will become monitors by common assent. Wei (1953) states:

> Leadership within each grade is determined by seniority as well as by ability. When a grade is formed, one of them will be chosen to be the nominal leader on the basis of seniority. At the same time, two or three others can establish their leadership by their abilities, achievements, and wealth. They participate in the activities of the organization when the grade itself is still in the preparatory stage, to show their capacities and win support from their fellow grade-members.

Our information, however, indicates that in Tavarong there is only one leader in each grade, and he is chosen for his abilities.

The irisiŋ

We have already referred to the *irisiŋ* as one of the great Ami agricultural rituals. Furuno (1945:101–103) has described the *irisiŋ*, which was the Ami New Year. After the millet-harvesting rite, there was a lull in the life of Tavarong. Since there was little to do, the townsmen repaired their houses. On the first full moon following the house repairs, the *irisiŋ* commenced. It was the most important ritual of the year. The *irisiŋ* was managed by the *kakita:n* family. One female and one male member of the family were leaders of the ritual. The female member was always the head of the family, and the male was her brother.

Saumah-Kuriu, the head of the remaining *kakita:n* family of Tavarong, had three siblings; Namo?-Kuras[10] (male), Padai-Kuriu (female), and Riŋa-Kuriu (female). In the Tavarong *irisiŋ*, Saumah and her brother Namo? were the leaders. The ceremonial procedures followed about thirty years ago were described by informants Vuei-Mayau, Rata-Namo? (Saumah's husband), and Vudai-Kate, and are given in the paragraphs which follow.

One week before the start of the ritual, all the siblings of Saumah returned to the family house and began the observation of the taboo on eating fish and

9. The period of years between initiation rites varies in different Ami villages. Nataoran, Pokpok, and Ridau hold a *misuḷar* every seven years, Kiwit and Malan every three years.
10. This name is given as Namo?-Kuriu in *Taihoku Teikoku Daigaku, Jinshugaku Kenkyushitsu* [1935:chart 275].

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 ADI Formosa
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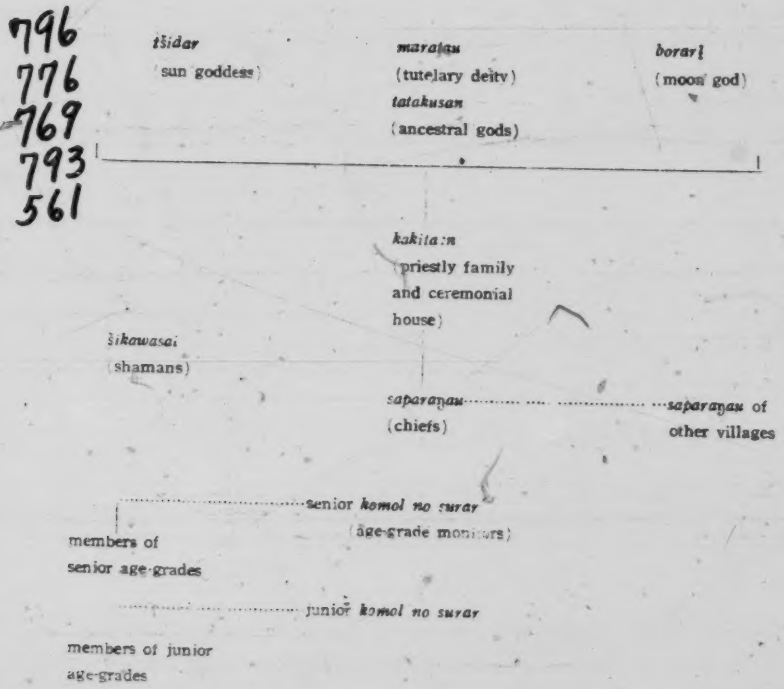

Figure 2: the Ami hierarchy at *irisiŋ*

51: Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
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purified through fasting, symbolical washing of hands, and shamanistic expulsion of disease. The structure of the Ami universe is at this time stated as a hierarchy in which each rank of seniority hands down precepts to be obeyed by the next lower rank [see Figure 2]. At the top level, for among the Ami the spiritual world is continuous with the material, are the sun goddess, the moon god, and *maratau*, the tutelary deity who instructed men in the order of things on earth. With them are the *tatakusan*, the ancestral gods who are to be respected as elders and whose way of life is to be followed. Under these were the *kakita:n*, the priestly families who carried out the will of the gods in this world. The rest of the Ami were arranged by seniority into a system of age-grades, each with its chosen monitor, and each harkening to the instructions passed down from the next senior age-grade. Acting as intermediaries between the priests and the laity were the *saparaŋau*, leaders of proven ability selected from the ranks of the elder grades. This structure was annually affirmed symbolically in the *irisiŋ*, and it clear that it was basically gerontocratic in nature, in that the real power was in the hands of old men.

All this is of course now passing away, and element after element of the old Ami way of life is either disappearing or being reinterpreted to meet new conditions. In the realm of social organization, for instance, there is a definite drift in Tavarong and other Ami areas towards patrilineal descent and neolocality, a change fostered by Japanese and Chinese pressure. Ami religion is fast changing, and the *kakita:n* house itself is an unused, half-forgotten relic of interest primarily only to ethnographers. Shamanism for some as yet unexplaind reason has persisted; this is a field for further study.

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7: Joest--59 [6] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 482, 562, 854 Chin-hoan

Carrying heavy burdens is a task which is scorned by the men; the women carry them by attaching them to a strap which is passed over the forehead. In this manner they carry firewood, game which has been killed, or bamboo filled with water; they carry their children in the same way. Sometimes they carry children on their shoulders; the children are secured by means of a strap which the mother ties around her chest.

7: Joest--60 [12] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 262, 264, 562 Chin-hoan

The diet of the Chinwan natives consists of millet, sweet potatoes, rice of a poor quality, wild honey, dried meat of deer, boars, and bears, and dried fish. All the game, fish, etc. is carved and men and women receive an equal share.

7: Joest--62 [6] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 437, 562, 791, 888 Chin-hoan

There are no priests among the Chinwans, but some women hold the office of soothsayer. Old women seem to have a great deal of influence. I often saw them giving orders even to experienced warriors or swearing at them if they did not demand enough red flannel as payment for an object. During my entire stay with the Chinwans, however, they never stole anything from me, although I had to pay a high price for everything I bought from them.

10: Schumacher--224-225 T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 141, 171, 562 Chin-hoan

The women can hardly be distinguished from the Chinese owing to the similarity of the shape of their faces, their delicate build, and their lighter skin. [225] In married life they claim a privileged position exactly like the Chinese women.

11: Haguenauer--33-34 T-3 (no date) 1929
116, 462, 562

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

The Tayal woman works very hard. It is her task to go get the wood and the water, to cultivate the millet and sweet potatoes for the household; and it is also she who weaves the clothing. The husband fishes or goes hunting. He takes part in war expeditions and helps guard the village. However, the woman is not a slave, [34] and she is her husband's equal.

14: Tamai--96 [3] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 562, 684 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwan woman is the slave of her husband, and it is considered below the husband's dignity to listen to the advice of his wife. If the Tschinwan woman has an affair with another man, both are supposed to be beheaded.

14: Tamai--97 [10] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 609, 562, 533 Chin-hoan

[MC: Mr. Kurosaki, a newspaper correspondent writes about his visit to the village of Togasha.] Although the women appeared to be afraid of us when we first arrived, they soon lost their shyness and were very friendly. When we were warming ourselves by the fire, for example, our hostess came in and played for us on a small, short flute; she played very well. Four young girls also came to us.

14: Tamai--97[11] . J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 562, 276, 283, 574 Chin-hoan

All the women and girls, and even very small children, [MC: in the village of Togasha] smoke a great deal. . . Our hostess talked to us for several hours, and all this time she was spinning hemp. . .

Our host and interpreter, Shiro, had obtained the hide of stags for us to sleep on, but we were so cold that it was impossible for us to sleep.

Our hostess asked us why two of the soldiers (sentries) were standing outside in the rain and cold instead of coming in to get warm. The Lieutenant told her that this was a Japanese custom.

Since we could not sleep. . . our hostess again entertained us by playing the flute.

18: Kakyo--70 E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 562, 577

The distinction between the man's profession and the woman's is sharply drawn, particularly in the case of married couples. Any action that conflicts with this principle is looked on as an offence.

19: Guérin and Bernard--559 [3] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 462, 562

Savage wives accompany their husbands on peaceful expeditions, but usually they stay home. They have to do the house work, and a great deal of the cultivation in the fields. The women are real companions for their husbands, and by nature they are happy and gay.

22: Wiedfeldt-14 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 562 Atayal

The material needs of the Atayals are distinguished from ours more by degree than by nature. There is a wide gulf, however, in the way in which they satisfy their needs and the way in which we satisfy ours. The main task of the man is the protection of the family.

22: Wiedfeldt--15 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 562, 462, 591, 285 Atayal

The man's obligation is not only to afford protection against enemies, but also to provide shelter against the rigors of the weather. Before he is married, he builds the hut and the small adjoining hut, and prepares them, which takes about four to five months. During his married life he also builds a new hut, if the old one is destroyed by termites or storms, or is used as a place of burial and hence left deserted. He makes all the woven material, from the mats which are used as curtains to the baskets to hold provisions...

The protector, among the Atayals, also becomes an archer and hunter, as well as a fisherman.

22: Wiedfeldt--16 [5] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 462, 562 Atayal

If it is a man's job to take care of protection, then it is the woman's duty to provide food and clothing.

22: Wiedfeldt--21-22 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 562, 593 Atayal

In spite of the emergence of this dark economic side in the making and unmaking of marriages, [MC: see preceding paragraphs in 116] the married life of the Atayals [22] makes a pleasant, or, as the Japanese say, a European impression, not merely because man and woman go arm in arm and kiss each other on the lips, but because the woman plays an active role, and has equal rights. As Tschinsappa (head of the house), or Tonsappa (head of the family), the man very properly is the leader in marriage, and he alone has certain rights and duties in the clan and the tribe. The women and the grown children take part only in the clan and tribal festivities. Of course, the Atayal man does not possess absolute mastery in his own house... Physically, the Atayal woman is scarcely inferior to the man in point of strength, skill, and endurance, with the exception of speed in running. Intellectually she is more curious and more alert. When I asked a question about the purpose of tattooing, an Atayal woman answered me through the medium of an interpreter with this question, "why do you wear a beard?" She represents an economic value which the price of the bride puts in terms of capital. The greater part of the household rests on her shoulders. Consequently, she does not in the least occupy the position of a work animal or a slave, but is equal in rank to the man... Outwardly this is reflected in the fact that when she marries she retains her two maiden names. Children have the father's first name as their second name.

22: Wiedfeldt--49 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 562, 589, 593 Atayal

Since children are not counted, the Atayal family consists of two members, whose activities complement each other and are equally necessary to their existence. Hence the two have, so to speak, equal rights. In spite of this favorable position of the woman, it is the man who is the head of the family. He decides where they are to live; he pays any fines, or the price of a bride for his son; he alone has the right to participate in the activities of the higher social institutions, and he alone is obligated to do so. The deduction drawn by many advocates of women's rights, that equal economic services lead to equal political rights, meets an exception in the forests of Formosa. There is no such thing as an Atayal living alone, for even widowhood is only a transitory state, or was only a transitory state, until the recent wars brought about a shortage of men. Previously, all the Atayals were members of a family, without exception.

25: Plaut--58-59 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 551, 562, 594, 611

The family relationships among the savage tribes of Formosa present some striking variations. We do not have enough tradition to tell how these originated, but everything indicates that the form of the family today does not represent either the beginning or the end of its development. And as nature and humanity never develop along all lines simultaneously... there are many things in the family life of the natives which have come from earlier times, and which seem like an anachronism now. For example, all of the tribes are strictly monogamous on the basis of perfect equality between the sexes; yet along with that some of them have matrilineal succession from the time of the mother right, and in spite of that they consider that the husband's relatives are blood relatives. We also find that the same tribe is founded on the male line, and yet [59] the mother is the only one who has the right to name the children.

31: Hofmann--624 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 562, 684, 836 Tsou

In their marital relations they show a great respect for the women. The bachelors are not admitted to the houses and are therefore forced to practice continence. For that reason they inflict severe punishment on any member of the tribe who has violated a woman within the tribe, and in the case of a stranger, this offense is a casus belli.

In 1908 a Japanese forester violated the wife of a native in Rantaisan, in the region of the Hosha, an aggressive tribe; this led to a long headhunting expedition. The aborigines, even the women, were curious about the conquerors and therefore often went near their dwellings. The Japanese foreman was especially attracted by one woman and abducted her. She remained with him, probably because she was afraid of the severe punishment which the chieftain would administer. Her husband did not take the offense as seriously as her father-in-law, who forced his son to take revenge. Four Japanese workers who had had nothing to do with the affair were attacked by a group of natives and decapitated. The man who had abducted the woman was not one of the victims.

34: Del Re--29-30 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 586, 595, 562, 831, 183 Yami

"The Yami are strictly monogamous in so far as they may only have one wife at a time. Divorce, however, is easy and merely determined by the wish of the party concerned, nor does it carry any stigma for the woman who, in this respect, has equal rights with the man. There are among the islanders women who have been divorced as [30] many as fifteen times. Contrary to what might be thought, this does not lead to laxity of morals. The level of morality in this tribe is very high notwithstanding, or perhaps because of, the conspicuous absence of any sense of moral or social guilt attached to sexual intercourse."

34: Del Re--33-34 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 784, 562, 823, 226, 793 Yami

"So great is the importance attributed to the visit of the flying fish, that during this period fishermen are required to observe a large number of prescriptive taboos, as well as others connected with the numerous rituals observed during the actual ceremonies. These are summed up in the following commandments:---'When you go fishing, do not look down into the water.' 'Do not spit into the sea: spit into the air so that your spittle may fali upon the sea like rain.' 'Do not cast stones into the sea' ---and many others of a like nature. Another important taboo connected with the sea and most stringently enforced at this time, is that no woman shall touch or have anything to do with the flying-fish ceremony, or approach close to, much less enter, the sea. It would appear that this is related to the early creation myth in which a pregnant woman by enter-[34]ing the sea was the cause of the great flood which covered the island and destroyed all life upon it. (11)"

11. See Legand of Imulud, AYL, p. 92 lines 1 ff.

35: Collingwood--141 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 123, 156, 526, 562 Sek-hoan

"The following morning a number of natives visited the ship in their boats, and, on bottles being shown to them, they eagerly demanded them. When thrown into the water, half-a-dozen men leaped after them, and vigorous swimming-matches took place for the prizes. They would also dive for buttons of any kind that were thrown in. Soon afterwards several boats, full of people of all ages and both sexes, came alongside and readily ventured on board. Indeed, one great distinction between these people and the Chinese was the entire absence of timidity on the part of the females, who, instead of running away and hiding themselves as soon as they are even looked at, showed the most perfect confidence and freedom from mauvaise honte. They immediately commenced eagerly inquiring for brascos (bottles), and as our supply of these desirable articles was limited (owing to the custom of throwing empty bottles overboard), considerable jealousy was excited among the unsuccessful competitors. There was no idea of barter, and perhaps it was our own fault that we obtained nothing in return for our valuable presents. A number of our visitors were induced to descend to the captain's cabin, where, as lunch was going on, they readily partook of the edibles, and made themselves quite at home. Captain Bullock good naturedly cut off the tassels from his cushions, which were immediately transferred to the hair of the native beauties. After going about the ship, and conducting themselves with the greatest propriety, they returned to the village."

35: Collingwood--142 [2] D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 123, 194, 562 Sek-hoan

"The attempt to learn some of their words, and to form as good a vocabulary of their language as the time would permit, was met by perfect good will on their part; and many words, as well as their mode of counting, were obtained, chiefly from the women, who appeared to take considerable interest in imparting the information. Considerable amusement, too, was excited by our mistakes in pronunciation, etc., and our efforts elicited a considerable show of intelligence on their part. We found the women much more serviceable than the men for this purpose, chiefly on account of their clear pronunciation, which was much more distinct than that of the men. Thus, for example, the attempt of the women to pronounce English words was much more successful than that of the men. The word 'flint,' for instance, being given them, a man would not approach it nearer than plin-iss, while the women at once said fil-lint. The voice of the women was remarkably agreeable, having a plaintiveness and softness which were really striking, and sometimes sounded more like a gentle singing than speaking."

4:Grajdanzev--34-35 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 563

"The problem of the aborigines will be treated briefly here, first because their life is a thing apart from that of the rest of the population, and secondly because this side of Taiwan's life is better presented in existing descriptions of Taiwan than [35] any other aspect of it, since European visitors to Taiwan were interested chiefly in the exotic savages and not in the Chinese."

4:Grajdanzev--35-36 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116. 563, 657, 727. 177.56 Japan
636.56

"After their occupation of the island the Japanese took over the Chinese 'reservation' system for the aborigines and the territory inhabited by the 'uncivilized' tribes was surrounded by military outposts, (1) which kept constant watch over the [36] natives.

1. The fact that these outposts were manned by Japanese policemen and not by soldiers makes little difference, because at their stage of cultural development the aborigines could hardly appreciate the difference.

The latter understood only that the Chinese system would continue a system of incessant warfare in which finally they were the losers and their best lands were taken away."

4:Grajdanzev--36 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 166, 563, 657, 728, 177.56 Japan
636.56

"It is difficult to say whether they understood, at the beginning, even the change of the sovereignty. In any case the war continued. During the first years of occupation the Japanese, preoccupied with the suppression of Chinese rebellions, tried only to keep them within the reservation, but later a complete program of subjugation was worked out. Its essential feature was the removal of aborigines to low lands in order that the mountainous areas which they had occupied might be exploited. These areas were rich (or at least were thought to be) in timber, minerals and agricultural potentialities, for a certain part of the area could be sown with tropical plants."

6: Kirchhoff--31 [5] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 563, 177.72 China
636.72

The geographical distribution of Chinese, Pepo-huan and Tsche-huan is not so simple as often described: in the plain, the hilly country and the mountains, respectively. The only thing right about this is the fact that the free savages live alone in the mountains, protected by the forests. The Chinese push on step by step even into the mountains of the interior and fell the forests.

7: Joest--55 [3] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 144, 437, 563 Pepo-hoan

'Marriages between Chinese, especially the Hakkas, and Formosan women, occur frequently. Thus a distinct racial group, the Pepohoan, has been formed; they usually form the intermediaries in barter.

7: Joest--61 [10] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 563, 586, 595 Chin-hoan

There is no polygamy on Formosa. A man may have only one wife at a time, but it is not difficult to obtain a divorce and the Chinwans on the whole are not a jealous people. The girls often marry Chinese, although the men of their own tribe treat them quite well.

11: Haguenauer--28-29 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 174, 177, 563

The center of Formosa is occupied by a broad chain of mountains. At the beginning the populations who reside here may have lived in the plain, but successive waves of invaders have driven them back gradually to the high plateaus. Today the aborigines, who refuse to have any contact with civilization, are the only inhabitants of the mountains. The others, who have abandoned their ancestral customs and language to adopt those of Formosa, are completely submerged among the Chinese; they are called "jukuban", [29] meaning those who have ripened by contact with civilization, and this distinguishes them from the real savages, the seiban, who are raw or green.

15: U.S. Navy --23 [5] (no date) 1944 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 563

"About two-thirds of the aboriginal population is considered to be 'savage' and treated accordingly in administration. About one-third is considered to be assimilated to the Formosan-Chinese way of life. No figures on aboriginal life in Taiwan can be 100 percent accurate, for there still remain small remote mountain areas which have yet to be explored and brought under close policing."

15: U.S. Navy--23 [7]
116, 144, 177, 563, 162

(no date) 1944

Formosan Aborigines
Pepo-hoan

"Marriage between the Formosan-Chinese and the aboriginal population has been a common thing since the incursion of the Chinese, and the result is that a large number of Pepohoans or 'Plains barbarians' have become assimilated in manner of living to the peasant Chinese. For purposes of the census the Japanese administration counts these Pepohoans among the Formosan-Chinese."

15: U.S. Navy--32 [9] (no date) 1944 Formosan Aborigines
116, 464, 563, 461

"The aborigines have proved unsuited for factory work or routine work under confining conditions. Of 45,000 Ami tribesmen in the Karenko industrial area, only 1,000 are considered employable as factory workers. They are said (by the Japanese) to be only 60 percent as efficient as the Formosan-Chinese. Nevertheless, they are being employed to advantage on the hydro-electric projects in the mountains."

19: Guérin and Bernard--567 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 437, 563

A good many Chinese live on fortified farms which are dotted here and there at the foot of the mountains. Some of them are centers for trade and barter, especially those where there is a savage who has married a Chinese. These women are the natural mediators, and then there are also the half-breeds.

19: Guérin and Bernard--567 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 443, 563

When a Chinese has several children by a savage, he keeps them for several years, and then sends them back to their mother's tribe. The girls marry and learn to hate the Chinese. The sons marry too, but they have more sympathy for their father's race, so they do not take part in the head-hunting expeditions, or in the festivals which follow them; some, however, have innocent tattoo marks on their foreheads. They take charge of the clan commerce and attend to the exchanges. Then there is a system of peddling, which distributes the Chinese products to the most distant tribes.

37: Steere--317 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosans
116, 161, 563

"The Chinese population of Formosa is estimated generally at about three million, but this seems to be rather an under estimation of the real population. The most of them are from the province of Fuh-kien, which lies opposite, and many of them are descendants of the rebels, who took possession of the island with Koxinga. They are considered a turbulent race, and a rebellion happens as often as once in ten years, at least. They almost universally bind the feet of their female children, and child murder is not at all rare among them. At Tamsni, two little girls were picked up from the little jetty belonging to Dodd & Co., one of them still living, and it is not rare at all to find them wrapped in straw lying along the banks of the river, where they have been left by the tide. There are also quite a number of people called Hak-kas, who are supposed to come from the province of Canton. They speak a different language and live in separate villages, and they allow the feet of their females to grow to their normal size. The Hak-kas are especially numerous toward the north end of the island, though they are found nearly the whole length, occupying generally the lands near the mountains and most exposed to the savages."

37: Steere--318 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosans
116, 131, 311, 161, 563, 157

"The Pescadores are a group of low flat islands between Formosa and the mainland. They seem to be composed almost entirely of basaltic rock, which is partly columnar in many of the cliffs. There is iron ore found upon Fisher's island. The rock of the island is barely covered with soil, but nearly their whole surface is cultivated during the south-west monsoon, in sweet potatoes, pea-nuts, and millet. The inhabitants are estimated at eighty thousand, and there are said to be thirty towns and villages. The town of Makang, which is the largest, probably has twelve or fifteen thousand inhabitants. Its harbor is good, but the entrance is intricate. The Chinese live generally in houses made of coral rock that is frequently cut into blocks. They are descendants of the Fuh-kienese, and are all fishermen. They have considerable trade with the mainland and with Formosa in dried fish and in hogs, which are fattened upon pea-nuts, and in pea-nut oil. The feet of all the women are small, though their hard and laborious life must make this custom troublesome enough. I saw one small-footed woman ploughing and driving the buffalo, though the wind was blowing a gale at the time, so that we could hardly stand before it. The islanders are a rough and uncivilized race, accustomed to hardships, and the charges of piracy and wrecking made against them, are, without doubt, true. They are the boldest of fisherman, and during the warm monsoon, are almost amphibious. I was there in January, when the weather was cold and the wind and sea high, but when they found that I wished coral and shells, they procured me large quantities living. The islands make a good place for shelter for Chinese junks

40: Kirk--12 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 712, 725, 563, 177.71 Japanese

"As one result of this aggressive policy, the Japanese have built a 'guard line' by cutting a wide path along the crest of mountains and thus surrounding the districts in which the 'wild men' dwell. Beyond this picket line near the districts most thickly populated with savage tribes, the jungle is cleared for a distance of one hundred to three hundred feet. This open space makes it possible to detect the approach of hostile bands and gives the Japanese soldiers a good firing range. Guardhouses of wood, bamboo, earth, or stone are built at strategic points with loopholes in the walls. These tiny fortifications are further protected by wooden barricades and entrenchments. Wire fences and entanglements, charged with electricity, have encircled some districts. Mines have sometimes been sunk, grenades have been thrown during a battle, and three-inch guns have been used with telling effect. One gun, carried up steep slopes and mounted at a commanding point, will hold back many savage warriors. (1)"

1. Report on the Control of the Aborigines, Bureau of Aboriginal Affairs, Taihoku, 1911.

116, 167, 361, 563

"Naturally enough, the tribes living farthest up in the high mountains are most resistant to change. The Atayal, the Bunun, and the Paiwan, for example, will continue to annoy their Japanese rulers for some time to come. The Atayal huddle together in colonies and are most difficult to move; the Bunun live apart from one another in the mountains and are more easily moved to the foothills, where small villages are ready to receive these involuntary migrants. (4)

4. Interview with T. Soda, Professor of Public Health, Taihoku Imperial University.

In the course of a few years the old culture of the Formosan primitive will probably be only a memory, for the Japanese will have pushed their policy of ko-min-ka far into the high mountains. Fortunately, several scholars of the Imperial University have done extensive research in the origin, history, and customs of the aborigines, and these men are trying to preserve for future generations a true picture of native Formosan culture as it was before the coming of Chinese and Japanese."

15: U.S. Navy--31 [3] (no date) 1944 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 565, 511 Pepo-hoan

"The marginal people (Pepohoans) in the foothills have a lower standard of living than the Chinese and in their costume and daily habits combine some aspects of both Chinese life and the life of the mountain aborigines. They are usually thought of and treated in the same category with Formosan-Chinese of the lowest living standards."

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

of five to twelve houses. Chinimoaŋ had 55 houses and Pinaiwanaŋ 101. The cultivated fields around the village were possessed by the aristocratic households (*usam na mamatsayiran*) of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. By annexing and transition of these fields, their state of possession had become rather complicated. The distribution of aristocratic households had also become rather complicated too. The village had 12 aristocratic households, 9 of them belonged to the Chimo. Among them was the *ruvaniau* household which was of the highest rank. The *ruvaniau* also in charge of the *satsilapan* household which was saved as a village temple in time of our investigation. These two households were both situated on the upper part of Chinimoaŋ. The other 8 Chimo aristocratic households were equally distributed in the two hamlets. The *tʃaluŋi*, the *matsiliat*, the *gumul*, and the *voto* were in Chinimoaŋ, while the south *tʃalas*, the north *tʃalas*, the *tarapatea*, and the *tʃalusayiu* were in Pinaiwanaŋ. Two of the Paiwan aristocratic households, the *lusiguan* and the *alijulan* were in *Pinaiwanan*, and the *atsinajan* was in southeast end of Chinimoaŋ. From the distribution of those households, therefore, we may say that the significance of the distinction of Chinimoaŋ and Pinaiwanaŋ has been lost. But by their possession of hunting grounds (*aluliapan*), the existence of dual organization in the early days has been revealed. The village had 6 localities of hunting grounds, two lay south and east of the village, *pasulaval* and *vuit*, and belonged to the Chimo chiefs, four lay in west and north and belonged to the Paiwan chiefs. At the time of investigation, *alulialiav* and *pasulaots* belonged to the *lusiguan* household; *patsavatsavan*, south *tʃalas*; *pasupaots*, north *tʃalas*. The latter two may have been annexed by the Chimo. The fishing grounds were similar in condition to hunting grounds. The Lai-i River (or the *pasulaval* river as it is called by the natives) was the fishing grounds of the Chimo. Most of the lower part belonged to the *atsinajan*, *lusiguan*, north *tʃalas*, *gumul*, *tara'atea* and the south *tʃalas* respectively. The tributary of the Lai-i River, which is called *pasuivelin* by the natives, was originally the fishing grounds of the Paiwan but it was then divided into two parts and is owned by the *atsinajan* and the north *tʃalas*. The Chimo though they predominated over the Paiwan in hunting grounds, and equalled the Paiwan in fishing grounds, had less influence on aspects of religious and ritual. *Para'aree*, the priest of the most important religion rite *malɔvo*, the five-years-feast, was a member of the *atsinajan* household of the Paiwan. The ceremonies of *malɔvo* was initiated in the *lusigunan* and *atsinajan* of the Paiwan and then performed in Chimo households. Two of the three *puliŋao* or priestesses who sang songs for inviting gods were Paiwan. But the *pusao* or the six-years-feast was performed by the Chimo priest and priestesses. The *para'aree* and *puliŋao* of these two groups have acquired their techniques from their own group. This teaching had been kept secret from each other.

By the above mentioned facts, we may assume that the Paiwan are the natives and the Chimo came later. The Chimo though predominated over the Paiwan in economic and political power, but the Paiwan have maintained their position in religious life.

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

ARISTOCRACY AND LINEAGE SYSTEM

The political system of Chala'abus village is aristocratic and resembles that of the feudalism of the Chou Dynasty. It is established on two foundations: (1) The first is the tax and tributary system based on the ownership of land. (2) The second is the class system based on lineage rule.

The class system of Chala'abus differs with that of the North Paiwan. The North Paiwan system has three grades: (1) the ***mamatsayiran***, (2) the ***maluvtsivtsik***, and (3) the ***pualu***. The Chala'abus system lacks the third grade ***pualu***. The aristocratic class is generally called ***mamatsayiran***, and is divided into two subclasses: (1) the upper grade is called ***avusamay***, (2) the lower grade is again subdivided into the ***maluvtsivtsik*** or consanguineous, and the ***naitsu a nʔnmax*** or affinal. The big chief ***ruvaniau*** belongs to the Chimo group. Three ***maluvtsivtsik*** of the ***ruvaniau*** are the south ***tʃalas***, the north ***tʃalas***, and the ***tʃaluŋi***. Among the ***naitsu a numax*** are the ***voto***, the ***taraʔatea***, the ***gumul***, the ***matsiliat***, and the ***tʃalusayiu*** of the Chimo, and the ***atsinajay***, the ***lusiguay*** and the ***aliolay*** of the Paiwan. The big chief ***ruvaniau*** possesses one third of the cultivated land of the village. The north and the south ***tʃalas*** possess another one third. And the remainder is in the hands of other chiefs of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. These chiefs rent their lands to commoners of the villages, so commoners are serfs (***unutel***) and nobles landlords. Each chief has a vassal household (***utsiputsipoŋ***) to take care of the rental business. The office of the vassal is hereditary, but he is a commoner and owns no land by himself.

The above mentioned aristocratic system is established on the basis of the lineage system. One who first established his household in the village is regarded as the grand lineage. The elder offspring, regardless of sex, is the heir or ***usam*** to succeed the household. Offspring other than the heir will leave the household and establish a new one when he is married and is regarded as the lesser lineage or ***muluvtsivtsik***. The succession of the lesser lineage is similar to that of grand lineage. But offspring other than the heir of the lesser lineage will be degraded as commoner when he departs the household. The ***utsiputsipoŋ*** is a commoner who is chosen by a aristocratic household to be their vassal. The heir of the ***utsiputsipoŋ*** household succeeds his father's office. It is worth to note that members of the grand lineage of the ***utsiputsipoŋ*** are prohibited to intermarry with members of the grand lineage of their aristocratic household.

LINEAGE RULE AND MARRIAGE RULE

A. Lineage rule

The kinship organization is a lineage group with a family as its nucleus. Each family has its own ***umax*** or house. The ***umax*** or house has a special significance to the Chala'abus family system. Each house has its ***yataŋ a numax*** or house name. One who is born in the house is named after the name of the house. Members live in the house include a married couple, the heir or heiress and sometimes his or her spouse and other unmarried offspring of this married couple. The elder son or daughter succeeds his or her parents as the head of lineage group and remains to live in the house. Other offsprings are either married to the heir or heiress of another household

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
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or establish a new house if not married to an heir or heiress. There is, thus, a lineal relation between these households. One which has a further relationship with the household from which it derived is lower in rank. Their lineage rules may be summarized as follows:

a) A household is the nucleus of this lineage system.

b) The lineage who first established their house in the village is regarded as the grand lineage or *mamatsayiran*.

c) The house and the name of the house are succeeded too by primogeniture regardless of sex. The heir or *usam* must remain in the house and succeed to the name.

d) Each offspring other than the heir who is married to the heir of another household or establish a new household and take a new house name if married to one who is not the heir, is called the lesser lineage or *maluvtsivtsik*.

e) The rule of succession of a lesser lineage is similar to that of a grand lineage. The son of a lesser lineage is degraded to become commoner or *tala?alalak*.

f) Offspring of a vassal household other than the heir are degraded as commoners.

g) If the household has no heir, it is succeeded by the second son or daughter, even he or she is married out. This second son or daughter who has established a lesser lineage of his own, will give his own lineage up, and return to his prime house to succeed to the lineage. If a lesser lineage has no heir, it may be succeeded to by members from the grand lineage. The vassal will take care of the grand lineage when the heir to succeed the lineage is not yet decided.

B. Marriage rules

a) Residence

1. The heir of a household must remain in the house, and have his spouse come to live with him.

2. Family members other than the heir may marry a heir of another household and goes to his spouse's house.

3. When both the husband and the wife are no heir or heiress, they will establish a new house and have a neolocal residence.

4. If a heir marries with a heiress, this new couple will succeed to both households.

b) Class

1. One who marries one of his own rank is called *metsevoŋ*. Their offsprings belong to the same rank.

2. One who marries one of a higher rank is called *sluŋua*. He himself and his offsprings will have a higher rank too.

3. One who marries one of a lower rank is called *sluŋoja*. He and his offsprings will have a lower rank too.

The Paiwan practise endogamy but not in a strict sense. It may be estimated by the quantity of the bride price. A certain quantity of bride price is set for a certain

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582 565 556 583 class. A man of the lower class must pay as much as or more than that of a upper class member if he wants to marry one above himself. The lower class member does not marry one above him because he can not afford to do so.

C. Incest prohibition

601 835 The kindred group of the Paiwan is bilateral. The present writer has assigned it as occasional bi-sexual lineage. No emphasis upon either the paternal or the maternal consanguinities is made. No distinction between lineal and collateral is made in addressed terms, but it is made in indirect and collective terms. Those who have the same parents are called *maluvluŋuluŋa*, those who have the same grand parents, *malusiatsətsəl*, those have the same grand-grand parents, *malusiatsalaitaita*, and those have the same grand-grand-grand parents, *malusiapatsətsəv*. *malusiatsəlsəl* are prohibited to marry. *malusiatsalaitsata* are also called *naŋaʔaŋa putsəl*, they are allowed to marry. *malusiapatsetsev* are also called *naŋaʔaŋa lavatsə putsəl*, they are the most prefered mates. Relative beyond the *malusiapatsətsəv* are called *aolav*. *aolav* are allowed to marry with each other, but they are not as preferable as the *malusiapatsətsəv*, and even the *malusiatsalaitaita*. It is noteworthy that these marriage prohibitions are not to supplement the rule of exogamy but serve as the limitations of the rule of endogamy.

TRIBAL CHIEFTAINSHIP

643 The tribal chieftainship of Chala'abus village differs with the dual chieftainship of the North-Paiwan, and may be regarded as a kind of mutual independence of the three powers: political, religious, and military. The political and economic powers are in the hands of the Chimo chiefs. The religious powers are equally distributed over the chiefs of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. The nomination of a *ɾaraʔare* or priest is determined by a kind of divination called *paiwata*. The military powers fall in hands of the commoners. The office of the priest of the headhunting ritual (*ɾaraʔare na ara*) is held hereditary by the *tsivulaŋaŋ* household of commoner. The tribal chiefs and their offices are listed as follows:

A. Political and economic chiefs:

a) *avusamaŋ* (big chief)·····*ɾuvaniau*
maluvtsivtsik (consanguineous chiefs)·····*tʂaluŋi*, *tʃalas* (south), *tʃalas* (north)
naitsu anumax (affinal chiefs)·····*lusiguaŋ, atsinajaŋ, alijulaŋ, taraʔatea, gumul, matsiliat, voto, tʃalusaŋiu.*

b) *pinairaratsə* (representatives of the big chief of other villages)·····*tʃalas* (north) a representative of the *tsulivuaŋ*, the big chief of Kunanao village.
tavalaŋ a representative of the *haɾaŋiraŋ*, the big chief of Kulalus village.

c) *ut[illegible]tsipoŋ* (vassals of the chiefs)·····*ɾuvaniau, tsapalai, tavalaŋ, suajoŋ,*

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his father's office. If the *pinairaratsə* has no heir or if his works were not regarded as satisfactory, the overlord may appoint another household to the office. Taxes collected by the *pinairaratsə* need not be forward to their overlords, they may be consumed by the *pinairaratsə* himself.

CLASS AND PRIVILEGE

A. Naming system

A name indicates one's social status. They are of three grades:

a) Names of the big chiefs:
men's names: *arutsayal, tʃanupak, tsivuluay, giligilao, palilas, ləyuyai, trotsə.*
women's names: *rumurumay, momi, vonum, slup, lutsium, tsipulay.*

b) Names of the second grade chiefs:
men's names: *apitsuay, ulili, pulalujay, tsimulunai, tsama, gulagul, rayaray, apay, tsumul.*
women's names: *tsiankim, lavlav, kalskus, tsoˀo, rere, ateves, kumara, moakai.*

c) Names of the commoners:
men's names: *maitsəl, guluts, tsuvi* and others.
women's names: *saolalui, alalu, vais, kai* and others.

The *utsiputsipoy* have the same names as commoners. The name of an aristocrat is decided in a kins' meeting. To acquire a name above his class he must get a permission from the big chief. The name of a commoner is given by his parents or determined by a divination.

B. Tattooing (*voytsik*)

Tattooing is one of the privileges enjoyed by the aristocratic class. A commoner may have tattoo if he has military achievements and is so permitted by the chief. Men tattoo their breasts, backs, arms, and legs; women only tattoo their forearms and backs of hand. The designs indicate their social status, only the big chiefs may have human figures (*pinarutsautsauay*) and snake designs (*pinavulvulway*).

C. House decoration

Houses are distinguished by two kinds. The houses of the big chief or the second grade chiefs are always larger in size and more decorative. In front of these houses, there are larger front yards (*assasaway*) and platforms (*aluvuluway*) which serve as the meeting places of the villagers. On the platform a stone pillar is erected to represent their ancestor which is called *saotsaolai*. House posts, beams, walls, and storage boxes may be decorated with human figure or snake designs. The houses of the commoners, include houses of *utsiputsipoy*, are always smaller in size and can not be decorated.

D. Clothing and ornaments

Clothing and ornaments also indicate one's social status. The aristocratic class wear clothes of dark colours—dark blue, dark purple, or black colour. The clothes of the aristocratic class are always embroidered or design-weaved, while the commoners are prohibited to wear such. Several kinds of clothe—*tsapo aliulao* (clothe made of leopard's skin), *vajal a tsinuyuay* (shoulder cloth), *katin a veytsiay* (a kind of trousers)

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565 are only allowed to be worn by chiefs; and embroidered *lionpao* (long clothe), *koŋ na kinimaʔaŋ* (long skirt) and *kasuja tsino at səvanaŋ* (trousers) by chiefess.

[301] Ornaments, especially *lailai* (feather ornaments), *patal na paŋaŋiliŋ* (hat-ornament made of leopard's teeth), *taʔata* (shoulder ornament made of a kind of shell), *tsalaral* (silver shoulder ornament), *aliatpula* (glass bead necklace) are only allowed to be used by nobles.

565 **E. Right to perform ceremonies**

554 a) Felicitation on having an elder offspring is only performed by the nobles. A gun and some iron ware must be sent to the maternal relatives on this occasion. This is called *ləmiči*.

565 583 b) A bride price is called *činiliči*. According to the social status, it is divided into three classes: *mamatsaŋiraŋ*, *maluntsivtsik* and *talaʔalalak*. *mamatsaŋiran* consists of a piece of cultivated land (*atunaŋaŋ*) a household of serf (*wadis*), five kinds of iron articles; *maluvtsivtsik* only two or three kinds of iron article; and *talaʔalalak* only two or three iron articles. The marriage ceremony also differs between nobles and commoners.

714 565 c) Funeral rites: At the death of a chief, the whole village wears mourning dresses for five days, *maluvtsivtsik* and *utsiputsipoŋ* a month. At the death of a *matuvtsivtsik*, his relatives and *utsiputsipoŋ* wear mourning dresses for a month, and his *unutel* five days. At the death of a commoner, his relatives wear weeds for a month.

565 **F. Privilege from criminal trial**

[687] a) A commoner will be fined a penalty of a pig, a bottle of wine, several iron articles by his lese-majesty (*napanuŋatsə*) to a chief. A noble commits no lese-majesty.

[554] b) If a commoner's house is carved, his body tattooed, and his clothes decorated, he is regarded as having committes a crime of arrogation (*napatsəra*). He will be fined a penalty of the same as that of a lese-majesty.

[685] c) The nobles commit no crime of robbery (*tsəmav*).

[682] d) A murderer must pay the equivalence of the price of the murdered which differs according to one's social status. If a commoner murdered a noble, all properties of his own as well as his brothers will be confiscated, and he himself will be exiled from the village.

[684] e) The nobles commit no crime of adultery, but a noble may ask penalty from one who commits adultery with his or her spouse. A commoner who ravishes a chiefess will be heavily punished and exiled from the village.

22: Wiedfeldt--36 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 464, 567, 597, 886 Atayal

Since the most common of all the contracts of our day, the labor contract, is not known of, either as a contract for service or for labor, the only possibility which ageing people have of getting the necessary labor to enable them to live is purchase. The expression "purchase" gives the wrong impression, and is merely used for the sake of brevity. Just as the price paid for a bride is compensation paid to the family for the loss of labor, so the purchase of children is more a question of adoption by compromise with the physical parents. Children thus acquired are considered real members of the family, and are in no way treated as slaves. For example, it never happens that a girl is bought for sexual purposes. The children are said never to run away. If they did, their family would have to pay back the money which they received for them.

22: Wiedfeldt--46 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 571, 602, 614 Atayal

The next highest social institution [MC: above the family], the clan, is based on the blood relationship of the families, which are thus united into a solid unit. Since each member has the same influence on the direction of the clan, each is exposed to the same dangers, and each derives the same profit from it. Joint responsibility, which is the most rudimentary and most easily developed form of common responsibility is in keeping here, especially since more cultivated types of association with limited or graduated responsibility are unknown. The clan is charged with such economic tasks as exceed the capacity of the individual family. In particular, it owns the property which the member families use and own temporarily... It has other important functions in criminal and civil law, and together with the tribe it facilitates the entire legal side of Atayal life.

25: Plaut --40 [2] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 571, 682, 721

Murder and homicide. Among the natives of the Palisha district, the punishment for murder is exile. But life outside the clan society is a miserable existence, and the banished man's most ardent desire is to be allowed to return home. Head-hunting offers him an opportunity to win this permission. If he succeeds in capturing a Chinese head, he sends it to the tribe as a sign of victory, and then some time later he may return home without being in danger.

7: Joest--61 [3] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 123, 273, 572, 609 Chin-hoan

I gained the confidence and friendship of the Chinwans through this brandy [MC: Chinese samshu] which they consumed in pailfulls until men, women, and children were lying unconscious on the ground; it was, however, considerably diluted. The Chinwan natives also have the custom of establishing the bond of friendship by drinking. They squat on the ground in the usual manner and put their arms around each other's shoulders; they make a short speech, vowing eternal friendship, and then drink together from the pumpkin shell which holds the brandy until it is empty. I drank in this way with both men and women.

7: Joest--61 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 264, 462, 574 Chin-hoan

If there is a guest in a Chinwan household, the women usually feed him; the woman tastes each bite herself first.

14: Tamai-- 97[9] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 352, 721, 411, 574 Chin-hoan

Mr. Kurosaki writes in the Osaka-Asaki-Shinbun as follows: "When we arrived in Togasha we were completely drenched. The Tschinwans, according to their custom, built a fire in two places in their houses. The house in which we lived was very large. There was one bed in each of the four corners. In this house we also saw two baskets made of bamboo and filled with sugar cane, a wooden mortar, a pot which was placed on the floor, and several plates on a rack. Many braids of Chinese which had been killed hung from the walls. On one of the beds we saw three spears, three swords, and two rifles. A number of heads, bones, rifles, and hide of stags were suspended from the timber of the roof. Our host had two blankets which he very kindly offered to us.

14: Tamai--97[11] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 562, 276, 283, 574 Chin-hoan

All the women and girls, and even very small children, [MC: in the village of Togasha] smoke a great deal... Our hostess talked to us for several hours, and all this time she was spinning hemp...

Our host and interpreter, Shiro, had obtained the hide of stags for us to sleep on, but we were so cold that it was impossible for us to sleep.

Our hostess asked us why two of the soldiers (sentries) were standing outside in the rain and cold instead of coming in to get warm. The Lieutenant told her that this was a Japanese custom.

Since we could not sleep... our hostess again entertained us by playing the flute.

14: Tamai--98 J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 574, 609 Chin-hoan

As a result of the expedition of Japanese to Maraisha the Tschinwans became very friendly toward the Japanese. From that time on they received the Japanese officials hospitably and always offered them Sake and food.

16: Müller--230 [12] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 593, 574

It is because of their aversion to all domestic disharmony that the laws of hospitality are sacred to the aborigines. Thus the pursued may find refuge in the house of the pursuer and has nothing to fear until he leaves.

22: Wiedfeldt--26 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 423, 614, 432, 574 Atayal

The arable land is the property of the clan. It protects the members in the undisturbed possession of the fields which he has planted. If one clan becomes much larger than another, for example, if it becomes much larger than one which has become reduced in numbers in fighting with the Japanese, the larger clan sometimes buys a piece of arable land from the small clan, paying it about 10 rokoschkaha [MC: clothing used as money] for a hillside plot of 12 hectares. The members of the clan fix the payment of this price by the families in the clan assembly, according to their funds. The families that settle on this hillside have to contribute more heavily. Also, the fines imposed upon the clan are collected in the assembly, as is also the price of the bride for a member whose family can not raise the money, but whom they wish to retain in the clan. Fines are paid to the head of the clan who is entitled to receive them. He organizes a feast with them, or hands the fines over to the family to whom they are due, and the family uses them for the same purpose.

22: Wiedfeldt--28 [7] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 681, 574, 692 Atayal

The fine is considered something not good, and is therefore spent by the clan or the family that receives it for a clan feast, the schukun [MC: the ornamented clothing with which the fine was paid.] being exchanged for a pig or for sake. In many tribes, the clan chief keeps the fine and adds it to a fund out of which he occasionally pays fines.

24: Anonymous--91 [10] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 273, 574

They are very fond of wine. This is made of rice which they chew and then place in a hollow bamboo cane for a few days so that it will ferment. If they have a visitor they go out of the house and both parties pay their respects to each other. The guest must first taste of the wine and then is led into the house.

11: Haguenauer--33 [2] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 192, 194, 576 Atayal

The relations between the Tayal are not governed by a ceremonious code of etiquette. When one Tayal meets another, he does not bother about making any complicated salutations. The Tayal language does not have any polite expressions, or any honorific prefixes, and the intimate form of address is the only one known. "Musa su ino pe" (Where are you going?) replaces our Good Day. The pronunciation is energetic and harsh: ao (yes), yats (no), skuriek (man), reliax (mountain), bauniax (arrow), alakè (child), kesia (water), etc.

14: Tamai--94 J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
576, 609, 648 Chin-hoan

On the other side of the river 13 chieftains from the Mareisha villages came forward; the Chinese trader came over to them and asked them to cross the river and meet the Japanese. [MC: members of a reconnaissance expedition] They refused at first, saying "We do not know the Japanese and do not know whether they are traitors like the Chinese or honest men. But so that they may not attack us unawares we have brought along a hundred armed men who are lying in ambush. If the Japanese agree to come to us unarmed we shall be glad to negotiate with them, for we have a favor to ask of them." The Japanese agreed to this and as they came across the river they were greeted in the way that is customary on this island, by the "swinging of the swords": the chief went around with his sword drawn and cut off the points of the blades of grass.

19: Guérin and Bernard--552-553 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 141, 224, 341, 576 Tsou

Between the rivière Noire and the Pakan are the Tsoo, who are also called the Tibou-la, as that is the name of their largest village. The Tsoo are the unique example of a tribe of savages that are allied with the Chinese, and they are not tattooed at all. But they have little pity for their Ata-bou neighbors, and those of Sibou-koun. There is another language here, and we find that the race has become smaller, more thick-set, more southern, in a word. The house is round with a conical roof, instead of being square. The native no longer bids you welcome by laying his hand flat on your chest; he presses your forearm instead. (These observations apply to all the southern tribes). The Tsoo have replaced the Chinese head trophies by [553] enormous piles of wild-boar skulls.

22: Wiedfeldt--10[3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 264, 576, 177.26 Japanese
636.26

The Atayals have two meals a day, which serve to set a beginning and an end to their day. One is in the early morning, after they get up, and the second is in the evening, before they go to bed. Men, women, and children eat together. A guest eats with his host, while the women and children eat afterward. The hollow of the hand serves as their cup, and as knife, fork, and spoon they use the five-pronged fork with which they were born. In the Japanese school which has recently been organized the young Schimptonoff are receiving their first instructions in the use of table implements and drinking vessels.

22: Wiedfeldt--32 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 646, 527, 484, 576 Atayal

This koto-kumai-roh, or common council [MC: the full assembly of all clan heads of the tribe and honorary chiefs]... meets as a rule at the time of the millet harvest. It begins early in the morning, since most of the clan heads have used the previous day for traveling, and it lasts one to three hours. Connected with it are the community fishing expedition, which supplies the food, and on the next morning, the tribal millet festival. The chief of the tribe opens, conducts, and closes the meeting. He presents the agenda briefly, and then yields the floor to such honorary chiefs and then such clan heads as have something to say. While someone is talking, all the others listen attentively in silence, without interrupting him in any way. Each individual speaks only a few minutes, for it is considered improper to take a long time to express one's opinion.

26: Honda--470-471 N-3 (1896) 1897 Formosan Aborigines
116, 162, 576, 609 Bunun

On the third day [EJ: of the journey toward Mt. Morrison] we came upon the first settlement of the aborigines. The village comprised thirteen huts, inhabited by about 150 persons. It was called Namaka-ban. Shortly before we reached this village I had sent our armed soldiers back [471] with the thought that they would do more harm than good. My interpreter, a Chinese who had had frequent contact with the aborigines and had delivered salt to them, was very emphatic in his statement that the arrival of armed men would immediately start hostilities. As we approached the village, we saw the chief with about 30 of his men armed with rifles, spears, and bows and arrows; they had taken up their positions on a hill. Bur before we ourselves reached the village, I sent my interpreter to inform the inhabitants of our peaceful intentions. I went to meet the natives without any visible weapons and only with a gun in my pocket; whereupon the chief knelt down and folded his hands over his head as a greeting. I followed him into the village where I presented him with various gifts.

35: Collingwood--141-142 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 576 Sek-hoan

"A little incident struck me as worth recording. One of the men passing the ward-room sky-light, where some [142] of the officers were at lunch, looked down, and lingered, when he was pulled away gently by another man who was with him. It was a slight movement, but Chinamen would have remained and stared till their eyes started from their heads before such native politeness would have occurred to them."

11: Haguenauer--42 [2] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 181, 186, 577, 609 Atayal

The Tayal race is a very proud one, much more so than you would suspect. It is industrious, but only in so far as the task concerns the whole community. The men are calm, but if they get angry nothing can stop them. An unbounded curiosity and feeling of suspicion with regard to all strangers are two more traits of the Tayal mentality. He has full confidence in his comrades, but as soon as he is with people of another tribe, he becomes suspicious and reserved. The Tayal have some fine virtues too; they have a highly developed sense of honor, are not greedy, do not steal and rarely tell lies.

14: Tamai--96 [19] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 181, 577 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwans are a bold and courageous people; they always keep their promises and never cheat another man.

14: Tamai--98 [3] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 577, 728, 628 Chin-hoan

One [MC: Japanese] official addressed the Tschinwans as follows: "We are very happy to see you. We feel like brothers toward you. For that reason we have wanted to see you for a long time but so far we did not have an opportunity to come to you. Fortunately, through our war with China we have acquired the land of our brothers, Taiwan, and we are exceedingly happy at this. We have been told that until now you have killed many Chinese. That is not right. From now on you must not kill us, who are your brothers; you must love us like brothers and live with us in peace. You must come to visit us often and we shall visit you, too. Today we have prepared a large banquet of food and Sake for you; eat and drink as much as you like." One of the chieftains answered him: "We did not really want to kill the Chinese, but we were forced to do it for they killed our men. But since the Japanese are our brothers we shall not kill them."

Then all the Tschinwans present dug out a hole in the ground and placed a stone in it. Then they threw clods of earth at each other with loud shouts and covered the stone with earth.

This custom is equivalent to an oath with them. The thought behind it is "just as the stone does not rot in the earth so our word (oath or vow) does not change."

17: Norbeck--28
577

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

"In ancient times the Atayal said that being a true man or a true woman, just this one thing, was the most important to us who live in this world, and they taught this principle to their children, so it is said. They instructed them in just this way because it was said that those who knew the essential crafts (i.e., true women) and true men were the ones eligible to cross the Bridge of the Gods and go to Paradise."

18: Kakyo--70 E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 562, 577

The distinction between the man's profession and the woman's is sharply drawn, particularly in the case of married couples. Any action that conflicts with this principle is looked on as an offence.

20: Alvarez--258 [2]
116, 577, 581, 586, 837

(no date) 1927

Formosan Aborigines

"They are not strict moralists, though libertinage is severely punished in accordance with the laws established for it. Matrimony seems to be regarded as a transcendental act in the life of man. Among the Tsalisen, however, the man leaves the hut of his wife in case she has failed to become mother. By this, the marriage is regarded as dissolved, and both are free and can marry again."

34: Del Re--19-20 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan -Aborigines
116, 619, 621, 183, 577, 421, 437 Yami

"The above [MLB: reluctance of Yami youths to enter government service] follows naturally from the basic principle of [20] their community life, namely that all members of the tribe have full and equal rights and freedom of action limited only by tribal custom which represents the collective will of the community freely accepted by and identifired with that of the individual. This also finds practical expression in their communal attitude towards all except a very few strictly personal belongings such as small canoes and ornaments. Everything else is held in common by the village. Uncultivated land, or land that has ceased to be cultivated, is the property of the community, but anyone who so wishes may take and cultivate it and in this sense it may be called his. Should he allow it to run wild, however, he cannot prevent another from cultivating it and enjoying its fruits. The large canoes and articles of clothing are also communal. In the event of a native wishing for something in the temporary possession of another he need only ask the present owner for it, but is in turn expected, as a matter of course, to do likewise. Such transactions are not necessarily in the nature of an exchange nor is a regular system of barter practised except for goods from outside."

34: Del Re--20-23 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 183, 421, 577, 627, 777 Yami

"The real secret of the smooth working of their system of life may be attributed to the absence of any selfish possessive feeling in respect of things and persons based on deep-rooted 'natural' ethical principles which allow the reciprocal claims of the individual and the community to be harmoniously adjusted in a spirit of freedom and equality. An illuminating instance of [pages 21 and 22 contain illustrations] [23] the application of these principles (6) is seen in the custom, which still persists though

> 6. According to VF (Pt. I, p. 9) community of property is not usual among other Formosan savages.

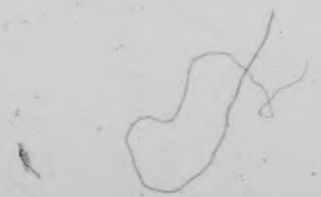
frowned upon by the police, of settling every community dispute by means of a wrestling match followed, in cases where the two parties are not satisfied, by a bloodless duel. When this occurs, the two opponents armed with bamboo lances and wearing rattan armour proceed to the seashore accompanied by their seconds and there fight it out. It rarely happens that either is seriously injured or killed, because this would be considered highly unlucky and must therefore be avoided."

21: Asai--8 [3] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 578, 619, 721

"The territory of each tribe is well fixed, also the hunting area. If one group enters into another's area, war will usually break out. The number of heads taken by each side decides who won the war. Sometimes there are quarrels between gaga in the same village."

25: Plaut--41-42 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 423, 578, 628

Settlement of quarrels. Quarrels naturally arise from many sources, the most frequent being hunting, slander and, among bachelors, love. Each tribe has its hunting territory, which it has possessed for a long time, and it has definite boundaries which members of other tribes are not permitted to cross. If anyone is found hunting in a preserve where he has no right to be, he has to pay a fine [42] to the offended tribe. If his statement contradicts that of his accuser, his own chief forces him to fight a duel with the other man in order to avoid a general quarrel.



25: Plaut--42 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 578, 582, 627

If a person has made some slanderous remark, he is forced to retract it and to ask for pardon. If he refuses to do that, he has to pay a fine to the insulted party.

If two men love the same girl and neither one is willing to give her up, there is usually no solution but for them to fight until one dies, and the other one has the bride.

37: Steere--305 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 131, 162, 578, 721 Sek-hoan

"The Lek-whan, a large division of the Pepo-whan, living near the center of the island, seem to have originally come from near Chang-wha. A few miles to the north of this city there are still toward two thousand living in the towns of Loisia and Toasia, though, like the Pepo-whan near Taiwanfu, badly in debt to the Chinese. There is a large settlement of them in a mountain valley, two days' journey to the east of Changwha, called Posia or Polisia, to which, according to their own account, they began migrating forty or fifty years ago, and they are still going, there now being some four or five thousand there. This valley is entirely surrounded by mountains and forests inhabited by savages. They are nominally at peace with these, and pay them a yearly tribute of rice and cattle, but in spite of this they are continually losing their lives from attacks by the savages, some twelve or fourteen persons from the valley being killed annually, while at work in their fields or fishing or hunting. The only news of the manner or cause of the loss the friends and relatives receive, being often the headless trunk lying where it fell."

26: Honda--471 [3] N-3 (1896) 1897 Formosan Aborigines
116, 579, 622 Bunun

Every village is headed by a chief who is completely independent. Frequently neighboring villages are hostile towards each other.

7: Joest--61 [8] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 554, 581, 721, 727 Chin-hoan

The natives' favorite way of killing an enemy is to lie in ambush... near one of the enemy's villages and wait for someone, man, woman, or child, to pass; then they shoot an arrow at the victim's back and cut off his head. Then they put the enemy's head in the bag and return home in triumph. A headhunter is received with great honors; a banquet and drinking bout is held and he is popular with the girls, who will not turn him down if he proposes marriage.

11: Haguenauer--36 [3] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 286, 304, 554, 581 Atayal

The Tayal woman prides herself on her knowledge of weaving, for it is only when she is a past mistress in the art that she can be tattooed on her cheeks and around her lips with the marks which will attract the young men to her.

19: Guérin and Bernard--561 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 581, 736

You see few men who are crippled; they could never hope to marry.

20: Alvarez--258 [2]
116, 577, 581, 586, 837

(no date) 1927

Formosan Aborigines

"They are not strict moralists, though libertinage is severely punished in accordance with the laws established for it. Matrimony seems to be regarded as a transcendental act in the life of man. Among the Tsalisen, however, the man leaves the hut of his wife in case she has failed to become mother. By this, the marriage is regarded as dissolved, and both are free and can marry again."

22: Wiedfeldt--20 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 581 Atayal

In accordance with its character of an indispensable economic partnership, marriage among the Atayals is a universally recognized arrangement designed for permanence.

22: Wiedfeldt--21 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
581 Atayal

"The main purpose of marriage is the begetting and rearing of children." This precept...holds good among the Atayals, for whose economic existence this is also necessary.

22: Wiedfeldt--43-44 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 421, 581, 584 Atayal

In the field of marriage law... [44] the Atayals clearly recognize the idea of monogamy, which is generally practised. They are acquainted with the idea of betrothal, which they accomplish by means of making a payment on the price of the bride. The betrothal may be dissolved by paying it back. Marriage itself is minutely, one might say, exhaustively regulated as to the terms under which it may be made and unmade. It is not unsuitably connected with the only form of contract that they know of, that of cash purchase. Married couples live, so to speak, with separate property rights, for each one retains the property which he or she has brought to the marriage, and ultimately takes them along to the grave. Anything that is acquired during their married life, such as provisions, belongs to both persons equally, and is left to the survivor.

22: Wiedfeldt--45-46 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 581, 594 Atayal

The economic life of the Atayals is concerned with caring for the existence of the individual. Their legal life concerns itself with the delimitation and regulation of the relations between two peoples or clans. Their social institutions seek to unite several individuals for definite purposes. It is clear from the start that in this difficult field of human organization, Atayal life is less developed in respect to the nature, duties, and composition of these overlapping institutions than it is in the other two. Their most important social institutions is the family, which is founded on the basis of strict monogamy. It has its roots in the economic sphere, and, as we have already shown, it makes possible the economic existence of the Atayal tribes. It [46] extends to the higher social development, provides for the continuation and marriage of the sexes, and is the only thing that preserves and carries on the degree of civilization which they have attained. In contrast to our social conditions, the higher social institutions do not concern themselves with this last task at all, but merely foster tribal tradition and the unity of the tribe and the clans through their festivals, which the family as such does not have anything to do with, purely because of a division of responsibilities.

34: Del Re--28-29 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 581, 585, 833 Yami

"In accordance with the parents' wishes, or because the girl wants to postpone the marriage, it sometimes happens that the union is not immediately consummated. The validity of a marriage does not appear to be affected by its actual consummation. This seems to have also been the case with other tribes since the author of Forsaken Formosa, writing obviously from direct knowledge of these Western savages in the middle of the XVIIIth [29] century, observes concerning this custom, that the savages apply in the fullest sense the dictum 'nuptias non concubitus sed consensus facit.' The essential requirement for a marriage, at least among the Yami, seems to be a proper fulfilment of the terms of the ritual courtship known as 'remembering.' "

39: Wiedfeldt--10-11 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 581, 805, 822 Atayal

The concept of time... is not strange to the Atayals, although they also lack a system of measuring time. They have no word or idea for month or for day. They only have two designations for hot time and cool time. Some tribes have words for sunrise, the zenith of the sun, and sunset, but as far as I have been able to ascertain they have no word for midnight. [11] For their practical needs they make use of other means. The length of time that it is possible to plant a field is given in the terms of the number of harvests obtained from the field. Since none of them know how old they are, marriageability is indicated by tattooing. When I asked if one could give his age according to the number of harvests, there being only one harvest a year, I was always told... that one could only obtain three harvests from one field, and that their people had experienced many more harvests. In summoning their clan and tribal assemblies, as well as in negotiations with the Japanese, the day is fixed according to the number of times they would normally sleep up to that time, and by the nodes in a bamboo staff, or the Japanese indicate the time by the knots in a string. According to the Japanese, it is not unusual for an Atayal to turn up a day early, because, for example, he slept twice in one day when he was hunting, and hence had counted two knots. Harvest time is easily recognized by the ripening of the fruit. The time to plant millet is determined according to the time when the Formosa maple has young red shoots...Rice is planted when the tse-tung-non, a tree of average size, is covered with white blossoms.

10: Schumacher--226 [5] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 266, 582, 609, 721 Chin-hoan

The Chinese who thus penetrated into the mountain regions [MC: in search of camphor] may have met the earlier inhabitants of these areas as enemies, and from the initial disputes, all kinds of other difficulties could develop. It is reported, for instance, that the inhabitants of the mountains, who are naturally shy, obtain courage by catching Chinese persons and eating their livers raw. Furthermore, it is said that under penalty of death, the aborigines are forbidden to marry before they have killed seven Chinese and have proof of their deaths.

16: Müller--230 [7] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 582

Marriage between near relatives on the whole does not occur among the Formosan aborigines.

16: Miller--240-241 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 554, 721, 881, 582

Among the natives of Formosa, as on all the Malayan Islands, the practice of headhunting is widespread and forms one of the most important traditions. The Ataiyal aborigines practice it to a greater extent than any other group. Those of the Paiwan and Vonum group also practice it a great deal. In former times, according to the Chinese sources, headhunting was practiced throughout Formosa. There are various reasons for this custom. It is considered, first of all, a test of courage. This may be seen from the fact that the tribe which has the largest number of heads in its possession is considered the most courageous. Where there are many skulls there is also great power, according to the text of one song. Every young man [241] who wants to be considered an adult must pass this test. If two men are rival suitors, the girl chooses the one who is the first to return home with a head.

18: Kakyo--69 [2] E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 582, 595

With regard to marriage, the following general principles may be found among the Formosan aborigines apart from some insignificant variations:

a) there is a definite way of concluding marriages;
b) a marriage once concluded binds the spouses for life;
c) the woman who is the wife of one man may not at the same time marry another;
d) marriage between close relatives is not allowed;
e) there is strict monogamy.

Guérin and Bernard--560 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 582

Marriages among the savages are performed at a very early age, even before girls are nubile.

21: Asai--7 [4] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 582, 621 Bunun

"The Bunun have a clan organization. Takeshi is the word for 'family' name (i. e., clan name). The Bunun have such family names, the other tribes don't. Cannot marry within the same clan. The clan is important in ceremonials, social functions. In the Bunun, each clan has common ceremonies; members of the same clan go hunting together."

22: Wiedfeldt--8 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 182, 582, 619 Atayal

As things are now, one can become well acquainted only with the tribes living on the frontier. Nevertheless, as far as I have been able to observe, the members of other tribes resemble them in stature, clothing and tattooing, and are said to resemble them also in mode of life and customs. Just as all the Atayal tribes are distinguished as a unit from the other savages of Formosa because they do not have the common dormitory for the young men, or because they are not acquainted with the custom of chewing betel, etc., so they are united by similar customs. They have the same type of money, they can understand each other, although their language shows dialect variations, since it does not have the benefit of the restraining influence of a written form. Neighboring tribes of the Atayals intermarry and have occasionally undertaken joint military expeditions, two things which are unheard of between branches of different tribes. Conditions among the Schimptonoff and the Taroku may hence be taken as typical of the Atayals, especially since both tribes, in spite of their frontier location, have lost very little of their tribal peculiarities, and have lost that little very recently, apparently.

22: Wiedfeldt-- 13[2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 582, 881, 721 Atayal

The young man who brings home a skull that he has captured is permitted to have himself tattooed, and is thus declared capable of marrying, as well as of being admitted to the councils of the tribe. A young girl receives this sign when she has reached sexual maturity and has woven a piece of fabric. In many tribes, a new stripe of tattooing is added for every skull that is captured, just as in modern states diamonds are added to a decoration for special reasons. Among the Atayals this mark differs according to tribe and clan, so that an Atayal Elsa would not have to ask the fatal question, but could distinguish from the place and the density of the strip of tattooing what the family and the nature of her rescuer was.

22: Wiedfeldt--20 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 582 Atayal

In their rigid notions of the economic prerequisites which are necessary for marriage, the Atayals go further than our modern demands for a mere age limit, and permit only those to marry whose tattooing is the outward and visible sign that they are adequate to the most important economic tasks that marriage imposes upon them. Marriage between relatives is not permitted in the direct line as well as to the fourth degree of the collateral line.

22: Wiedfeldt--20 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583, 582 Atayal

Generally the young man takes his bride, who is usually a few years older than himself, home to his clan. The bride's family thus loses a worker, and is compensated therefore by the bridegroom or his family to the extent of 25 to 30 rokoschkahas. [MC: ornamented clothing used as money].

25: Plaut--42 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 578, 582, 627

If a person has made some slanderous remark, he is forced to retract it and to ask for pardon. If he refuses to do that, he has to pay a fine to the insulted party.

If two men love the same girl and neither one is willing to give her up, there is usually no solution but for them to fight until one dies, and the other one has the bride.

25: Plaut--59 [3] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 582, 602, 736, 765

Blood relationship operates as follows:

1. Members of the three classes are not allowed to marry one another;
2. needy members of the three classes, that is widows and orphans, must be fed by the other members;
3. among the Tsarisen, Spayowan and Puyuma, the members of the three classes have to mourn the death of any one of their group."

25: Plaut--60 [2] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 582, 586, 589, 593

Usually young people marry at a very early age. The parents never force their children to marry but allow them to follow their own inclinations in the matter. Certain marriage formalities are observed among all the tribes. We have already stated that marriage is monogamous, that both husband and wife enjoy equal rights, and that blood relations are not permitted to marry. All witnesses agree that the husband and wife are devoted to each other, and that the wife is never regarded as a slave or beast of burden...Accordingly divorces are the exception, and adultery seldom occurs. Curiously enough, the Tsarisen consider that failure to have children is cause for divorce. Childless widows are allowed to marry again, but if a widow has a child, she cannot marry.

34: Del Re--62 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 753, 772, 173, 582, 776 Yami

"Unnatural death, failure of crops, death of livestock are considered punishments meted out by them. (31) [MLB: i.e., the inferior gods] Like the gods of the upper

31. AYL, p. 80, n.

plane, they are endowed with the power to will the creation of anything. Their life, food and dress are, in all respects, similar to those of the Yami save that their houses are built entirely of gold, and are found in the seven heavenly villages, corresponding to the seven villages of the island, each of which is under the protection of the god of its respective heavenly village. The gods must always reside in their own village and may not take to wife a goddess from another village. This suggests that, in earlier days, intermarriage between the different communities on the island was taboo. At present, however, such a prescription appears no longer to be enforced. During the annual festivals the islanders call upon and make offerings to these gods of yams, taro, millet and other fruits of the earth to ensure a good harvest and a plentiful catch of flying-fish. There are also anitos on this plane, but they are harmless."

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

ARISTOCRACY AND LINEAGE SYSTEM

The political system of Chala'abus village is aristocratic and resembles that of the feudalism of the Chou Dynasty. It is established on two foundations: (1) The first is the tax and tributary system based on the ownership of land. (2) The second is the class system based on lineage rule.

The class system of Chala'abus differs with that of the North Paiwan. The North Paiwan system has three grades: (1) the *mamatsayiran*, (2) the *maluvtsivtsik*, and (3) the *pualu*. The Chala'abus system lacks the third grade *pualu*. The aristocratic class is generally called *mamatsayiran*, and is divided into two subclasses: (1) the upper grade is called *avusamay*, (2) the lower grade is again subdivided into the *maluvtsivtsik* or consanguineous, and the *naitsu a nᵊnmax* or affinal. The big chief *ruvaniau* belongs to the Chimo group. Three *maluvtsivtsik* of the *ruvaniau* are the south *tfalas*, the north *tfalas*, and the *tfaluŋi*. Among the *naitsu a numax* are the *voto*, the *taraᵊatea*, the *gumul*, the *matsiliat*, and the *tfalusayiu* of the Chimo, and the *atsinajay*, the *lusiguay* and the *aliolay* of the Paiwan. The big chief *ruvaniau* possesses one third of the cultivated land of the village. The north and the south *tfalas* possess another one third. And the remainder is in the hands of other chiefs of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. These chiefs rent their lands to commoners of the villages, so commoners are serfs (*umutel*) and nobles landlords. Each chief has a vassal household (*utsiputsipoy*) to take care of the rental business. The office of the vassal is hereditary, but he is a commoner and owns no land by himself.

The above mentioned aristocratic system is established on the basis of the lineage system. One who first established his household in the village is regarded as the grand lineage. The elder offspring, regardless of sex, is the heir or *usam* to succeed the household. Offspring other than the heir will leave the household and establish a new one when he is married and is regarded as the lesser lineage or *mulvutsivtsik*. The succession of the lesser lineage is similar to that of grand lineage. But offspring other than the heir of the lesser lineage will be degraded as commoner when he departs the household. The *utsiputsipoy* is a commoner who is chosen by a aristocratic household to be their vassal. The heir of the *utsiputsipoy* household succeeds his father's office. It is worth to note that members of the grand lineage of the *utsiputsipoy* are prohibited to intermarry with members of the grand lineage of their aristocratic household.

LINEAGE RULE AND MARRIAGE RULE

A. Lineage rule

The kinship organization is a lineage group with a family as its nucleus. Each family has its own *umax* or house. The *umax* or house has a special significance to the Chala'abus family system. Each house has its *yatay a numax* or house name. One who is born in the house is named after the name of the house. Members live in the house include a married couple, the heir or heiress and sometimes his or her spouse and other unmarried offspring of this married couple. The elder son or daughter succeeds his or her parents as the head of lineage group and remains to live in the house. Other offsprings are either married to the heir or heiress of another household

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

or establish a new house if not married to an heir or heiress. There is, thus, a lineal relation between these households. One which has a further relationship with the household from which it derived is lower in rank. Their lineage rules may be summarized as follows:

a) A household is the nucleus of this lineage system.

b) The lineage who first established their house in the village is regarded as the grand lineage or *mamatsayiran*.

c) The house and the name of the house are succeeded too by primogeniture regardless of sex. The heir or *usam* must remain in the house and succeed to the name.

d) Each offspring other than the heir who is married to the heir of another household or establish a new household and take a new house name if married to one who is not the heir, is called the lesser lineage or *maluwtsivtsik*.

e) The rule of succession of a lesser lineage is similar to that of a grand lineage. The son of a lesser lineage is degraded to become commoner or *tala'alalak*.

f) Offspring of a vassal household other than the heir are degraded as commoners.

g) If the household has no heir, it is succeeded by the second son or daughter, even he or she is married out. This second son or daughter who has established a lesser lineage of his own, will give his own lineage up, and return to his prime house to succeed to the lineage. If a lesser lineage has no heir, it may be succeeded to by members from the grand lineage. The vassal will take care of the grand lineage when the heir to succeed the lineage is not yet decided.

B. Marriage rules

a) Residence

1. The heir of a household must remain in the house, and have his spouse come to live with him.

2. Family members other than the heir may marry a heir of another household and goes to his spouse's house.

3. When both the husband and the wife are no heir or heiress, they will establish a new house and have a neolocal residence.

4. If a heir marries with a heiress, this new couple will succeed to both households.

b) Class

1. One who marries one of his own rank is called *matsevoy*. Their offsprings belong to the same rank.

2. One who marries one of a higher rank is called *sluyua*. He himself and his offsprings will have a higher rank too.

3. One who marries one of a lower rank is called *sluyoja*. He and his offsprings will have a lower rank too.

The Paiwan practise endogamy but not in a strict sense. It may be estimated by the quantity of the bride price. A certain quantity of bride price is set for a certain

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

582 565 556 583 class. A man of the lower class must pay as much as or more than that of a upper class member if he wants to marry one above himself. The lower class member does not marry one above him because he can not afford to do so.

C. Incest prohibition

601 835 The kindred group of the Paiwan is bilateral. The present writer has assigned it as occasional bi-sexual lineage. No emphasis upon either the paternal or the maternal consanguinities is made. No distinction between lineal and collateral is made in addressed terms, but it is made in indirect and collective terms. Those who have the same parents are called *malɯvlɯŋulɯŋa*, those who have the same grand parents, *malɯsiatsɔtsɔl*, those have the same grand-grand parents, *malɯsiatsalaitaita*, and those have the same grand-grand-grand parents, *malɯsiapatsɔtsɔv*. *malɯsiatsɔlɔsl* are prohibited to marry. *malɯsiatsalaitsata* are also called *naŋaʔaŋa putsɔl*, they are allowed to marry. *malɯsiapatsetsev* are also called *naŋaʔaŋa lavatsɔ putsɔl*, they are the most prefered mates. Relative beyond the *malɯsiapatsɔtsɔv* are called *aolav*. *aolav* are allowed to marry with each other, but they are not as preferable as the *malɯsiapatsɔtsɔv*, and even the *malɯsiatsalaitaita*. It is noteworthy that these marriage prohibitions are not to supplement the rule of exogamy but serve as the limitations of the rule of endogamy.

TRIBAL CHIEFTAINSHIP

643 The tribal chieftainship of Chala'abus village differs with the dual chieftainship of the North-Paiwan, and may be regarded as a kind of mutual independence of the three powers: political, religious, and military. The political and economic powers are in the hands of the Chimo chiefs. The religious powers are equally distributed over the chiefs of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. The nomination of a *paraʔare* or priest is determined by a kind of divination called *paiwata*. The military powers fall in hands of the commoners. The office of the priest of the headhunting ritual (*paraʔare na ara*) is held hereditary by the *tsivulaŋaŋ* household of commoner. The tribal chiefs and their offices are listed as follows:

A. Political and economic chiefs:

a) *avusamaŋ* (big chief)·····*ɾwaniaw*
malwtsivtsik (consanguineous chiefs)·····*tsalɯŋi*, *tfalas* (south), *tfalas* (north)
naitsɯ amumax (affinal chiefs)·····*lusiguaŋ*, *atsinaŋaŋ*, *alifulaŋ*, *taraʔatea*, *gumul*, *matsiliat*, *voto*, *tfaluŋaŋiu*.

b) *pinairaratsɔ* (representatives of the big chief of other villages)·····*tfalas* (north) a representative of the *tsulivuaŋ*, the big chief of Kumanao village.
tavalaŋ a representative of the *haɾaŋiraŋ*, the big chief of Kulalus village.

c) *utsiputsipoŋ* (vassals of the chiefs)·····*ɾwaniaw*, *tsapalai*, *tavalaŋ*, *maŋoŋ*.

It is not necessary, however, that a young Chinwan man kill someone to be able to marry; he may buy his wife by paying copper wire, flannel, etc.

11: Haguenauer--34 [2] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583, 584 Atayal

A Tayal marriage is arranged in this way: the girl is demanded by the man's family through an intermediary, who is usually the village chief. If she accepts, the man's family sends the girl's family some gifts, which are intended to serve as compensation to the parents for losing one member of the household. The father of the bride-to-be is anxious that these should be as valuable and as numerous as possible.

16: Müller--230 [4] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583, 584

Marriage is based on certain definite ceremonies which vary with each tribe. Among the Ataiyal and the Tso'o there are traces of the former custom of marriage by capture. Among the Ataiyal and in some of the Vonum tribes, the marriage ceremony consists of a contest between the bridegroom and a supposed rival. Among other tribes of the Vonum group marriage is based on an exchange (wife stealing), and among the Tsarisen, Paiwan, Pyuma, and Amis tribes the marriage ceremony consists of an exchange of presents.

20: Alvarez--257 [4] (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 181, 884, 583, 721

"All the savages are extremely warlike, bold and fanatic of unbounded freedom. They were always disposed to take up arms in defence of their liberty. The bride price is a head of an enemy (head hunters), which at the same time is a proof that the youth has become man. When he has brought home the head of his first slain enemy, the young man thereafter is regarded as adult."

21: Asai--2 [6] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583, 584

"All tribes have the custom of paying a 'bride price' for a wife. This consists of gifts, cooking pans, clothing. The young man needs one or two years of courtship before the girl will accept his proposal. In the Ami (Yami?) there is a kind of test marriage. The young man makes a visit every night to the girl's house and sleeps with her over a period of one or two years. Marriage is on the basis of free choice."

21: Asai--6 [2] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583

"Bride-price is paid even in the matriarchal tribes. Among the Ami the amount is very small, but the bridegroom brings something to the bride."

22: Wiedfeldt--20 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583, 582 Atayal

Generally the young man takes his bride, who is usually a few years older than himself, home to his clan. The bride's family thus loses a worker, and is compensated therefore by the bridegroom or his family to the extent of 25 to 30 rokoschkahas. [MC: ornamented clothing used as money].

22: Wiedfeldt--20 [5] F-5 (1913) 1914 Fôrmosan Aborigines
116, 591, 583 Atayal

Sometimes, if the bridegroom can not get together the price of the bride, or if the girl is the only living child of her parents, the bridegroom enters the family of the bride, and works out the price of the bride, so to speak, in two years. During this time, he and his wife live in the small adjoining hut.

24: Anonymous--91 [4] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583, 591, 842

The natives regard the birth of a daughter as a fortunate event, for a boy will leave the house sooner or later to live with his wife's parents, while the daughter will bring home a son-in-law. When a girl desires to marry she goes into the community house (kung-chich). Her suitor seranades her with a jew's harp (k'-ou-ch'-in), and she comes out of the house to unite with him. If he is agreeable to her, she informs her parents, a drinking bout is held to which the neighbors are invited, and this concludes the ceremony.

25: Plaut--61 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 273, 583, 787

The Vonum still observe the practice of kidnapping the bride. The young man goes to her house with a large group of his friends, he has a mock war with her relatives, then seizes her and carries her off to his house. After she has lived with him for several days, the relatives on both sides gather and celebrate the wedding with drinking and singing. During the feast the so-called Shui-sha-lien-hua-Vonum stage a mock battle, and it is considered a lucky omen for the marriage if blood flows. The Vonum also have exchange marriage, for a young man may wed the sister of his friend, and give him his own sister as a wife.

25: Plaut--61 [2] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 273, 583 Tsou

Among the Tsoo a young man carves a hair pin of stag antlers, and then sends it to the girl he is courting. If she accepts the gift, she is engaged. The marriage consists in a kidnapping, which the groom accomplishes with the aid of his friends. Custom decrees that after the girl has spent one night with the groom, she must slip away and return to her parents; then after three days he comes in a ceremonious fashion to get her. The end of the festival is a drinking party.

25: Plaut--61 [3] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583, 586, 591 Tsalisen

The Tsarisen have a match-maker. If a young man decides that he wants to marry, he gets the consent of his parents and then arranges with a match-maker to woo the girl. If her parents agree to the wedding, the two families exchange a gift of wine, and that amounts to the conclusion of the contract. The marriage takes place about a month later, and at that time the young couple has to drink wine together. The wife lives in the house of her parents until her first child is born, and then she moves to her husband's home. If there is no child after a year and a day, the husband stays away from the home of his parents-in-law, and that amounts to a divorce.

25: Plaut--61 [4] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583, 591

When a young man of the Spayowan tribe wants to marry a girl, he carries a bundle of kindling and a vessel full of water in front of her house. If the family takes them inside the dwelling, it means that they look with favor upon the match. The youth moves to their house, helps them with the work for a year and then he can take the girl home and celebrate the wedding. At this time he has to give a present to the girl's relatives, and it consists of wine and betel nuts.

25: Plaut--61 [5] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583 Puyuma

In the Puyuma tribe the young man carries a bundle of kindling to the home of his future wife when he is wooing her.

25: Plaut--62 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583 Amis

The Amis act in a more ceremonious fashion. The suitor makes 20 bundles of faggots between 6 and 7 feet long out of the twigs of a bush, which is called Wahass. He carries four of them to the bride's house on the first day, and one a day from then on; then the wedding is held.

25; Plaut-- 62 [2] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 583, 836 Pepo-hoan

In recent times the Peipo seem to have adopted the custom of marriage for the groom has to give the parents-in-law a certain price for their daughter; this may be an imitation of the Chinese custom. One branch of the Peipo, the Tatso, have the custom of giving their daughters a hut of their own when they are of marriageable age; the girls may receive their lovers here.

The moral code of the natives demands that they take revenge on the enemy who robbed them of their fertile land and sent them to the barren mountains. This tradition is handed down from generation to generation, and it is believed that it is actually a good deed to obtain the head of one of the enemies of the country. (2) Their revenge

> 2. For that reason head hunting has increased during the first few years; the Japanese, without harming the natives themselves, have penetrated into their region and exploited it.

is therefore never personal. It is not a question of decapitating the man who has felled a certain camphor tree, for instance. Everyone who belongs to the enemy's party is liable for the common guilt with his head. Since it is also considered an act of courage to get the head of an enemy, this trophy is necessary to one who wants to marry. The bridegroom places the head, a bloody token of his ability to become a husband, at the feet of his bride. A second reason for this custom is a superstition which cannot be eradicated. Thus, in the north, the harvest festival in honor of the gods is celebrated by an offering consisting of several human heads.

On Formosa, headhunting takes the place of a procession held to implore the deity for rain or sun. Finally, headhunting also takes the place of a trial by ordeal. If a

case cannot be decided, [611] the chief of a tribe, the guardian of the law, proclaims that he who is the first to bring back the head of an enemy, is in the right.

34: Del Re--27-28 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116 583 Yami

"Unlike what is [28] the case in other Formosan tribes, the prospective bridegroom does not have recourse to his female relatives as go-betweens, nor does he need to present his bride with a rich dowry in the shape of petticoats, amulets or other ornaments, the gift of a few blue beads being considered sufficient. (8)"

8 cpr. VF, Pt. I, p. 7 for an interesting description of the nature of the dowry.

37: Steere--314 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 583, 241, 533, 784, 609 Chin-hoan

"The Kale-whan, in times of scarcity, frequently sell their daughters to the Chinese and Pepo-whans, who take them as supplementary wives and make them useful as interpreters in thus bartering with the savages. While we were among the Kale-whan the chief offered to sell us three girls of the tribe at twenty dollars each, or its equivalent, in barter on fee simple. The poor girls were dressed up in all the finery the tribe possessed, one of them having a beautiful stem of wild red lilies in her hair, and were kept singing nearly all night before our door. They are a very musical people, and at night a large number collected in the house of the chief and the women would sing a monotonous but musical chant apparently as long as they could hold their breath, and then the men would answer in the same strain, winding up every time with a loud inspiration. We went among them during their seed time, and there seemed to be some taboo connected with it that forbade them entering their houses, and we found them all sitting around outside with closed doors, or at least with the slabs of slate that served for doors in their places. About midnight the taboo passed off enough so that they entered their houses, but there was still something that forbade them trading with us or assisting us, they even refusing at first to give us fire. Whenever one of the tribe, led by the display of cloth, scissors, etc., that we had with us, was tempted to trade us a pipe or an ornamented knife-scabbard, some one would pronounce the fatal word parici, and the trade was immediately dropped. There were

some rare plants and land shells in the ravines which I wished to collect, but the savages seemed to think that it would bring some great evil upon them if they allowed me to take away any thing, and they almost compelled me by force to desist, pulling me by the arms and shouting parici in my ears. We were told that this taboo would pass off within four or five days, but we had no time to wait and so did not see them in their usual state."

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

or establish a new house if not married to an heir or heiress. There is, thus, a lineal relation between these households. One which has a further relationship with the household from which it derived is lower in rank. Their lineage rules may be summarized as follows: 613

a) A household is the nucleus of this lineage system.

b) The lineage who first established their house in the village is regarded as the grand lineage or *mamatsayiran*.

c) The house and the name of the house are succeeded too by primogeniture regardless of sex. The heir or *usam* must remain in the house and succeed to the name.

d) Each offspring other than the heir who is married to the heir of another household or establish a new household and take a new house name if married to one who is not the heir, is called the lesser lineage or *maluwtsivtzik*.

e) The rule of succession of a lesser lineage is similar to that of a grand lineage. The son of a lesser lineage is degraded to become commoner or *tala'alalak*.

f) Offspring of a vassal household other than the heir are degraded as commoners.

g) If the household has no heir, it is succeeded by the second son or daughter, even he or she is married out. This second son or daughter who has established a lesser lineage of his own, will give his own lineage up, and return to his prime house to succeed to the lineage. If a lesser lineage has no heir, it may be succeeded to by members from the grand lineage. The vassal will take care of the grand lineage when the heir to succeed the lineage is not yet decided.

B. Marriage rules

a) Residence 582 428 611

1. The heir of a household must remain in the house, and have his spouse come to live with him.

2. Family members other than the heir may marry a heir of another household and goes to his spouse's house.

3. When both the husband and the wife are no heir or heiress, they will establish a new house and have a neolocal residence.

4. If a heir marries with a heiress, this new couple will succeed to both households.

b) Class

1. One who marries one of his own rank is called *matsavay*. Their offsprings belong to the same rank. 582

2. One who marries one of a higher rank is called *alupua*. He himself and his offsprings will have a higher rank too. 565

3. One who marries one of a lower rank is called *alupoja*. He and his offsprings will have a lower rank too. 556

The Paiwan practise endogamy but not in a strict sense. It may be estimated by the quantity of the bride price. A certain quantity of bride price is set for a certain 582 565 583

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

582
565 class. A man of the lower class must pay as much as or more than that of a upper
556 class member if he wants to marry one above himself. The lower class member does
not marry one above him because he can not afford to do so.

583 C. Incest prohibition

601 The kindred group of the Paiwan is bilateral. The present writer has assigned it
835 as occasional bi-sexual lineage. No emphasis upon either the paternal or the maternal consanguinities is made. No distinction between lineal and collateral is made in addressed terms, but it is made in indirect and collective terms. Those who have the same parents are called *maluvluŋuluŋa*, those who have the same grand parents, *malusiatsətsəl*, those have the same grand-grand parents, *malusiatsalaitaita*, and those have the same grand-grand-grand parents, *malusiapatsətsəv*. *malusiatsəlsəl* are prohibited to marry. *malusiatsalaitsata* are also called *naŋaʾaŋa putsəl*, they are allowed to marry. *malusiapatsetsev* are also called *naŋaʾaŋa lavatsə putsəl*, they are the most prefered mates. Relative beyond the *malusiapatsətsəv* are called *aolav*. *aolav* are allowed to marry with each other, but they are not as preferable as the *malusiapatsətsəv*, and even the *malusiatsalaitaita*. It is noteworthy that these marriage prohibitions are not to supplement the rule of exogamy but serve as the limitations of the rule of endogamy.

TRIBAL CHIEFTAINSHIP

643 The tribal chieftainship of Chala'abus village differs with the dual chieftainship of the North-Paiwan, and may be regarded as a kind of mutual independence of the three powers: political, religious, and military. The political and economic powers are in the hands of the Chimo chiefs. The religious powers are equally distributed over the chiefs of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. The nomination of a *paraʾare* or priest is determined by a kind of divination called *paiwata*. The military powers fall in hands of the commoners. The office of the priest of the headhunting ritual (*paraʾare na ara*) is held hereditary by the *tsivulaŋaŋ* household of commoner. The tribal chiefs and their offices are listed as follows:

A. Political and economic chiefs:

a) *avusamaŋ* (big chief)·····*ruvaniau*
maluvtsivtsik (consanguineous chiefs)·····*tsaluŋi*, *tʃalas* (south), *tʃalas* (north)
naitsu anumax (affinal chiefs)·····*lusiguaŋ*, *atsinajaŋ*, *alijulaŋ*, *taraʾatea*, *gumul*, *matsiliat*, *voto*, *tʃalusaŋiu*.

b) *pinairaratsə* (representatives of the big chief of other·····
villages)·····*tʃalas* (north) a representative of the *tsulivuaŋ*, the big chief of Kunanao village.
tavalaŋ a representative of the *haraŋiraŋ*, the big chief of Kulalus village.

c) *utsiputsipoŋ* (vassals of the chiefs)·····*ruvaniau*, *tsapalai*, *tavalaŋ*, *suajoŋ*,

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

565 are only allowed to be worn by chiefs; and embroidered *lionpao* (long clothe), *koŋ na*
291 *kinimaʔaŋ* (long skirt) and *kasuja tsino at səvanaŋ* (trousers) by chiefess.
[301] Ornaments, especially *lailai* (feather ornaments), *patal na paŋaŋiliŋ* (hat-ornament made of leopard's teeth), *taʔata* (shoulder ornament made of a kind of shell), *tsalaral* (silver shoulder ornament), *aliatpula* (glass bead necklace) are only allowed to be used by nobles.

E. Right to perform ceremonies

565 a) Felicitation on having an elder offspring is only performed by the nobles. A
554 gun and some iron ware must be sent to the maternal relatives on this occasion. This is called *ləmiçi*.

565 b) A bride price is called *çiniliçi*. According to the social status, it is divided into
three classes: *mamatsaŋiraŋ*, *maluntsivtsik* and *talaʔalalak*. *mamatsaŋiran* consists of
583 a piece of cultivated land (*atunaŋaŋ*) a household of serf (*wadis*), five kinds of iron articles; *maluvtsivtsik* only two or three kinds of iron article; and *talaʔalalak* only two or three iron articles. The marriage ceremony also differs between nobles and commoners.

764 c) Funeral rites: At the death of a chief, the whole village wears mourning
565 dresses for five days, *maluvtsivtsik* and *utsiputsipoŋ* a month. At the death of a *matuvtsivtsik*, his relatives and *utsiputsipoŋ* wear mourning dresses for a month, and his *unutel* five days. At the death of a commoner, his relatives wear weeds for a month.

F. Privilege from criminal trial.

565 a) A commoner will be fined a penalty of a pig, a bottle of wine, several iron
[687] articles by his lese-majesty (*napanuŋatsə*) to a chief. A noble commits no lese-majesty.

[554] b) If a commoner's house is carved, his body tattooed, and his clothes decorated, he is regarded as having committes a crime of arrogation (*napatsəra*). He will be fined a penalty of the same as that of a lese-majesty.

[685] c) The nobles commit no crime of robbery (*tsəmav*).

[682] d) A murderer must pay the equivalence of the price of the murdered which differs according to one's social status. If a commoner murdered a noble, all properties of his own as well as his brothers will be confiscated, and he himself will be exiled from the village.

[684] e) The nobles commit no crime of adultery, but a noble may ask penalty from one who commits adulltery with his or her spouse. A commoner who ravishes a chiefess will be heavily punished and exiled from the village.

11: Haguenauer--34 [2] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583, 584 Atayal

A Tayal marriage is arranged in this way: the girl is demanded by the man's family through an intermediary, who is usually the village chief. If she accepts, the man's family sends the girl's family some gifts, which are intended to serve as compensation to the parents for losing one member of the household. The father of the bride-to-be is anxious that these should be as valuable and as numerous as possible.

14: Tamai--96 [24] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 556, 584, 585, 836 Chin-hoan

When a Mota has found a girl he wants to marry and she is willing to marry him, he sleeps with her immediately. The girl then tells her parents and the boy sends them presents through his relatives or friends; the presents consist of cows, antlers, the hide of stags, or other valuable objects. He either sends someone to announce the forthcoming marriage to the girl's parents or does it himself. He invites his relatives, friends, and acquaintances to the wedding, which is celebrated as sumptiously as possible; rich families celebrate a wedding for several days, poor families usually only for one day.

14: Tamai--97 [12] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 534, 584 Chin-hoan

The flute is the only musical instrument of the Tschinwans. It plays an important role in courtship.

16: Müller--230 [4] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583, 584

Marriage is based on certain definite ceremonies which vary with each tribe. Among the Ataiyal and the Tso'o there are traces of the former custom of marriage by capture. Among the Ataiyal and in some of the Vonum tribes, the marriage ceremony consists of a contest between the bridegroom and a supposed rival. Among other tribes of the Vonum group marriage is based on an exchange (wife stealing), and among the Tsarisen, Paiwan, Pyuma, and Amis tribes the marriage ceremony consists of an exchange of presents.

19: Guérin and Bernard--560 [2]- G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 584

The savage boy [VMM: wishing to marry] offers the girl's father some gifts, which consist of a pan without a handle, a knife, a jar and money cloths. If he is too poor, he may give one of his brothers instead. The father of the girl gives his consent or refuses it; in the first case, the period of the engagement is set at once, and it varies between a month and a year. If there is only one daughter, the parents delay the moment of separation as long as possible.

19: Guérin and Bernard--560 [4] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 584

It may be that a savage father is too ambitious, and that he will refuse the first suitor; then the daughter resigns herself to wait for someone who has more money. As time passes her beauty fades, and she usually gets a poor husband.

19: Guérin and Bernard--560-561 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 584, 585

All marriages among the savages are arranged according to the wish of the young people unless the parents refuse permission. In this case the couple may go off to hide in the mountains. Then the chief of the hamlet and the friends of the family intervene to obtain forgiveness and the recall of the fugitives. The difficulties are smoothed away, [561] and then it only remains for the tattooer to do her duty. In these conditions it costs the guilty woman ten times the price which is charged a girl before her marriage.

21: Asai--2 [6] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583, 584

"All tribes have the custom of paying a 'bride price' for a wife. This consists of gifts, cooking pans, clothing. The young man needs one or two years of courtship before the girl will accept his proposal. In the Ami (Yami?) there is a kind of test marriage. The young man makes a visit every night to the girl's house and sleeps with her over a period of one or two years. Marriage is on the basis of free choice."

22: Wiedfeldt--20 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 584, 161, 177 Atayal

In contrast to the Japanese and other Oriental peoples, marriage brokers are unknown among the Atayals. The young people become acquainted freely. The young man tries to win the favor of his girl by distinguishing himself in the skull hunt, as is shown by the Atayal love songs translated by Florenz. The Atayal belles are said to have become less exigent in this respect lately, and to be satisfied with the simple line of tattooing, as a result of the excess number of women after the homicidal fights with the Japanese. The lover does his own courting, or sends his father to the girl's father to set the price of the bride.

22: Wiedfeldt--20 [6] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 584 Atayal

Engagements are unknown, as a rule. If a young man wants to assure himself of his sweetheart, he pays a part of the price of the bride. As long as this sum is not returned, which, of course, might happen any time, the girl is bound, while a suitor who changes his mind loses his payment.

22: Wiedfeldt--21 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 584, 241, 585, 177 Atayal

If the son of a family wishes to marry, the family plants a larger piece of land with millet. At the time of the millet harvest, when there are enough provisions on hand for a year, the marriage takes place without any religious celebration. The head of the clan in which the couple will live in the future, and the members of the clan are invited to it. First they accompany the parents of the bridegroom to the bride's hut, where her parents serve them millet wine. Then all of them go to the new hut for the wedding feast, to which each guest contributes millet or millet wine... Recently they have begun to follow the Chinese custom of slaughtering a pig or killing a hen for the marriage feast. After a few hours, generally after a round dance has been danced and sung, the guests leave the hut wishing the couple many children.

22: Wiedfeldt--43-44 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 421, 581, 584 Atayal

In the field of marriage law... [44] the Atayals clearly recognize the idea of monogamy, which is generally practised. They are acquainted with the idea of betrothal, which they accomplish by means of making a payment on the price of the bride. The betrothal may be dissolved by paying it back. Marriage itself is minutely, one might say, exhaustively regulated as to the terms under which it may be made and unmade. It is not unsuitably connected with the only form of contract that they know of, that of cash purchase. Married couples live, so to speak, with separate property rights, for each one retains the property which he or she has brought to the marriage, and ultimately takes them along to the grave. Anything that is acquired during their married life, such as provisions, belongs to both persons equally, and is left to the survivor.

34: Del Re--27 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan--Aborigines
116, 832, 584 Yami

"As might be expected, the family life of the Yami is also largely communal. When a youth wishes to court a girl, he approaches her and winks: if she winks back, generally speaking, all is well. Before being [sic] accepted him as a regular 'follower', the pair must have winked at one another several times after which the youth is allowed to speak to the girl and pinch her. The latter seems to be the acid test. If she pinches him back or slaps the youth's face it means that all is over between them. If, on the other hand, she has decided to accept him, she answers with a smile and they go together to a deserted hut or secluded spot where they stretch a mat on the ground and sit down on it facing each other. The youth then lays his hand on her breast and they tell each other ancient tales of love interspersed with poems which he usually improvises, to which she must reply with poems of her own. At a further stage they rub noses and embrace. In this way they spend many nights together without any more intimate intercourse. When the cock crows they separate, each returning to his own house. 'This preliminary stage of the courtship, which may even last several months, is called 'remembering.' During all this time the male is required to play a passive role. Indeed if he were to attempt the slightest liberty he would be at once repulsed. When the girl has finally decided to accept him as a husband, she unties his 'G-string.' "

34: Del Re--28 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan: Aborigines
116, 584 Yami

"The following passages from a short dialogue translated by Asai entitled 'Visiting a girl' (9), gives a vivid picture of how the Formosan youths conduct their courting:

9. Asai in Some Observations on the Sedik language of Formosa
(Philologia Orientalis, I, 1934, p. 69, n.)

'....Bring your Jew's harp with four reeds! We must play on it. We must visit the girl with it. This is her house, so keep quiet! ...Walk stealthily as if you were trying to escape (from an enemy). We have arrived at the girl's house. Catch her. Make her sit here! Don't let her sit there and turn (her head) sideways! Let us really sit up till morning and amuse ourselves. Go and shut the door.' "

11: Haguenauer--34 [3] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 585 Atayal

After the gifts [MC: by way of bride price] have been delivered, there is a festival in the house of the future husband. And during this feast the two families exchange a solemn marriage promise. The fiancé offers wine to all the close relatives of his wife, and the men of the two families form a real alliance. The girl's parents spend two or three days in the fiancé's house and then go home to make ready for the departure of their daughter. In certain clans the marriage vow involves an exchange of very significant gifts: the two families exchange implements of husbandry, food and tools for weaving.

11: Haguenauer--34 [4] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 585 Atayal

The Tayal husband goes to get his wife on the appointed day, and brings her back to the house which he has built. Several days after the marriage, the couple pays a visit to the wife's parents, but this is not a definite leave-taking, as it is in China. Among the Tayal the wife's family keeps the right to protect her.

14: Tamai--96 [24] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 556, 584, 585, 836 Chin-hoan

When a Mota has found a girl he wants to marry and she is willing to marry him, he sleeps with her immediately. The girl then tells her parents and the boy sends them presents through his relatives or friends; the presents consist of cows, antlers, the hide of stags, or other valuable objects. He either sends someone to announce the forthcoming marriage to the girl's parents or does it himself. He invites his relatives, friends, and acquaintances to the wedding, which is celebrated as sumptiously as possible; rich families celebrate a wedding for several days, poor families usually only for one day.

14: Tamai--96-97 J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 585, 609, 602 Chin-hoan

According to the last reports from Formosa (dated March 15th, 1896), a former member of the Japanese Diet, Tetsusáburo Hiyama from Tokyo, married the second daughter of the chieftain Shiro. Before his marriage, Mr. Hiyama sent two oxen and [97] a barrel of salt to the parents of his future bride. The parents are very pleased about their daughter's marriage to a Japanese. While other Japanese do not dare visit the villages of the Tschinwans, Mr. Hiyama may now visit any Tschinwan village with his wife and is received hospitably everywhere. This marriage seems to have been a clever move on Mr. Hiyama's part, since it gives him an opportunity to learn to know these people better.

14: Tamai--97 [4] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 527, 585, 291, 556 Chin-hoan

While the Tschinwans have no festivals which recur on fixed dates, they do have occasions for holidays:

1. A wedding.
2. A day in November when summer garments are discarded and winter clothes are put on.
3. The day on which one first puts on a new dress.

These three holidays are celebrated with a great deal of ceremony, the extent of the celebration varying with the financial position of the family.

19: Guérin and Bernard--560 [3] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 585, 591

Among the savages the wedding is held at the home of the fiancé; the bride has no share in it, and she waits at home until a noisy procession comes to get her, and then she accompanies her husband. If her father is dead, she has no brother, or just little ones, the husband and his wife live with her mother.

19: Guérin and Bernard--560-561 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 584, 585

All marriages among the savages are arranged according to the wish of the young people unless the parents refuse permission. In this case the couple may go off to hide in the mountains. Then the chief of the hamlet and the friends of the family intervene to obtain forgiveness and the recall of the fugitives. The difficulties are smoothed away, [561] and then it only remains for the tattooer to do her duty. In these conditions it costs the guilty woman ten times the price which is charged a girl before her marriage.

19: Guérin and Bernard--561 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 585

There are some clans in which the husband has his two canine teeth extracted at the time of his marriage; the bride is even more enthusiastic, and she has the adjoining incisor removed as well.

22: Wiedfeldt--21 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 584, 241, 585, 177 Atayal

If the son of a family wishes to marry, the family plants a larger piece of land with millet. At the time of the millet harvest, when there are enough provisions on hand for a year, the marriage takes place without any religious celebration. The head of the clan in which the couple will live in the future, and the members of the clan are invited to it. First they accompany the parents of the bridegroom to the bride's hut, where her parents serve them millet wine. Then all of them go to the new hut for the wedding feast, to which each guest contributes millet or millet wine... Recently they have begun to follow the Chinese custom of slaughtering a pig or killing a hen for the marriage feast. After a few hours, generally after a round dance has been danced and sung, the guests leave the hut wishing the couple many children.

25: Plaut--60-61 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 273, 585, 721 Atayal

There are a good many different marriage customs. The Atayal celebrate the wedding in the bride's house, and then the guests accompany the couple to the husband's home. The western Atayal have no ceremony other than the drinking feast; the eastern Atayal, on the other hand, have the curious custom of erecting in the open a scaffolding about twenty feet high; [61] the newly weds have to sleep on this platform the first five nights after the marriage.

Occasionally two young men woo the same girl. Then there is a race between them; they go out on a head hunting expedition, and the first one who returns home with his booty gets the bride.

34: Del Re--28-29 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 581, 585, 833 Yami

"In accordance with the parents' wishes, or because the girl wants to postpone the marriage, it sometimes happens that the union is not immediately consummated. The validity of a marriage does not appear to be affected by its actual consummation. This seems to have also been the case with other tribes since the author of Forsaken Formosa, writing obviously from direct knowledge of these Western savages in the middle of the XVIIIth [29] century, observes concerning this custom, that the savages apply in the fullest sense the dictum 'nuptias non concubitus sed consensus facit.' The essential requirement for a marriage, at least among the Yami, seems to be a proper fulfilment of the terms of the ritual courtship known as 'remembering.' "

7: Joest--61 [10] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 563, 586, 595 Chin-hoan

There is no polygamy on Formosa. A man may have only one wife at a time, but it is not difficult to obtain a divorce and the Chinwans on the whole are not a jealous people. The girls often marry Chinese, although the men of their own tribe treat them quite well.

11: Haguenauer--34-35 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 586, 627, 837 Atayal

If a Tayal wife is mistreated by her husband's family [35] she can go home to her parents. But this is a very serious act, for it entails not only a divorce, but a rupture between the two families. It is a case of vendetta, and the only way of avoiding a reprisal on the part of the wife's family is by paying an indemnity. Usually an unhappy wife just asks a third person to intervene, it may be the village chief, or some one else. If the husband is at fault, he is scolded. If the husband is guilty of adultery, the wife has the right to leave the house, and the husband cannot ask her family to return the sum that he paid in order to marry her. If the wife is guilty, her spouse has the right to repudiate her and to ask for the restoration of this sum. When the divorce proceedings are over, each family must kill a pig and distribute the pieces among the other families in the village. A Tayal woman who has been repudiated never goes back to her family; she has to marry again or live alone.

16: Müller--230 [5] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 586

Among the Formosan aborigines marriage is for life, but divorce is possible if it meets with the approval of the tribe.

20: Alvarez--258 [2]
116, 577, 581, 586, 837

(no date) 1927

Formosan Aborigines

"They are not strict moralists, though libertinage is severely punished in accordance with the laws established for it. Matrimony seems to be regarded as a transcendental act in the life of man. Among the Tsalisen, however, the man leaves the hut of his wife in case she has failed to become mother. By this, the marriage is regarded as dissolved, and both are free and can marry again."

22: Wiedfeldt--21 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 586 Atayal

"The main purpose of marriage is the begetting and rearing of children." This precept...holds good among the Atayals, for whose economic existence this is also necessary. Childless marriages are therefore immediately dissolved. Under other circumstances also, marriages can be dissolved at any time and without presenting definite grounds. The party who desires the marriage to be dissolved, however, must leave the other party as well off as it was before the marriage. If the man desires the separation, the woman simply goes back home with her children. If the woman desires the separation, her family must pay back to the man the price that he had paid for her, so that he can get another woman to manage his household. In the case of marriages in which the man worked out the price of the woman, the situation is reversed. If the man desires the separation, he has to pay a sum equivalent to the price of the bride. If the woman desires the separation, the man is obliged to go. Children under three years of age always stay with the mother. Older children, who are always in great demand and can be sold at any time for adoption, never stay with the party who wishes to dissolve the marriage, but with the other party. If children and the rearing of them constituted an economic burden, it would not be so easy to dissolve marriages.

22: Wiedfeldt--25 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 586 Atayal

This partnership of two individuals for living and for economic purposes which we find in the Atayal family can be dissolved by divorce or by the death of one partner.

22: Wiedfeldt--35-36 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 464, 586, 597 Atayal

Labor, however, is harder to get [MC: than land], and hence female labor, which the man generally has to provide, has a corresponding market value of from 25 to 30 ro-kosch-kaha [MC: ornamented clothing used as money]. This same value [36] serves as the basis of compensation when a marriage is dissolved. If elderly parents have no more unmarried children to help out in their household, they buy young people as laborers. If they have no means, the clan helps to make up the price. In every tribe, 60 to 70 children are sold in this way annually.

22: Wiedfeldt--36 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 586, 858, 597, 768 Atayal

They [MC: children]are offered for sale when marriages are dissolved, on the occasion of the death of one of the parents, when the remaining partner remarries, in which cases children are often a burden or become unnecessary, and thus are put up for sale. A brother or sister may also be sold when a son of the family is to be married, in order to raise the price of the bride for him. This does not suffice, however, to fill the demand for labor. I myself have seen an old Schimptonoff come to the Japanese police commissioner leading a Chinese boy by the hand, and ask for permission to buy him from his parents, which he was forbidden to do, according to Japanese regulations. The price for a ten-year old boy, --younger children are not bought as a rule, --amounts to from 10 to 13 rokosch-kaha. [MC: ornamented sleeveless jacket used as money] For a ten-year old girl, who can not weave yet, the price is 7 to 10. If the girl knows how to weave, she is worth the same amount as the boy.

25: Plaut--60 [2] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 582, 586, 589, 593

Usually young people marry at a very early age. The parents never force their children to marry but allow them to follow their own inclinations in the matter. Certain marriage formalities are observed among all the tribes. We have already stated that marriage is monogamous, that both husband and wife enjoy equal rights, and that blood relations are not permitted to marry. All witnesses agree that the husband and wife are devoted to each other, and that the wife is never regarded as a slave or beast of burden... Accordingly divorces are the exception, and adultery seldom occurs. Curiously enough, the Tsarisen consider that failure to have children is cause for divorce. Childless widows are allowed to marry again, but if a widow has a child, she cannot marry.

25: Plaut--61 [3] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583, 586, 591 Tsalisen

The Tsarisen have a match-maker. If a young man decides that he wants to marry, he gets the consent of his parents and then arranges with a match-maker to woo the girl. If her parents agree to the wedding, the two families exchange a gift of wine, and that amounts to the conclusion of the contract. The marriage takes place about a month later, and at that time the young couple has to drink wine together. The wife lives in the house of her parents until her first child is born, and then she moves to her husband's home. If there is no child after a year and a day, the husband stays away from the home of his parents-in-law, and that amounts to a divorce.

34: Del Re--29-30 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 586, 595, 562, 831, 183 Yami

"The Yami are strictly monogamous in so far as they may only have one wife at a time. Divorce, however, is easy and merely determined by the wish of the party concerned, nor does it carry any stigma for the woman who, in this respect, has equal rights with the man. There are among the islanders women who have been divorced as [30] many as fifteen times. Contrary to what might be thought, this does not lead to laxity of morals. The level of morality in this tribe is very high notwithstanding, or perhaps because of, the conspicuous absence of any sense of moral or social guilt attached to sexual intercourse."

16: Müller--230 [6] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 587

It rarely happens among the Formosan aborigines that one party remarries after the death of the other.

22: Wiedfeldt--24 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 768, 587 Atayal

On the following day [MC: after a death and burial in an Atayal family], a man who has lost his wife or a child begins to build a new hut. After three months he moves into it and if he is a widower, he marries again. If the man dies, the widow also marries after three months, when her new husband had finished the hut. In this case, the widow brings the man into her clan. The old hut is regarded as a burial chamber. It is left untouched, and it soon falls apart.

22: Wiedfeldt--49 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 562, 589, 593 Atayal

Since children are not counted, the Atayal family consists of two members, whose activities complement each other and are equally necessary to their existence. Hence the two have, so to speak, equal rights. In spite of this favorable position of the woman, it is the man who is the head of the family. He decides where they are to live; he pays any fines, or the price of a bride for his son; he alone has the right to participate in the activities of the higher social institutions, and he alone is obligated to do so. The deduction drawn by many advocates of women's rights, that equal economic services lead to equal political rights, meets an exception in the forests of Formosa. There is no such thing as an Atayal living alone, for even widowhood is only a transitory state, or was only a transitory state, until the recent wars brought about a shortage of men. Previously, all the Atayals were members of a family, without exception.

25: Plaut--60 [2] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 582, 586, 589, 593

Usually young people marry at a very early age. The parents never force their children to marry but allow them to follow their own inclinations in the matter. Certain marriage formalities are observed among all the tribes. We have already stated that marriage is monogamous, that both husband and wife enjoy equal rights, and that blood relations are not permitted to marry. All witnesses agree that the husband and wife are devoted to each other, and that the wife is never regarded as a slave or beast of burden... Accordingly divorces are the exception, and adultery seldom occurs. Curiously enough, the Tsarisen consider that failure to have children is cause for divorce. Childless widows are allowed to marry again, but if a widow has a child, she cannot marry.

11: Haguenauer--33 [4] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 591 A tayal

The occupants of a Tayal house are not very numerous; they consist of just one family, according to our meaning of the term. Occasionally the parents live with a married couple, but that is not an obligatory rule. And you do not find several related couples living together, as is the case among the Tchou.

11: Haguenauer--35 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 591 Atayal

There is another form of marriage among the Tayal in which the husband enters his wife's family, but this is only done in cases where the wife's family is short of men.

19: Guérin and Bernard--560 [3] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 585, 591

Among the savages the wedding is held at the home of the fiancé; the bride has no share in it, and she waits at home until a noisy procession comes to get her, and then she accompanies her husband. If her father is dead, she has no brother, or just little ones, the husband and his wife live with her mother.

21: Asai--2 [3] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 / Formosan Aborigines
116, 591, 592 Ami

"The Ami tribe has a matriarchal system. The female owns the property and the house and inheritance is through her. The husband comes from another house. The keys of the granary are kept by the women."

22: Wiedfeldt--15 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 562, 462, 591, 285 Atayal

The man's obligation is not only to afford protection against enemies, but also to provide shelter against the rigors of the weather. Before he is married, he builds the hut and the small adjoining hut, and prepares them, which takes about four to five months. During his married life he also builds a new hut, if the old one is destroyed by termites or storms, or is used as a place of burial and hence left deserted. He makes all the woven material, from the mats which are used as curtains to the baskets to hold provisions...

The protector, among the Atayals, also becomes an archer and hunter, as well as a fisherman.

22: Wiedfeldt--20 [5] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 591, 583 Atayal

Sometimes, if the bridegroom can not get together the price of the bride, or if the girl is the only living child of her parents, the bridegroom enters the family of the bride, and works out the price of the bride, so to speak, in two years. During this time, he and his wife live in the small adjoining hut.

22: Wiedfeldt--20 [7] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 591 Atayal

If the bridegroom and the bride are from different clans, he is permitted to choose in which of the two clans he wishes to settle. Every clan welcomes an increase in workers and fighters... As a rule, however, the bridegroom builds his hut on the land belonging to his clan.

24: Anonymous--91 [4] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583, 591, 842

The natives regard the birth of a daughter as a fortunate event, for a boy will leave the house sooner or later to live with his wife's parents, while the daughter will bring home a son-in-law. When a girl desires to marry she goes into the community house (kung-chich). Her suitor seranades her with a jew's harp (k'-ou-ch'-in), and she comes out of the house to unite with him. If he is agreeable to her, she informs her parents, a drinking bout is held to which the neighbors are invited, and this concludes the ceremony.

25: Plaut--59 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 428, 591, 594, 601, 611

The family has two forms, depending upon whether it is continued in the woman's tribe or in the man's. Among the Puyuma and the Amis it is based entirely on female descendants. Here the oldest daughter is always the heiress of the house, the other daughters receive a share of the property but the sons do not have the right to inherit anything. They are obliged to leave the house and to marry into another....The Tsarisen, on the other hand, only consider the sons as members of the family, but they frequently marry into the woman's house, too. The same thing is true of the Peipo. In one part of the tribe it is customary for the husband to enter his wife's family. Today the Atayal only recognize the man's tribe, but the fact that they only have one word (yaki) to denote the terms ancestor and grandmother, seems to indicate that in former times they observed matrilineal succession too, and they have the custom that the mother is the only one entitled to name the newborn child.

In other tribes it is impossible to determine whether women ever played a similar role or not. Among the Tsoo, for example, the oldest son succeeds his father as master of the house, and the younger ones do not marry into other houses but found separate establishments with a part of their inheritance. The same thing is true among the Bonum. In the Spayowan tribe, the male line seems to have been the dominant one for centuries, for there is just one word, wonu, to designate the grandfather and the grandson.

25: Plaut--61 [3] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583, 586, 591 Tsalisen

The Tsarisen have a match-maker. If a young man decides that he wants to marry, he gets the consent of his parents and then arranges with a match-maker to woo the girl. If her parents agree to the wedding, the two families exchange a gift of wine, and that amounts to the conclusion of the contract. The marriage takes place about a month later, and at that time the young couple has to drink wine together. The wife lives in the house of her parents until her first child is born, and then she moves to her husband's home. If there is no child after a year and a day, the husband stays away from the home of his parents-in-law, and that amounts to a divorce.

25: Plaut--61 [4] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583, 591

When a young man of the Spayowan tribe wants to marry a girl, he carries a bundle of kindling and a vessel full of water in front of her house. If the family takes them inside the dwelling, it means that they look with favor upon the match. The youth moves to their house, helps them with the work for a year and then he can take the girl home and celebrate the wedding. At this time he has to give a present to the girl's relatives, and it consists of wine and betel nuts.

34: Del Re--29 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 591 Yami

"The wife works for her husband's family who, in turn, keep her. She is none the less free (as is also the man) to return home occasionally or to go and stay with friends. This is not the case in other tribes where the wife and the husband continue to reside in their own homes even after marriage, the woman being visited by her husband when he wishes to sleep with her and, even then, only by stealth and at night or, if by day, when no one else is in the house, and always provided his wife grants him permission to do so. (10)"

10. cpr. account of marriage customs etc. among Western tribes in VF, Pt. I, p. 8-10. This is of special interest as referring to a period in their social evolution anterior to their partial conversion to Christianity by Dutch missionaries in the South and Spanish Catholic fathers in the North, which temporarily affected their gradual sinicization. Among the former was the famous Georgius Candidius, who arrived in Formosa in 1627.

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955

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his parents, or if the daughter-in-law does not live harmoniously and affably with her parent-in-laws, the newly married couple may move out and live by themselves. In some cases, the parents may choose to live with their eldest or second son and not necessarily with the youngest, though this may be an exception. Therefore *βaβuʔan* is a kind of limited extended family or "compromise family".

If a family has only a daughter and no son, or though it has a son who is disliked by the parents, the daughter may remain in her parents's family and the residential system will be matrilocal, that is, her husband will come to live with her and her parents.

After the deaths of the parents, the elder brother has to take up the responsibility for taking care of his unmarried younger siblings, so they may come to live with their elder brother. A widowed sister, widowed sister-in-law, parentless nephew or niece may also depend upon the *otox βaβuʔan*. Divorce and remarriage are frequent. The family with remarried spouse may have half-siblings.

2. *saliʔ*

saliʔ is a kin group larger than a *βaβuʔan*. *saliʔ* originally also means "family". In *tapilas*, *saliʔ* refers to two kinds of organization: in its narrow sense, *saliʔ* means "family", in its broader sense, "consanguinity".

(1) *saliʔ* in its narrow sense: A man, as stated above, usually establishes a new *βaβuʔan* after he is married. But his new house is always erected close to or sometimes adjacent to his parents'. Thus it may be regarded as an extension of the parents' house. This kind of kin group, which includes par ts' and their offsprings' households, is called *otox* or *qotox saliʔ*. It is clear then that a *saliʔ*, though it resembles a family, is not always merely one "family", it may be defined as "kindred", as the term has been employed by W. H. R. Rivers.

(2) *saliʔ* in its broader sense: On paternal side, *saliʔ* consists of lineal ascendants up to third generation and collaterals including tertiary relatives. In other words, it is a group of agnates who share a common grand-grand-father, this group thus includes the brothers and sisters of the grand-father and their offsprings. The Atayal term for this group of kinsmen is *otox* or *qotox jaβa naqo jotas ta*, which literally means "of the same grandfather of father". On maternal side, *saliʔ* consists of mother's father, mother's brother, and one's maternal cousins. In other words, it is a group of maternal agnates who share a common mother's father, this group thus includes mother's brothers, sisters, and their offsprings. The Atayal term for this group is *otox* or *qotox jaβa naqo jaja miam*, which literally means "of the same mother's father". Members of the same *saliʔ* are cognates to each other, so *saliʔ* may be translated as "consanguinities". Marriage is prohibited between members of the same generation within the *saliʔ*. Therefore a *saliʔ* is also a patrilineal bilateral type exogamous group.

3. *cəlo* and *caca*

A consanguineous group larger than a *saliʔ* is called a *cəlo* or *caca*. *cəlo* means

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
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different localities, so that their cultures, though similar, are not uniform. The native tribes also differ considerably in the degree to which they have been acculturated and in the type of culture change that has taken place.

The Ami

The Ami live in the Taitung Rift Valley, which runs in approximately a north-south direction for 150 kilometres along the east coast of Formosa. Some Ami live on the east coast proper. The Ami tribe is the largest on Formosa. They are divided into five groups by dialect and cultural differences. The number of households and population of each group, based on the census of 1937, are as follows:

Group	No. of households	Population
Pei-nan	859	9546
Heng-ch'un	461	4403
Hai-an	1159	11760
Hsiu-ku-luan	2008	15861
Nan-shih	1713	8436
Total	6200	50006

The chief traits of the Ami are intensive agriculture and fishing; pile dwellings; paddle-and-anvil pottery; long wooden shields; feather headdresses; clans[1]; matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence; classificatory or Malayan kinship terminology; parent-child nymic linkage; and age-grades.

Tavarong is a town of 5,000 population situated in the central part of the Taitung Rift Valley, in Hualien Hsien. It belongs to the Hsiu-ku-luan group and is regarded by the Ami themselves as the oldest settlement in the whole Ami area. About one per cent of the Tavarong townsmen are Christians; the rest hold to their native religion.

Gods, spirits, and souls

The Ami term for gods, which include also spirits and souls, is *kawas*. The Tavarong Ami believe in two kinds of *kawas*. The first kind, which may be considered natural gods, include *maratau*, *tšidar*, *borar*], and others. *maratau* is a male tutolary deity who resides in heaven. According to informant Maran-Namo?, *maratau* is the god of "politics and strength". In former days, when the Ami were at war with their neighbors, the Atayal, they prayed to *maratau* for protection[2]. *tšidar* is the female sun goddess, and *borar*] the male moon god. The sun goddess is held to be more powerful than the moon god. Maran-Namo? while explaining the designs on the houseposts of the house of the *kakita:n* (priest), stated that *tšidar* is the almighty deity and holds the supreme position over

1. Utsurikawa [1935] reported about 55 clan names for the Ami, but he gave no clan names north of the Vataan, Tavarong, and Karuran areas.
2. According to Furuno [1954:3-42], *maratau* is connected with headhunting and is the god of crops and game, as well as being the war god.

51: Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
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purified through fasting, symbolical washing of hands, and shamanistic expulsion of disease. The structure of the Ami universe is at this time stated as a hierarchy in which each rank of seniority hands down precepts to be obeyed by the next lower rank [see Figure 2]. At the top level, for among the Ami the spiritual world is continuous with the material, are the sun goddess, the moon god, and *maratau*, the tutelary deity who instructed men in the order of things on earth. With them are the *tatakusan*, the ancestral gods who are to be respected as elders and whose way of life is to be followed. Under these were the *kakita:n*, the priestly families who carried out the will of the gods in this world. The rest of the Ami were arranged by seniority into a system of age-grades, each with its chosen monitor, and each harkening to the instructions passed down from the next senior age-grade. Acting as intermediaries bstween the priests and the laity were the *saparaŋau*. leaders of proven ability selected from the ranks of the elder grades. This structure was annually affirmed symbolically in the *irisiŋ*, and it clear that it was basically gerontocratic in nature, in that the real power was in the hands of old men.

All this is of course now passing away, and element after element of the old Ami way of life is either disappearing or being reinterpreted to meet new conditions. In the realm of social organization, for instance, there is a definite drift in Tavarong and other Ami areas towards patrilineal descent and neolocality, a change fostered by Japanese and Chinese pressure. Ami religion is fast changing, and the *kakita:n* house itself is an unused, half-forgotten relic of interest primarily only to ethnographers. Shamanism for some as yet unexplaind reason has persisted; this is a field for further study.

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16: Müller--229 [7] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361, 592, 619, 643

The aborigines of Formosa are a settled people and live in communities. The Atai-yal tribe is organized on the basis of nuclear families, the Vonum, Tso'o, Pyuma, and Amis tribes on the basis of composite families. Each tribe has a chief as its head. There are some tribes and federations of tribes which have two head chiefs.

19: Guérin and Bernard--563 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines 116, 592

The head of the family has absolute authority over his household, but he soon shares this with his eldest son, who will be his successor eventually.

21: Asai--1 [3] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 592

"There are two types of family system: family unit system—that is small family system; and big family system."

21: Asai--1 [4] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 592, 596 Bunun

"The big family system is found in the Bunun tribe. There is one big house (long house) similar to Borneo in which live the extended family. This includes couples of different generations, as well as several small families of equal generation. In each long house there are several compartments for each small family. The cooking and labor are in common. Descent in these families is patrilineal."

21: Asai--2 [3] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 591, 592 Ami

"The Ami tribe has a matriarchal system. The female owns the property and the house and inheritance is through her. The husband comes from another house. The keys of the granary are kept by the women."

21: Asai--2 [4] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 592

"Generally, in the other tribes [MC: other than the Ami] we find a patriarchal system, and this principle is especially strong in the north among the Atayal and Bunun. The Paiwan and Puyuma in the south have both."

22: Wiedfeldt--17 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 592, 423 Atayal

Since every Atayal family can count on only the labor which its own members supply, and the produce of the fields must furnish them their food, the families have tracts of land which are pretty much the same size. Out of a total of twenty families, only two particularly large families, between which a wedding was about to take place, had 1/5 more land than the usual area of 60 to 70 are. [MC: an are 0.02471 acre]

22: Wiedfeldt--34-35 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 462, 592 Atayal

Men and women never work together. Each has his or her special occupation in the household... They do not have the division of labor which is common among us today, according to which the man is active outside the house as a producer, and inside the house as a consumer, while the woman occupies herself only with the affairs of the household, but is not engaged in productive economic activity for the benefit of the household. Among the Atayals both parties have their special activities in the household, without which neither the household nor their entire existence would be possible. The man provides protection against the enemy and the weather; he makes the land fit for cultivation, makes weapons and wicker-work. [35] The woman plants and harvests, spins, and weaves the clothes, prepares food and drink. The Atayal household is thus a productive community based on the division of labor...

22: Wiedfeldt--35 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 592, 425 Atayal

The Atayal household subsists on the complementary labors of man and woman on a piece of arable land of about 70 are. [MC: one are. = 0.2471 acre or 100 square meters] There is no lack of land for the family. Therefore it has no market value for them, but it does have one for the clan, as is shown by the prices which the clan pays, when it can get a piece of land under favorable circumstances, which is rarely.

22: Wiedfeldt--39-40 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 43, 464, 592 Atayal

In spite of lack of good management, one may speak of an integrated Atayal economy, which, for all its crudity, corresponds to the economic ideal of complete self-sufficiency ...Atayal economy has a certain technical equipment, and recognizes real economic labor. It has values and prices; it has currency; and it has marketable wares for which there is supply and demand. [40] It consists of many uniform and individual domestic economies, which are based on the complementary labors of the men and women of the family, and in which a lack of labor is met by a money payment to the household. There is no such thing as supporting a family by labor brought in from outside.

22: Wiedfeldt--40 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 45, 433, 463, 592 Atayal

Atayal economy has developed only one special profession, for the exercise of which there is always a market and which is paid in wages. With this one exception, the families provide for all of their needs themselves, on their own fields, which are theirs as long as they use them. The size of the fields is just large enough to support the family and to keep the family supply of labor occupied. Everything that has to do with profits is lacking, such as the production and sale of surpluses, competition, ground-rent, interest, and employers' profits, as well as all the more important phases and ramifications of economy, from communications to capital and credit.

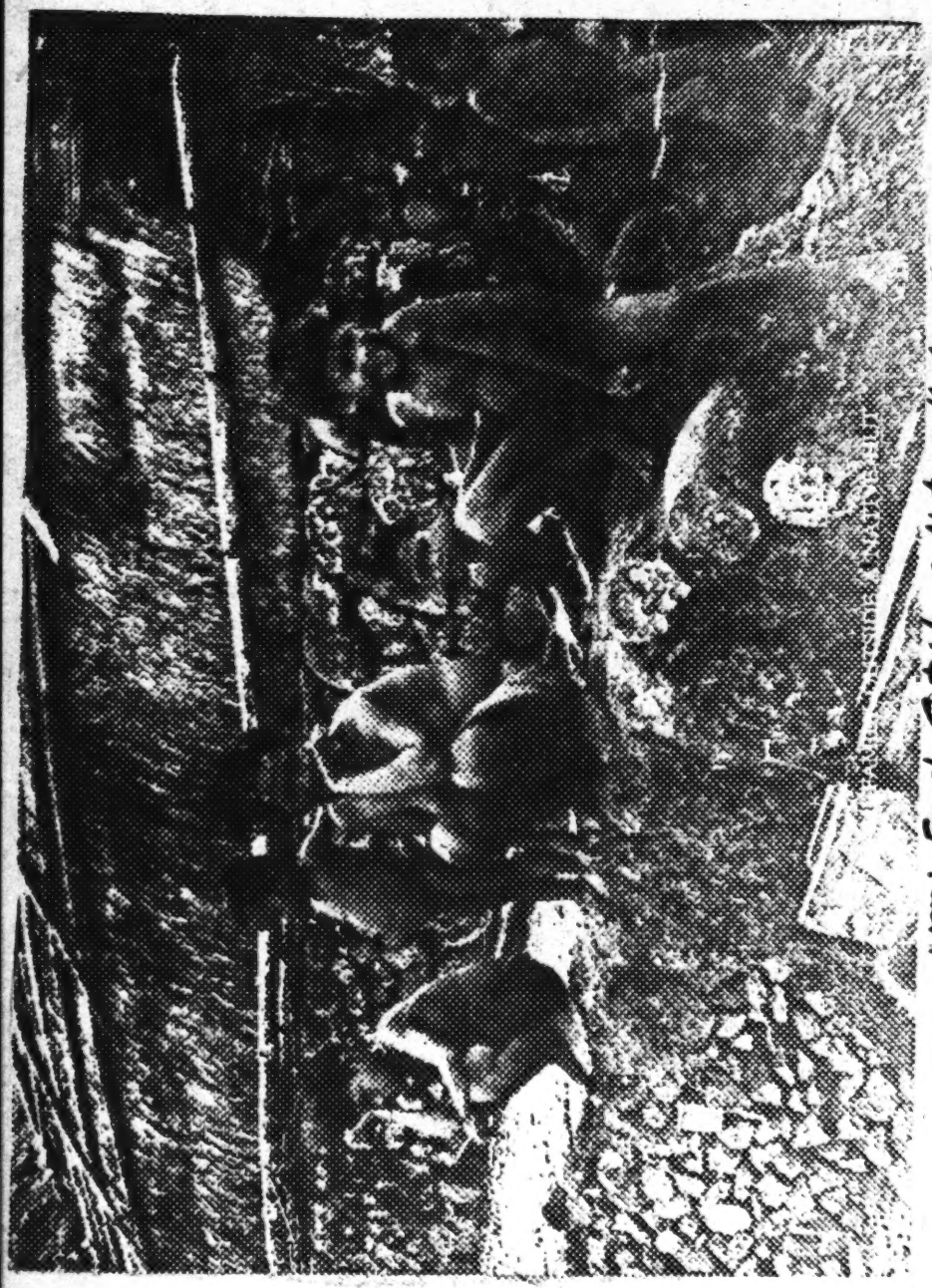
22: Wiedfeldt--46-47 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 464, 476, 592 Atayal

Measured by the standards of our present conditions, the Atayals lack the social relationship between employer and labor which has come into being by means of the labor contract, and by means of which the worker places his labor at the disposal of the employer in return for compensation. The Atayals know nothing about bringing outside labor in to help in their own households, nor do they understand the principle of mutual aid between neighbors... They only know how to manage with the labor supplied by the members of their own families and they increase the membership of the family if the need arises. The association of several clans for the purpose of hunting or fishing, and the [47] equal division of the booty among all can not be regarded as the beginning of the social institution of joint production, for there is no integration of labor. It may rather be regarded as a kind of economic union, and considered from this point of view, it would emphasize the difference between the poverty of Atayal life and the great number of economic organizations and unions that characterize our times.

31: Hofmann--623 [3] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 609, 301, 592, 837 Tsou

Members of the Tsou tribe are monogamous; adultery on the part of the woman does not occur at all. The women are very shy; they do not look strangers in the face, and they go about with their eyes downcast. Some of them wear garments made of cloth from China, others weave their own garments on primitive looms. I saw few women who were wearing ornaments; the men here are far more vain than the women.

34:Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami



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Yami Family Outside a Native Hut

37: Steere--308 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 342, 352, 592 Chin-hoan

"They are good hunters, and I saw several bear's skulls among them, and many of deer and wild boar. They generally hunt in bands, and surround their game. Their houses are made by digging a little below the surface of the ground, and then building up heavy stone walls to a height of two or three feet, in which are planted upright posts, and limbs and trunks of trees are interwoven among these to the proper height, and then all is covered with grass. There are no windows, the low door serving for the entrance of light, and an outlet for smoke. One house generally serves for two families, a fire being built at each end, and a couple of low banks of bamboo that serve for seats and beds."

37: Steere--310 [3] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 592, 311, 427 Chin-hoan

"Their houses are large, grass-covered barracks, made of bamboos and wattles, daubed with mud. The roof is supported by a large central post, and to this are hung the firelocks, bows and arrows, etc., that belong to the four or five families that occupy the house in common. The locality of each family is shown by the fire burning on the ground, and by the low bank of bamboo that serves for a seat and bed. The lands about the lake are rich and easily irrigated, and well fitted for rice; but the Tsui-whan have allowed the Chinese to enter, and these, taking advantage of the savage love for strong drink and feasting, are fast gaining possession of all the lands, and the poor Tsui-whan are becoming serfs of the crafty Chinese."

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
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məqalaqa Village." On the slope north of Ho-ti Village there is a village of 10 households, 62 persons, which is generally referred to as *saβulok* or *tsaβulok*. According to Y. Sayama, *saβulok* was originally one of the "eight villages of the Wen-shui Fan", and was formed by joining the village of *sayata*, later on it was annexed by *saxeʔan*; but we found that the inhabitants of *saβulok* today belong to the village of *paqali*. On the slope east of Ho-ti Village there are 5 households, generally called *taojan*, this name has been found in Mori's book, and today, the people form a part of *tapilas*. Sayama stated that *taojan* was originally one of the "eight-villages of the Wen-shui Fan" but was annexed early by *tapilas*. Mori stated that *tapilas* had subordinated *maqao*, which Sayama called *maʔao*, another one of the "eight villages of the Wen-shui Fan". *The Investigation Report on Formosan Aborigines* records that *maʔoa* was annexed by *tapilas* in 1928. In the present investigation, the following account had been given by the vice-chief of *tapilas*: The people of *maqao* originally lived around *ulai*, but now none of them can be found there." The present *tapilas* consists of two *camil* (the term *camil* will be explained later). One is *tapilas*, its meaning is not known; the other is *meililax*, it is the native name of the Wen-shui River. The *tapilas* originally lived in the valley 10 km. west to Hu-shan. In time when the informant's grandfather *taimo-laʔon* was the chief, the Japanese government had coerced the *tapilas* to move to Hu-shan which is situated on the bank of the Wen-shui River, and appointed *qaiho-βawan*, the grandfather of Chief *βujoŋ-tolai*, to be the chief, and *taimo-laʔoŋ* to be the vice-chief." So, the present Chin-shui Ts'un consists of the people from *tapilas*, *paqali*, *loxqax* or *saxeʔan*, as well as *jaβaŋan* or *məqalaqa*.

II. KIN GROUPS

The Kin group forms the nucleus of all kinds of Atayal social organization. The *tapilas* Atayal have four kinds of kin groups. The following description is summarized from the information which was given by *joqex-etex* and *βujoŋ-tolai*:

1. *βaβuʔan*

It is the fundamental unit to found an *alaŋ* or a *qalaŋ* (village). *βaβuʔan* may be defined as family. A "family" comes into being with the marriage of a mating pair. Atayal marriage is strictly monogamous. One always leaves one's "family of orientation" and erects a new house and forms one's "family of procreation" which is called *otox* or *qotox βaβuʔan* by the Atayal, after he is married. Therefore, a "family" generally includes a married couple and their offsprings. But Atayal *βaβuʔan* is different from that of the so called nuclear family of the western civilization which consists of only kins of two generations. In the Atayal, the only son or the youngest son of the family always remains in his parent's family even after he is married. So, it may consist of kins of three generations, and may be an extended family. In some occasions, if the condition of the house is favourable, the eldest or second son may also remain in the house after he is married. If the only son or the youngest son is disliked by

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 ADI Formosa
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his parents, or if the daughter-in-law does not live harmoniously and affably with her parent-in-laws, the newly married couple may move out and live by themselves. In some cases, the parents may choose to live with their eldest or second son and not necessarily with the youngest, though this may be an exception. Therefore *βaβu²an* is a kind of limited extended family or "compromise family". 592

If a family has only a daughter and no son, or though it has a son who is disliked by the parents, the daughter may remain in her parents's family and the residential system will be matrilocal, that is, her husband will come to live with her and her parents. [591]

After the deaths of the parents, the elder brother has to take up the responsibility for taking care of his unmarried younger siblings, so they may come to live with their elder brother. A widowed sister, widowed sister-in-law, parentless nephew or niece may also depend upon the *otox βaβu²an*. Divorce and remarriage are frequent. The family with remarried spouse may have half-siblings.

2. *sali²*

sali² is a kin group larger than a *βaβu²an*. *sali²* originally also means "family". In *tapilas*, *sali²* refers to two kinds of organization: in its narrow sense, *sali²* means "family", in its broader sense, "consanguinity".

(1) *sali²* in its narrow sense: A man, as stated above, usually establishes a new *βaβu²an* after he is married. But his new house is always erected close to or sometimes adjacent to his parents'. Thus it may be regarded as an extension of the parents' house. This kind of kin group, which includes par ts' and their offsprings' households, is called *otox* or *qotox sali²*. It is clear then that a *sali²*, though it resembles a family, is not always merely one "family", it may be defined as "kindred", as the term has been employed by W. H. R. Rivers. 596 612

(2) *sali²* in its broader sense: On paternal side, *sali²* consists of lineal ascendants up to third generation and collaterals including tertiary relatives. In other words, it is a group of agnates who share a common grand-grand-father, this group thus includes the brothers and sisters of the grand-father and their offsprings. The Atayal term for this group of kinsmen is *otox* or *qotox jaβa naqo jotas ta*, which literally means "of the same grandfather of father". On maternal side, *sali²* consists of mother's father, mother's brother, and one's maternal cousins. In other words, it is a group of maternal agnates who share a common mother's father, this group thus includes mother's brothers, sisters, and their offsprings. The Atayal term for this group is *otox* or *qotox jaβa naqo jaja miam*, which literally means "of the same mother's father". Members of the same *sali²* are cognates to each other, so *sali²* may be translated as "consanguinities". Marriage is prohibited between members of the same generation within the *sali²*. Therefore a *sali²* is also a patrilineal bilateral type exogamous group. 613

3. *cəlo* and *caca*

A consanguineous group larger than a *sali²* is called a *cəlo* or *caca*. *cəlo* means 621

16: Müller--230 [8] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 593

Husband and wife have the same rights among the Formosan aborigines. Life within the family is peaceful and harmonious; parents and children are greatly attached to each other.

16: Müller--230 [9] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 593, 627

It is a tradition in native family life that the murder of a parent must be revenged (blood vengeance).

16: Müller--230 [12] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 593, 574

It is because of their aversion to all domestic disharmony that the laws of hospitality are sacred to the aborigines. Thus the pursued may find refuge in the house of the pursuer and has nothing to fear until he leaves.

18: Kakyo--70 [2] E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 593, 765

Within the family peace and harmony reign. Even when the parents live together with their children and other relatives, there is no friction. When one member of a Formosan aborigine family dies, he is lamented by the family and solemnly buried, and for a certain length of time no one leaves the house.

18: Kakyo--70 [4] E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 593, 627, 858

Love between parents and children among the Formosan savages is based above all on the principle that rules in general the relations between young and old; to this is added parental love, which created a strong bond between parents and children. Although, among savages, the ethical love of children is not prominent as compared with natural love, nevertheless the parents love and care for their children, while the children look on it as their sacred duty, if father or mother is killed, for example, to take revenge. This is enough to show that the ethical love of children is being developed.

22: Wiedfeldt--19 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 593, 462, 512, 533 Atayal

From the economic point of view, Atayal life is based on the cooperation of man and woman in the family. Estimated exactly, the feminine contribution is greater and more essential, as is shown by the moving lament of an Atayal widower:

No woman weaves me garments,
None brings me yams,
None brings me wood,
None brings water,
None plants the fields,
None prepares the meal
For me, starving,
None cleans my hut,
None helps me.

The activities listed here, together with the usual interruptions, keep a woman busy for almost the whole day. Without interruptions, they would take up about a third of a day. A man is busy only at intervals, and is mainly concerned with building the hut and clearing the land, and he scarcely does a twentieth or a thirtieth part of what he is capable of doing.

22: Wiedfeldt--21-22 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 562, 593 Atayal

In spite of the emergence of this dark economic side in the making and unmaking of marriages, [MC: see preceding paragraphs in 116] the married life of the Atayals [22] makes a pleasant, or, as the Japanese say, a European impression, not merely because man and woman go arm in arm and kiss each other on the lips, but because the woman plays an active role, and has equal rights. As Tschinsappa (head of the house), or Tonsappa (head of the family), the man very properly is the leader in marriage, and he alone has certain rights and duties in the clan and the tribe. The women and the grown children take part only in the clan and tribal festivities. Of course, the Atayal man does not possess absolute mastery in his own house... Physically, the Atayal woman is scarcely inferior to the man in point of strength, skill, and endurance, with the exception of speed in running. Intellectually she is more curious and more alert. When I asked a question about the purpose of tattooing, an Atayal woman answered me through the medium of an interpreter with this question, "why do you wear a beard?" She represents an economic value which the price of the bride puts in terms of capital. The greater part of the household rests on her shoulders. Consequently, she does not in the least occupy the position of a work animal or a slave, but is equal in rank to the man... Outwardly this is reflected in the fact that when she marries she retains her two maiden names. Children have the father's first name as their second name.

22: Wiedfeldt--23 [5] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 593, 861, 736 Atayal

The relationship between parents and children is apparently good, and is based on obedience, but a child is never disciplined in the presence of others. Children remain in their parents' house until they are married, and work for them. After marriage there is no further economic bond between them. The children neither receive help from the parents, nor would they think of helping them. In cases of need, the clan intervenes, but there is no family sentiment, nor activities on the part of the relatives.

22: Wiedfeldt--49 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 562, 589, 593 Atayal

Since children are not counted, the Atayal family consists of two members, whose activities complement each other and are equally necessary to their existence. Hence the two have, so to speak, equal rights. In spite of this favorable position of the woman, it is the man who is the head of the family. He decides where they are to live; he pays any fines, or the price of a bride for his son; he alone has the right to participate in the activities of the higher social institutions, and he alone is obligated to do so. The deduction drawn by many advocates of women's rights, that equal economic services lead to equal political rights, meets an exception in the forests of Formosa. There is no such thing as an Atayal living alone, for even widowhood is only a transitory state, or was only a transitory state, until the recent wars brought about a shortage of men. Previously, all the Atayals were members of a family, without exception.

25: Plaut--60 [2] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 582, 586, 589, 593

Usually young people marry at a very early age. The parents never force their children to marry but allow them to follow their own inclinations in the matter. Certain marriage formalities are observed among all the tribes. We have already stated that marriage is monogamous, that both husband and wife enjoy equal rights, and that blood relations are not permitted to marry. All witnesses agree that the husband and wife are devoted to each other, and that the wife is never regarded as a slave or beast of burden...Accordingly divorces are the exception, and adultery seldom occurs. Curiously enough, the Tsarisen consider that failure to have children is cause for divorce. Childless widows are allowed to marry again, but if a widow has a child, she cannot marry.

21: Asai--2 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 594 Atayal

"The small family system is found in the Atayal tribe. The husband, wife and children live in separate houses."

21: Asai--2 [2] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 594

"Other tribes prefer small family system but sometimes there are exceptions, and several families will live in one house."

22: Wiedfeldt--45-46 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 581, 594 Atayal

The economic life of the Atayals is concerned with caring for the existence of the individual. Their legal life concerns itself with the delimitation and regulation of the relations between two peoples or clans. Their social institutions seek to unite several individuals for definite purposes. It is clear from the start that in this difficult field of human organization, Atayal life is less developed in respect to the nature, duties, and composition of these overlapping institutions than it is in the other two. Their most important social institutions is the family, which is founded on the basis of strict monogamy. It has its roots in the economic sphere, and, as we have already shown, it makes possible the economic existence of the Atayal tribes. It [46] extends to the higher social development, provides for the continuation and marriage of the sexes, and is the only thing that preserves and carries on the degree of civilization which they have attained. In contrast to our social conditions, the higher social institutions do not concern themselves with this last task at all, but merely foster tribal tradition and the unity of the tribe and the clans through their festivals, which the family as such does not have anything to do with, purely because of a division of responsibilities.

22: Wiedfeldt--47 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 594, 614, 622 Atayal

If the family, which is connected among the Atayals by sexual life and propagation, has received its characteristic form because of the economic tasks which it is called upon to perform, the clan is apparently an enlarged family, whose original chief has retained definite legal and economic obligations of a superior nature.

25: Plaut--58-59 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 551, 562, 594, 611

The family relationships among the savage tribes of Formosa present some striking variations. We do not have enough tradition to tell how these originated, but everything indicates that the form of the family today does not represent either the beginning or the end of its development. And as nature and humanity never develop along all lines simultaneously... there are many things in the family life of the natives which have come from earlier times, and which seem like an anachronism now. For example, all of the tribes are strictly monogamous on the basis of perfect equality between the sexes; yet along with that some of them have matrilineal succession from the time of the mother right, and in spite of that they consider that the husband's relatives are blood relatives. We also find that the same tribe is founded on the male line, and yet [59] the mother is the only one who has the right to name the children.

25: Plaut--59 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 428, 591, 594, 601, 611

The family has two forms, depending upon whether it is continued in the woman's tribe or in the man's. Among the Puyuma and the Amis it is based entirely on female descendants. Here the oldest daughter is always the heiress of the house, the other daughters receive a share of the property but the sons do not have the right to inherit anything. They are obliged to leave the house and to marry into another....The Tsarisen, on the other hand, only consider the sons as members of the family, but they frequently marry into the woman's house, too. The same thing is true of the Peipo. In one part of the tribe it is customary for the husband to enter his wife's family. Today the Atayal only recognize the man's tribe, but the fact that they only have one word (yaki) to denote the terms ancestor and grandmother, seems to indicate that in former times they observed matrilineal succession too, and they have the custom that the mother is the only one entitled to name the newborn child.

In other tribes it is impossible to determine whether women ever played a similar role or not. Among the Tsoo, for example, the oldest son succeeds his father as master of the house, and the younger ones do not marry into other houses but found separate establishments with a part of their inheritance. The same thing is true among the Bonum. In the Spayowan tribe, the male line seems to have been the dominant one for centuries, for there is just one word, wonu, to designate the grandfather and the grandson.

7: Joest--61 [10] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 563, 586, 595 Chin-hoan

There is no polygamy on Formosa. A man may have only one wife at a time, but it is not difficult to obtain a divorce and the Chinwans on the whole are not a jealous people. The girls often marry Chinese, although the men of their own tribe treat them quite well.

11: Haguenauer--34 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 595, 837 Atayal

Polygamy among the Tayal is forbidden, and the husband must be faithful to his wife, and protect her.

16: Müller--230 [3] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 595

Most of the aborigines of Formosa are monogamous.

18: Kakyo--69 [2] E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 582, 595

With regard to marriage, the following general principles may be found among the Formosan aborigines apart from some insignificant variations:

a) there is a definite way of concluding marriages;
b) a marriage once concluded binds the spouses for life;
c) the woman who is the wife of one man may not at the same time marry another;
d) marriage between close relatives is not allowed;
e) there is strict monogamy.

19: Guérin and Bernard--561 [3] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 595

Monogamy is the custom among the savages, according to law, although a few of the chiefs have two wives.

22: Wiedfeldt--22 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 595, 837 Atayal

The Atayals are strictly monogamous, and look with contempt upon the Chinese practice of swelling the ranks of the family by concubines and upon the Japanese Geishas. Adultery is consequently rare, and is severely punished.

34: Del Re--29-30 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 586, 595, 562, 831, 183 Yami

"The Yami are strictly monogamous in so far as they may only have one wife at a time. Divorce, however, is easy and merely determined by the wish of the party concerned, nor does it carry any stigma for the woman who, in this respect, has equal rights with the man. There are among the islanders women who have been divorced as [30] many as fifteen times. Contrary to what might be thought, this does not lead to laxity of morals. The level of morality in this tribe is very high notwithstanding, or perhaps because of, the conspicuous absence of any sense of moral or social guilt attached to sexual intercourse."

21: Asai--1 [4] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 592, 596 Bunun

"The big family system is found in the Bunun tribe. There is one big house (long house) similar to Borneo in which live the extended family. This includes couples of different generations, as well as several small families of equal generation. In each long house there are several compartments for each small family. The cooking and labor are in common. Descent in these families is patrilineal."

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines A1
Atayal AD4

his parents, or if the daughter-in-law does not live harmoniously and affably with her parent-in-laws, the newly married couple may move out and live by themselves. In some cases, the parents may choose to live with their eldest or second son and not necessarily with the youngest, though this may be an exception. Therefore *βaβu²an* is a kind of limited extended family or "compromise family". 592

If a family has only a daughter and no son, or though it has a son who is disliked by the parents, the daughter may remain in her parents's family and the residential system will be matrilocal, that is, her husband will come to live with her and her parents. [591]

After the deaths of the parents, the elder brother has to take up the responsibility for taking care of his unmarried younger siblings, so they may come to live with their elder brother. A widowed sister, widowed sister-in-law, parentless nephew or niece may also depend upon the *otox βaβu²an*. Divorce and remarriage are frequent. The family with remarried spouse may have half-siblings.

2. *sali²*

sali² is a kin group larger than a *βaβu²an*. *sali²* originally also means "family". In *taṗilas*, *sali²* refers to two kinds of organization: in its narrow sense, *sali²* means "family", in its broader sense, "consanguinity".

(1) *sali²* in its narrow sense: A man, as stated above, usually establishes a new *βaβu²an* after he is married. But his new house is always erected close to or sometimes adjacent to his parents'. Thus it may be regarded as an extension of the parents' house. This kind of kin group, which includes par[illegible]ts' and their offsprings' households, is called *otox* or *qotox sali²*. It is clear then that a *sali²*, though it resembles a family, is not always merely one "family", it may be defined as "kindred", as the term has been employed by W. H. R. Rivers. 596 612

(2) *sali²* in its broader sense: On paternal side, *sali²* consists of lineal ascendants up to third generation and collaterals including tertiary relatives. In other words, it is a group of agnates who share a common grand-grand-father, this group thus includes the brothers and sisters of the grand-father and their offsprings. The Atayal term for this group of kinsmen is *otox* or *qotox jaβa naqo jotas ta*, which literally means "of the same grandfather of father". On maternal side, *sali²* consists of mother's father, mother's brother, and one's maternal cousins. In other words, it is a group of maternal agnates who share a common mother's father, this group thus includes mother's brothers, sisters, and their offsprings. The Atayal term for this group is *otox* or *qotox jaβa naqo jaja miam*, which literally means "of the same mother's father". Members of the same *sali²* are cognates to each other, so *sali²* may be translated as "consanguinities". Marriage is prohibited between members of the same generation within the *sali²*. Therefore a *sali²* is also a patrilineal bilateral type exogamous group. 613

3. *cəlo* and *caca*

A consanguineous group larger than a *sali²* is called a *cəlo* or *caca*. *cəlo* means 621

22: Wiedfeldt--21 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
882, 597 Atayal

Older children, who are always in great demand and can be sold at any time for adoption, never stay with the party who wishes to dissolve the marriage, but with the other party.

22: Wiedfeldt--22-23 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 837, 684, 597 Atayal

If a married woman commits adultery, she is killed by her husband or his clan, and the hut of the adulterer is burned. In addition to this, the guilty man, or his clan, has to pay the injured husband compensation as a substitute for the murdered woman. The amount of the payment is fixed by the head of the clan according to the adulterer between 25 and 30 rokosch-kaha. [MC: ornamented clothing used as money] If the adulterer is unmarried, he has no hut that can be burned, and he only has to pay half the compensation. If the guilty party or his clan does not pay [23] the injured party steals children out of the clan andsells them for adoption until the sum has been made up. No one knows what happens when a married man commits adultery with a single girl. To the Atayals, the real crime is adultery on the part of a wife.

22: Wiedfeldt--35-36 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 464, 586, 597 Atayal

Labor, however, is harder to get [MC: than land], and hence female labor, which the man generally has to provide, has a corresponding market value of from 25 to 30 rokosch-kaha [MC: ornamented clothing used as money]. This same value [36] serves as the basis of compensation when a marriage is dissolved. If elderly parents have no more unmarried children to help out in their household, they buy young people as laborers. If they have no means, the clan helps to make up the price. In every tribe, 60 to 70 children are sold in this way annually.

22: Wiedfeldt--36 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 586, 858, 597, 768 Atayal

They [MC: children]are offered for sale when marriages are dissolved, on the occasion of the death of one of the parents, when the remaining partner remarries, in which cases children are often a burden or become unnecessary, and thus are put up for sale. A brother or sister may also be sold when a son of the family is to be married, in order to raise the price of the bride for him. This does not suffice, however, to fill the demand for labor. I myself have seen an old Schimptonoff come to the Japanese police commissioner leading a Chinese boy by the hand, and ask for permission to buy him from his parents, which he was forbidden to do, according to Japanese regulations. The price for a ten-year old boy, --younger children are not bought as a rule, --amounts to from 10 to 13 rokosch-kaha. [MC: ornamented sleeveless jacket used as money] For a ten-year old girl, who can not weave yet, the price is 7 to 10. If the girl knows how to weave, she is worth the same amount as the boy.

22: Wiedfeldt--36 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 464, 567, 597, 886 Atayal

Since the most common of all the contracts of our day, the labor contract, is not known of, either as a contract for service or for labor, the only possibility which ageing people have of getting the necessary labor to enable them to live is purchase. The expression "purchase" gives the wrong impression, and is merely used for the sake of brevity. Just as the price paid for a bride is compensation paid to the family for the loss of labor, so the purchase of children is more a question of adoption by compromise with the physical parents. Children thus acquired are considered real members of the family, and are in no way treated as slaves. For example, it never happens that a girl is bought for sexual purposes. The children are said never to run away. If they did, their family would have to pay back the money which they received for them.

22: Wiedfeldt--44 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 597 Atayal

Among the Atayals, as throughout the whole of the East, the adoption of children is much more frequent than in the West, and is correspondingly governed by many legal usages.

24: Anonymous--91 U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 551, 601, 769, 805

The aborigines of Formosa are very different from the Chinese. They have no family names and no calandar or units of time like ours. The aborigines recognize no other degree of relationship except that of parents, they do not offer sacrifices to their ancestors, and they are not even able to tell their own age.

25: Plaut--59 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 428, 591, 594, 601, 611

The family has two forms, depending upon whether it is continued in the woman's tribe or in the man's. Among the Puyuma and the Amis it is based entirely on female descendants. Here the oldest daughter is always the heiress of the house, the other daughters receive a share of the property but the sons do not have the right to inherit anything. They are obliged to leave the house and to marry into another....The Tsarisen, on the other hand, only consider the sons as members of the family, but they frequently marry into the woman's house, too. The same thing is true of the Peipo. In one part of the tribe it is customary for the husband to enter his wife's family. Today the Atayal only recognize the man's tribe, but the fact that they only have one word (yaki) to denote the terms ancestor and grandmother, seems to indicate that in former times they observed matrilineal succession too, and they have the custom that the mother is the only one entitled to name the newborn child.

In other tribes it is impossible to determine whether women ever played a similar role or not. Among the Tsoo, for example, the oldest son succeeds his father as master of the house, and the younger ones do not marry into other houses but found separate establishments with a part of their inheritance. The same thing is true among the Bonum. In the Spayowan tribe, the male line seems to have been the dominant one for centuries, for there is just one word, wonu, to designate the grandfather and the grandson.

25: Plaut--59 [2] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 601

In spite of the variation in the forms of the family, and sometimes in contradiction to it, all of the tribes today have the same interpretation for the term blood relationship. These three classes are considered blood relatives, without regard for the direct or collateral lines:

1. class: self.
2. class: a) direct line: father and mother; your own children;
   b) collateral line: siblings of the father and mother; your own siblings.
3. class a) direct line: grandparents on the paternal and maternal side; your own grandchildren.
   b) collateral line: children of the siblings of the father and mother; children of your own siblings. "

46: Ruey--1 E-5 (1949) 1950 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

601 /1/ A Preliminary Study of the Atayal Kinship of Pinsebukan, Taiwan (Formosa) China

By Ruey Yih-fu

The study of kinship system in anthropology is built upon the classification of kinship terms (kinship nomenclature). Although classification is not the ultimate aim of kinship system study, it is nevertheless the only method by which simple terminology can be employed to explain the characteristics and correlations of complicated kinship terms. Hence, to study the Atayal kinship system it is necessary first to understand its kinship terms. In July last year, when I participated in the Pinsebukan Anthropological Survey, financed by Lin's Educational Farm Fund, I had listed in advance kinship terms as one of the items for survey. Before the surveying party set off, Mr. Lin Heng-li was kind enough to furnish me with data, not yet published, of his survey of the kinship terms of Atayal in Wu Lai-she near Chia Ban Shan of Hsing Chu district, requesting that I supplement them with my findings. On arrival in Pinsebukan, a few hours after I had examined the family register, I made inquiries and checks, item by item, on the basis of Mr. Lin's data and supplements were made thereto. Because of the limited time, the supplements made were far from complete and inclusive. As I hoped that another opportunity might present itself for a more comprehensive survey, I have not, for over one year, undertaken to compile the materials I gathered. Now that the editor of this magazine has pressed me for an article, I find no alternative but to have the data, though not sufficiently detailed and inclusive, compiled and edited for publication. I shall appreciate corrections that may come from readers

I.

Elucidation of the Atayal Kinship Terms

The following elucidation of the Atayal kinship term, using as a basis Mr. Lin's survey record, has taken into account the report by Wassao-Nokan, former 4th Chieftain of Pinsebukan and Head of Li-hsing Village, Jen-ai County, Chung-feng Region, Tai-chung District and corrections from time to time by his wife, Yongai-Nabo. Translations were done by Ho Ting-sui and Sung Wen-hsun, of the

History Department of National Taiwan University and were subse- 601
quently recorded by the author. We now group their male-speaking and female-speaking kinship terms under two categories, consanguineal and affinal, and explain each separately as follows:

I. Male speaker's (ego's) consanguineal relatives and their spouses

A. Two generations higher (ascending):

1. father of parents: yutas (father's father or mother's father)
2. mother of parents: yaki (father's mother or mother's mother)

Note: Designations for 3 or more generations higher are the same except for prefixing "yaba" (father) or "yaya" (mother) together with "ni" (possessive case) to yutas or yaki when differentiating lineal generations ascending; e.g., yaba-ni-yutas for father of father's father or father of mother's father; yaya-ni-yutas for mother of father's father or mother of mother's father, etc.

B. One generation higher (ascending):

3. father: yaba
4. mother: yaya
5. parents' older and younger brothers and husbands of parents' older and younger sisters: mama
6. parents' older and younger sisters and parents' older and younger brothers' wives: yaya

Note: Terms in 5, 6 above are suffixed with minaxal (first line), minpusal (second line), /2/ minteyul (third line) to differentiate between the close and distant relationships; e.g. mama-minaxal, /parents' brother or parents' sister's husband/; mama-minpusal, /parent's male first cousin/; mama-minteyul, /parent's male second cousin/.

C. Same generation:

7. ego's spouse: kəneril (wife)
8. older brother and older sister: qəbusuyan
9. younger brother and younger sister: səsoi

Note: In 8, 9 above, for differentiating sexes, suffix "melikui" (male) or "kəneril" (female) to qəbusuyan or səsoi; e.g. "qəbusuyan-melikui" for older brother; "qəbusuyan-kəneril" for older sister; for differentiating close or distant relationship, suffix "bulai" (real) or "mineyul" (first line), "minpusal" (second line), or "minteyul" (third line) to qəbusuyan or səsoi; e.g. "qəbusuyan-bulai"

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or "qəbusuyan-minəxal" for ego's own older brother and sister; "qəbusuyan-minpusal" for older first cousin; "qəbusuyan-minteyul" for older second cousin. The same rule applies to "səsoi".

10. wife of ego's own older brother or of ego's elder male cousin: irax (sister-in-law)
11. wife of ego's own younger brother or of ego's younger male cousin: soaqi
12. yanai - husband of ego's own older or younger sister, or husband of a female cousin
13. rawin - a common designation for addressing each other among male first and second cousins
14. nəqun - older and younger sisters, female first or second cousins

B. One generation lower (descending):

15. laqei - son, daughter, brother's son and daughter, sister's son and daughter, wife's sister's son and daughter, wife's brother's son and daughter

Note: For differentiating sex suffix "maliloi" (male) or "kaneril" (female) to laqei, e.g. laqei-maliloi for son; laqei-kaneril for daughter; for indicating closeness of relationship suffix "na" (possessive) "qəbusuyan" or "səsoi" to laqei, e.g. laqei-na-qəbusuyan for son and daughter of an older brother, sister, or first cousin, laqei-na-səsoi for son and daughter of a younger brother, sister, or first cousin. For two generations lower relationship terms are based on those for one generation lower given above excepting when indicating lines descending, to suffix "na" (possessive) "laqei" (son and daughter) to "laqei", e.g. "laqei-na-laqei" for son's son or daughter, daughter's son or daughter etc.

16. ina - used for wife of son, brother's son, sister's son and of all male relations descending named in 15 above.
17. yama - used for husband of all female relations descending named in 15 above.

/3/ Note: Regarding kinship terms in 16, 17 above use rule governing "laqei" for indicating lineal and collateral relations.

II. Male speaker's (ego's) affinal relatives and their spouse (wife's blood relations) 601

A. One generation higher (ascending):

1. wife's father: yutas (father-in-law)
2. wife's mother: yaki (mother-in-law)

Note: Father-in-law and mother-in-law's older and younger brothers and older and younger sisters' husband are all called "yutas"; father-in-law's and mother-in-law's older and younger sisters and older and younger brothers' wives are called "yaki".

B. Same generation relationship:

3. wife's brother (younger and older): yanai
4. wife's older sister and older brother's wife: irax
5. wife's younger sister and younger brother's wife: soaqi
6. wife's older and younger sisters' husbands: mawan

C. One generation lower (descending):

7. wife's older and younger brothers' son and daughter: laqei-na-yanai
8. wife's older sister's son or daughter: laqei-na-irax
9. wife's younger sister's son or daughter: laqei-na-soaqi

Note: The three terms in 7, 8, and 9 are generally designated as "laqei", same as son and daughter, only when differentiation is absolutely required is "na-yanai" or "na-irax" or "na-soaqi" suffixed.

The above explanation does not cover ascendants of two generations higher as the kinship terms are the same as with ascendants of one generation higher. Wife's brother's son's wife and wife's sister's son's wife are both called "ina" wife's brother's daughter's husband and wife's sister's daughter's husband are both called "yama". Unless differentiation is necessary "na-yanai" or "na-irax" or "na-soaqi" is suffixed. (Translator's remark: there appears to be some misprint in this paragraph as the meaning is obscure).

III. Female speaker's (ego's) consanguineal relations and their spouses

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A. Same generation

1. ego's spouse: melikui (husband)
2. wives of ego's younger brother or male cousin: yango
3. husbands of ego's older sister or female cousin: nana
4. husbands of younger sister or female cousin: soaqi
5. older and younger brothers, male first and second cousins: nəqun.
6. female first and second cousins: langi.

Note: The above explanation is limited to ego's generation kinship. For ascending and descending generations the kinship terms are same as those of a male speaker and are therefore not repeated. Also, in ego's generation, older brother and sister (qəbusuyan), younger brother and sister (səsoi), and older brother's wife (irax) are designated by the same kinship terms as for a male speaker, /4/ and are not repeated. The two kinship terms, "nəqun" and "soaqi" though they may be used by the male, are to address females; when used by a female speaker, they are to address males.

IV. The female speaker's (ego's)affinal (husband's consanguineal) relations and their spouses:

A. One generation higher:

1. husband's father: yutas.
2. husband's mother: yaki.

Note: father-in-law's and mother-in-law's older and younger brothers and older and younger sisters' husbands: yutas; father-in-law's and mother-in-law's older and younger sisters and older and younger brother's wives: yaki. Kinship terms for two generations higher are based on those for one generation higher.

B. Ego's generation kinship:

3. husband's older brother and older sister's husband: nana.
4. husband's younger brother and younger sister's husband: soaqi.
5. husband's older sister and older brother's wife: irax.
6. husband's younger sister and husband's younger brother's wife: yango.

C. One generation lower kinship: 601

7. husband's older brother's son and daughter: laqei-na-nana.
8. husband's younger brother's son and daughter: laqei-na-soaqi.
9. husband's older sister's son and daughter: laqei-na-irax.
10. husband's younger sister's son and daughter: laqei-na-yango.

Note: The kinship terms in 7, 8, and 9 above are generally designated by a simple "laqei"; only when differentiation necessary is "na-nana", or "na-irax" or "na-yango" suffixed.

The above explanation does not cover kinship of two generations higher as the terms are the same as in one generation higher. Wives of husband's brother's son and husband's sister's son are both called ina; husbands of husband's brother's daughter and husband's sister's daughter are both called yama. Unless differentiation is necessary, do not suffix "na-nana," "na-soaqi," or "na-irax" "na-yango", etc., thereto.

II.

/5/ General Explanation of Nuclear Kinship Terms of Atayal

The kinship terms explained in the preceding chapter can be grouped into 22 basic terms, namely, ascending generation kinship, 6; same generation kinship, 13; descending generation kinship, 3. Now let us again explain them one by one.

A. Ascending generations:

1. Yutas (meaning "old man") - (1) used by both sexes to address male consanguineal kinsmen of the second ascending generation, father of parent, i. e., grandfather on the father's or mother's side; (2) used by the male to address affinal males of the first ascending generation, i. e., wife's father, his brothers, and his sisters' husbands; (3) used by the female to address affinal males of the first ascending generation, i. e., husband's father, his brothers, and his sisters' husbands.
2. Yaki (meaning "old woman") - (1) used by both sexes to

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address consanguineal females of the second ascending generation, i.e., mother of parent; (2) used by the male to address affinal females of the first ascending generation, i.e., wife's mother, wife's father's sisters and his brothers' wives; (3) used by the female to address consanguineal females of the first ascending generation, i.e., husband's mother, husband's father's sisters and his brothers' wives.

3. Yaba (meaning "big")- used by both sexes to address consanguineal and lineal males of one generation ascending, i.e., father.
4. Yaya (meaning "close") - used by both sexes to address consanguineal and lineal females, i.e., mother.
5. Mama (original meaning not available) - used by both sexes to address collateral male kinsmen of the first ascending generation, i.e., parents' brothers and parents' sisters' husbands.
6. Yata (original meaning not available) - used by both sexes to address collateral female kinsmen of the first ascending generation, i.e., parents' sisters and parents' brothers' wives.

B. Same generation:

7. Məlikui (meaning "man") - used by woman to address her own spouse or husband.
8. Kəneril (meaning "woman") - used by man to address his own spouse or wife.
9. Qəbusuyan (meaning "elder") - used by both sexes to address kinsmen of the same generation but older in age without distinction as to sex, i.e., older brother, sister, or first cousin.
10. Səsoi ("younger") - used by both sexes to address kinsmen of the same generation but younger in age without distinction as to sex, i.e., younger brother, sister, or first cousin.
11. Rawin (meaning "dear") - used exclusively by males to address collateral kinsmen of the same sex and generation without distinction as to age; i.e., male first or second cousin, male sibmate.
12. Langi (meaning "friendly") - used exclusively by females to address collateral kinsmen of same sex and generation

without distinction of age; i. e., female first or second cousin, female sibmate.

/6/ 13. Nəqun (Meaning "connecting") - (1) used by males to address kinsmen of the same generation but opposite sex without distinction as to age, i. e., older and younger sisters, female first or second cousins, female sibmates; (2) used by females to address kinsmen of the same generation but of opposite sex without regard to age, i. e., older and younger brothers, male first or second cousins, male sibmates.

14. irax (original meaning not available) - (1) used by both sexes to address female affinal relatives of the same generation, i. e., older brother's wife, wife of older male cousin; (2) used by males to address older female affinal relatives of the same generation, i. e., wife's older sister, wife's older brother's wife, etc.; (3) used by females to address female affinal relatives of the same generation, i. e., husband's older sister, husband' older brother's wife, etc.

15. soaqi (original meaning not available) - (1) used by males to address female affinal relatives of the same generation, i. e., younger brother's wife, wives of younger male cousins; also used to address egos' wife's younger sister and wife's younger brother's wife; (2) used by females to address affinal males of the same generation, i. e., younger sister's husband, husbands of younger female cousins; also used to address ego's husband's younger brother and husband's younger sister's husband, etc.

16. yanno (original meaning not available) - used by females to address affinal females of the same generation, i. e., younger brother's wife, wives of younger male cousins; also to address ego's husband's younger sister and husband's younger brother's wife, etc.

17. nana (original meaning not available) - used by females to address affinal males of same generation, i. e., older sister's husband and husbands of older female cousins; also to address husband's older brother and husband's older sister's husband, etc.

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18. yanai (original meaning not available) - used by males to address affinal males of same generation, i.e., older and younger sisters' husbands, husbands of older and younger female cousins.
19. mawam (original meaning not available) - used by males to address affinal males of same generation, i.e., wife's older and younger sisters' husbands.

C. Descending generations

20. laqei (meaning "child") - used by both sexes to address kinsmen of descending generations without regard to sex, i.e., son and daughter, son's son and daughter, daughter's son and daughter, brother's son and daughter, sister's son and daughter; also used by males only to address wife's brother's son and daughter and wife's sister's son and daughter.
21. ina (meaning "married over") - used by both sexes to address affinal females of descending generations, i.e., son's wife, brother's son's wife and sister's son's wife; also used by males to wife's brother's son's wife and wife's sister's son's wife.
22. yama (original meaning not available) - used by both sexes to address affinal males of descending generations, i.e., daughter's husband, brother's daughter's husband, sister's daughter's husband, etc.,; also used by males to address wife's brother's daughter's husband, wife's sister's daughter's husband.

The above twenty two (22) kinship terms are applicable to relations within three generations, higher and lower, from ego's generation. Kinsmen within these three generations who are of the same generation status such as: great grandparents' older and younger brothers' and sisters' son's and daughter's son's and daughter's son and daughter, grandparents' older and younger brothers' and sisters' son's and daughter's son and daughter, /7/parents' older and younger brothers' and sisters' son and daughter, are addressed reciprocally between male and female as "nəqun" and marriage between them is impossible. Kinsmen of the same generation status beyond four generations cease relationship (spayatas

xələ̀q) and therefore can not be addressed as "nə̀qun"; 601
marriage is permissible between them without regard to the generation status.

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

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class. A man of the lower class must pay as much as or more than that of a upper class member if he wants to marry one above himself. The lower class member does not marry one above him because he can not afford to do so.

C. Incest prohibition

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835
The kindred group of the Paiwan is bilateral. The present writer has assigned it as occasional bi-sexual lineage. No emphasis upon either the paternal or the maternal consanguinities is made. No distinction between lineal and collateral is made in addressed terms, but it is made in indirect and collective terms. Those who have the same parents are called *maluvluŋuluŋa*, those who have the same grand parents, *malusiatsətsəl*, those have the same grand-grand parents, *malusiatsalaitaita*, and those have the same grand-grand-grand parents, *malusiapatsətsəv*. *malusiatsəlsəl* are prohibited to marry. *malusiatsalaitsata* are also called *naŋaʔaŋa putsəl*, they are allowed to marry. *malusiapatsetsev* are also called *naŋaʔaŋa lavatsə putsəl*, they are the most prefered mates. Relative beyond the *malusiapatsətsəv* are called *aolav*. *aolav* are allowed to marry with each other, but they are not as preferable as the *malusiapatsətsəv*, and even the *malusiatsalaitaita*. It is noteworthy that these marriage prohibitions are not to supplement the rule of exogamy but serve as the limitations of the rule of endogamy.

TRIBAL CHIEFTAINSHIP

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The tribal chieftainship of Chala'abus village differs with the dual chieftainship of the North-Paiwan, and may be regarded as a kind of mutual independence of the three powers: political, religious, and military. The political and economic powers are in the hands of the Chimo chiefs. The religious powers are equally distributed over the chiefs of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. The nomination of a *paraʔare* or priest is determined by a kind of divination called *paiwata*. The military powers fall in hands of the commoners. The office of the priest of the headhunting ritual (*paraʔare na ara*) is held hereditary by the *tsivulaŋaŋ* household of commoner. The tribal chiefs and their offices are listed as follows:

A. Political and economic chiefs:

a) *avusamaŋ* (big chief)·····*ruvaniau*
maluvtsivtsik (consanguineous chiefs)·····*tsaluŋi*, *tʃalas* (south), *tʃalas* (north)
naitsu anumax (affinal chiefs)·····*lusiguaŋ, atsinajaŋ, alijulaŋ, taraʔatea, gumul, matsiliat, voto, tʃalusaŋiu.*

b) *pinairaratsə* (representatives of the big chief of other villages)·····*tʃalas* (north) a representative of the *tsulivuaŋ*, the big chief of Kunanao village.
tavalaŋ a representative of the *karaŋiraŋ*, the big chief of Kulalus village.

c) *utsi atsipoŋ* (vassals of the chiefs)·····*ruvaniau, tsapalai, tavalaŋ, suajoŋ,*

11: Haguenauer--41-42 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 602, 775, 842 Atayal

The Tayals' ideas about birth are no more scientific than their thoughts concerning death. However surprising this may seem, they do not look upon a child as the simple result of conjugal relations, for they believe that birth can only be achieved when a soul is reincarnated in the body of a woman in the tribe. Therefore the spirits are closely associated with the existence of the living. The community and the clan are literally a group of souls some of which are imprisoned in bodies, while others are free, but all of them are serving the clan. [42] The community increases in strength in proportion to the number of the souls who are interested in its fate.

11: Haguenauer--42 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 602, 609, 721, 775 Atayal

The victim of a head hunt was always a stranger, and they cut off his head to liberate his soul. By apologizing to it and offering it wine and millet, the soul was enslaved so that it would serve the clan. And this conquered soul added one more unit to the community, which now had an additional voice in the kingdom of the spirits. This reasoning is also applied to animals. The savage collects the skulls of the beasts which he has slain; by doing this he believes that he increases his power over them, and that he ensures good hunting for the future.

14: Tamai--96-97 J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 585, 609, 602 Chin-hoan

According to the last reports from Formosa (dated March 15th, 1896), a former member of the Japanese Diet, Tetsusáburo Hiyama from Tokyo, married the second daughter of the chieftain Shiro. Before his marriage, Mr. Hiyama sent two oxen and [97] a barrel of salt to the parents of his future bride. The parents are very pleased about their daughter's marriage to a Japanese. While other Japanese do not dare visit the villages of the Tschinwans, Mr. Hiyama may now visit any Tschinwan village with his wife and is received hospitably everywhere. This marriage seems to have been a clever move on Mr. Hiyama's part, since it gives him an opportunity to learn to know these people better.

22: Wiedfeldt--25 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 602, 619 Atayal

The Atayals have developed two other social institutions which are superior to the individual and are independent of life and death, as well as of the will of the individual. They outlast the changing generations and give stability and strength to the whole Atayal community. Just as each individual belongs to a family, each family is a member of a clan, and each clan in turn is a member of a tribe. No clan can leave its tribe, and no family can leave its clan, unless it is excluded by the decision of the clan.

22: Wiedfeldt--46 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 571, 602, 614 Atayal

The next highest social institution [MC: above the family], the clan, is based on the blood relationship of the families, which are thus united into a solid unit. Since each member has the same influence on the direction of the clan, each is exposed to the same dangers, and each derives the same profit from it. Joint responsibility, which is the most rudimentary and most easily developed form of common responsibility is in keeping here, especially since more cultivated types of association with limited or graduated responsibility are unknown. The clan is charged with such economic tasks as exceed the capacity of the individual family. In particular, it owns the property which the member families use and own temporarily... It has other important functions in criminal and civil law, and together with the tribe it facilitates the entire legal side of Atayal life.

25: Plaut--59 [3] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 582, 602, 736, 765

Blood relationship operates as follows:

1. Members of the three classes are not allowed to marry one another;
2. needy members of the three classes, that is widows and orphans, must be fed by the other members;
3. among the Tsarisen, Spayowan and Puyuma, the members of the three classes have to mourn the death of any one of their group."

The fiancé [MC: during the marriage festival] offers wine to all the close relatives of his wife, and the men of the two families form a real alliance.

4:Grajdansev--35 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 174, 181, 602

"The aborigines formerly occupied the whole island, but in more than three hundred years of ceaseless war they were driven from the best lands. It is no wonder that they began to look on newcomers with suspicion and even hatred. But all who have had closer contact with them emphasize their good nature, open-heartedness, and other qualities which do not warrant the treatment they received first from the Chinese and later, from the Japanese."

6: Kirchhoff--31 [4] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
116, 609, 721, 177.72 China
636.72

At times the Chinese do not fear, even today, to use open force, if it is a matter of forcing the Pepo-huan off better soil. This was done with the natives inhabiting the north of the island, who are called Kabaran. They finally withdrew to the other side of the mountains, to the fruitful plain of Komalan (more popularly, Kapsulan), which stretches out on the eastern coast of North Formosa as far as Su-aô; there 4,000 of them are said to live in flourishing settlements and to extend even farther south along the coast as far as Hua-lien. Unfortunately they are constantly at odds with each other, so that there can be no question of a united opposition against the Chinese. Nor can they take flight into the neighboring mountains on the west; for there they would be met by the free Tsche-huan, who hate them as renegades.

7: Joest--55 [5] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 314, 609

Camphor trees predominate in the forests on Formosa. The aborigines allow the Chinese, for a small payment, to come into their territory and fell camphor trees; often they also demand hostages.

7: Joest--57 [7] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 142, 609 Chin-hoan

They have straight hair, never frizzly or wavy, and apparently not so stiff as that of the Malayans. By a fortunate accident I was able to obtain two specimens of their hair. In Tokohan, a village not far from the border there were three natives who were awaiting execution for killing several Chinese. I offered them presents first, but without success. It took three Chinese to hold two of the prisoners who, in spite of their chains, resisted with the utmost force until I had cut off some of their hair.

7: Joest--59 [3] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 609, 834 Chin-hoan

Those Chinwans who wear more than the scant minimum are not motivated by modesty. On the contrary, the women and girls do not show a trace of modesty, especially when they squat down. They are not ashamed to show their genitals and many of them asked me to let them see or touch mine; this was done from sheer curiosity.

7: Joest--61 [3] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 123, 273, 572, 609 Chin-hoan

I gained the confidence and friendship of the Chinwans through this brandy [MC: Chinese samshu] which they consumed in pailfulls until men, women, and children were lying unconscious on the ground; it was, however, considerably diluted. The Chinwan natives also have the custom of establishing the bond of friendship by drinking. They squat on the ground in the usual manner and put their arms around each other's shoulders; they make a short speech, vowing eternal friendship, and then drink together from the pumpkin shell which holds the brandy until it is empty. I drank in this way with both men and women.

7: Joest--63 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 181, 609, 857 Chin-hoan

The character of the Chinwans has been described by all who have come into contact with them as good-natured and unassuming; they have never killed a white man who has approached them in good faith. Although my appearance aroused great curiosity, I was never annoyed by the natives here as I had been among the Hakkas or the Chinese. While the children of the latter always ran away from me and cried, the children of the Chinwans were easily persuaded to make friends with me.

They did, it is true, touch me or pull my beard. One of the natives thought that the fork I had brought with me was a comb and used it to scratch the lice from his body, and sometimes the natives rubbed my body with a wet finger to make sure that this was my natural color, but there was always one among them who had known me longer and told the rest to desist, lecturing them about me...

10: Schumacher--226 [5] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 266, 582, 609, 721 Chin-hoan

The Chinese who thus penetrated into the mountain regions [MC: in search of camphor] may have met the earlier inhabitants of these areas as enemies, and from the initial disputes, all kinds of other difficulties could develop. It is reported, for instance, that the inhabitants of the mountains, who are naturally shy, obtain courage by catching Chinese persons and eating their livers raw. Furthermore, it is said that under penalty of death, the aborigines are forbidden to marry before they have killed seven Chinese and have proof of their deaths.

11: Haguenauer--42 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 602, 609, 721, 775 Atayal

The victim of a head hunt was always a stranger, and they cut off his head to liberate his soul. By apologizing to it and offering it wine and millet, the soul was enslaved so that it would serve the clan. And this conquered soul added one more unit to the community, which now had an additional voice in the kingdom of the spirits. This reasoning is also applied to animals. The savage collects the skulls of the beasts which he has slain; by doing this he believes that he increases his power over them, and that he ensures good hunting for the future.

11: Haguenauer--42 [2] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 181, 186, 577, 609 Atayal

The Tayal race is a very proud one, much more so than you would suspect. It is industrious, but only in so far as the task concerns the whole community. The men are calm, but if they get angry nothing can stop them. An unbounded curiosity and feeling of suspicion with regard to all strangers are two more traits of the Tayal mentality. He has full confidence in his comrades, but as soon as he is with people of another tribe, he becomes suspicious and reserved. The Tayal have some fine virtues too; they have a highly developed sense of honor, are not greedy, do not steal and rarely tell lies.

14: Tamai--94 J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
576, 609, 648 Chin-hoan

On the other side of the river 13 chieftains from the Mareisha villages came forward; the Chinese trader came over to them and asked them to cross the river and meet the Japanese. [MC: members of a reconnaissance expedition] They refused at first, saying "We do not know the Japanese and do not know whether they are traitors like the Chinese or honest men. But so that they may not attack us unawares we have brought along a hundred armed men who are lying in ambush. If the Japanese agree to come to us unarmed we shall be glad to negotiate with them, for we have a favor to ask of them." The Japanese agreed to this and as they came across the river they were greeted in the way that is customary on this island, by the "swinging of the swords": the chief went around with his sword drawn and cut off the points of the blades of grass.

14: Tamai--95 J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
224, 609 Chin-hoan

... The men again crossed a steep mountain and arrived in Tanku, where the Tschinwans had several hunting lodges. 16 Tschinwans, both men and women, were staying there. At the beginning the women seemed to be somewhat afraid of the Japanese.

14: Tamai--95 [6] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 175, 609, 721 Chin-hoan

Between 1886 and 1889 when Rinchoko [MC: son of Chinese Governor General of Formosa] was in Maraisha, the Tschinwans, the Formosans and the Chinese, were in constant contact with each other, but since 1890 their friendly relations have ceased. In 1893 all the guard houses built by Rinchoko in Maraisha were burned down. During the night of May 20, 1895, about 150 Tshinwans made a sudden attack on the Formosans in Kushaku; 17 Formosans and 5 Tschinwans were killed. Four days later the Tschinwans renewed their attack and burned 37 houses. From that time on communication between the two groups ceased altogether and was not renewed until the arrival of the Japanese.

14: Tamai--96-97 J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 585, 609, 602 Chin-hoan

According to the last reports from Formosa (dated March 15th, 1896), a former member of the Japanese Diet, Tetsusáburo Hiyama from Tokyo, married the second daughter of the chieftain Shiro. Before his marriage, Mr. Hiyama sent two oxen and [97] a barrel of salt to the parents of his future bride. The parents are very pleased about their daughter's marriage to a Japanese. While other Japanese do not dare visit the villages of the Tschinwans, Mr. Hiyama may now visit any Tschinwan village with his wife and is received hospitably everywhere. This marriage seems to have been a clever move on Mr. Hiyama's part, since it gives him an opportunity to learn to know these people better.

14: Tamai-- 97[6] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 609, 721 Chin-hoan

In former times the Tschinwans were the only inhabitants of Taiwan (Formosa), but later they were pushed back by the Chinese and their territory was limited. For that reason the Tschinwans hate the Chinese and it became the duty of their men to cut off as many heads of the Chinese as possible.

14: Tamai--97 [10] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 609, 562, 533 Chin-hoan

[MC: Mr. Kurosaki, a newspaper correspondent writes about his visit to the village of Togasha.] Although the women appeared to be afraid of us when we first arrived, they soon lost their shyness and were very friendly. When we were warming ourselves by the fire, for example, our hostess came in and played for us on a small, short flute; she played very well. Four young girls also came to us.

14: Tamai--97 [15] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361, 609 Chin-hoan

The people of the eight Sha have no communication with those of other villages; if they do come into contact with them their relations are friendly.

14: Tamai--98 J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 574, 609 Chin-hoan

As a result of the expedition of Japanese to Maraisha the Tschinwans became very friendly toward the Japanese. From that time on they received the Japanese officials hospitably and always offered them Sake and food.

16: Müller--229 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 177, 609 Pepo-hoan

Among the groups listed... [MC: see previous paragraphs in 101 for the author's group division of the aborigines.] the Pepo no longer have the external characteristics of the aborigines; in their manner and customs they have become culturally assimilated by the Chinese to such an extent that today it is hardly possible to distinguish between the two. They live in the eastern and central districts of the island, and a large number of them also inhabit the western plains. They are on friendly terms with the Chinese, although on the whole the two groups do not actually intermingle. This explains the name given to them by the Chinese, Pepo-hoan, that is, natives of the plain. Only a small part of the Pepo, the Saisiett tribe, has retained their original characteristics to this day.

16: Müller--240 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
609, 773, 721

In the mythology of the natives, a huge stone under a tree is connected with the origin of headhunting. They say that this stone once split in half and a woman arose from it. The children of this woman had a feud which was arbitrated by an ordeal. He was to be the victor who would kill the greatest number of bears on a bear-hunting expedition. Later, when the Chinese came to this island and their strength and knowledge was compared to that of bears, the Chinese became the objects of the hunt.

19: Guérin and Bernard--551 [4] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 197, 609, 619

The language of the Kalapaï is unlike that of the Tayal, and the two tribes are separated by a water-course; but they cross it whenever they like, for they are on friendly terms with each other, and with the Maraïkoun, a tribe whose language is derived from the Tayal.

19: Guérin and Bernard--552 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 304, 609

There are two rivers which empty into the sea near Taika and at Lokan; they serve as barriers to the powerful Ata-bou tribe, which has its own language. It is feared by the Chinese and by the aborigines in the south. The men of this tribe have their faces tattooed with the same designs that we have already seen, and then they also use horizontal arabesques on it.

19: Guérin and Bernard--553 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 304, 609

Still within the limits of the two water-courses, [VMM: the rivière Noire and the Pakan] we find the aborigines of Sibou-koun and those of Kanagou. Each of these tribes has its own dialect. Tattooing and the hatred of the Chinese are characteristic of them. The territory of these two tribes extends to the eastern slope.

19: Guérin and Bernard--553-554 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 141, 609

The savages are all alike [554] in having an expression of defiance and anxiety, which shows that they are undeveloped mentally. Some of the women are pretty, and they are small.

20: Alvarez--254 (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 609

"The Atayal of the villages Linmongan, Urai, Pesia, and others, situated in the neighbourhood of the capital of the island, apply the nickname Bunbukan to the Chinese. This word probably signifies 'foreigner' 'inhabitant of the plains', in opposition to Atayal or 'mountaineer'. The Tsalisen of Kapiangan, Tukubul, Kananigan, Kulalut, in front of the port of Takao, surely express analogous ideas by giving the name Pairan (5) to the

5. Or Paragas, as the Chinese are termed by the Paiwan.

Chinese."

20: Alvarez--257 [3] (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 609

"In generál, they [MC: the Formosan Aborigines] are timid and reserved in the presence of strangers."

20: Alvarez--257-258
116, 181, 609

(no date) 1927

Formosan Aborigines
Paiwan

"Of a ferocious nature are also the Paiwan, who are exceedingly averse [258]to any kind of trade with their neighbours. The Paiwan are revengeful in the highest degree."

22: Wiedfeldt--7 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 173, 186, 609 Atayal

According to their traditions, they are the noblest and oldest kind of people on the island. Their ancestors took refuge on the mountains after a severe typhoon, and from there they slowly returned to the plains. Later, other savages came to the island; then came the Chinese, the whites, and finally the Japanese. They consider all of these people as illegal intruders, but they especially hate the Chinese, with whom they have been longest in contact. The boundaries of their territory consist of mountains thickly wooded with virgin forest. The interior is said to be similar, as far as foreign observers have penetrated. To be sure, that is not very far. No foreigner has as yet set foot on Mt. Sylvia.

22: Wiedfeldt--30-31 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 721, 609, 177.72 Japanese
636.72

. . In the Atayal concept, the members of the tribe are the only ones who should be protected. They are permitted to hunt only savages of other tribes, Japanese, and Chinese, and quite understandably, Europeans, but the number of these is very small. The first group retaliates by conducting their own skull hunts, or by special punitive and plundering forays. The second group is protected by a strong military and police force, which punish such excesses as severely as possible. The third group is victimized comparatively more often but even in this case the Japanese occasionally take harsh measures against a tribe that has a particularly large amount of skull hunting chalked up against it, and force it to withdraw behind the Aiyu line. Inasmuch as unrestrained head hunting on the part of the members of the tribe has seriously endangered the tribe formerly and now in particular, when this practice endangers its independence and its very existence, head hunting is only permitted in the border tribes and supposedly in most of the tribes of the interior when it is ordered by the tribal chief. In many of the tribes of the interior the clan chief also has this privilege. In many tribes, it takes place only in the fall, after the tribal assembly, so that apparently all legal contests are postponed until that time. Everywhere a young man who wants to acquire the skull which will show that he has come of age must control himself until a skull hunt has been declared open for his clan. This regulation does not make the skull hunt any the less dangerous for strangers who approach the territory of the tribe, for they never know whether or not a skull hunt

has been ordered for precisely that time. At any rate, the time before the millet harvest is the safest, and the time after it is the most dangerous. This unpleasant custom is the only thing that gives the slightest justification to the application of the otherwise unjustified designation of savages to the Atayals. It makes no difference whether a skull is that of a man, woman, or child, provided only that the child is over two years old, for the skulls are not captured in battle, but are taken by tricking and surprising the victim. [31] According to the statistics, which are surely incomplete, about 300 Chinese and 40 Japanese are killed annually in the skull hunts. Some 300 Chinese and 20 Japanese are wounded. There is no clue to the number of savages who are captured, but it must be almost as large as the number of Chinese, in the border districts alone. In spite of all the punitive expeditions and all the efforts on the part of the Japanese border patrol, almost no progress has been made in suppressing this unpleasant custom up to now, because it is closely connected with the legal aspect of the life of the Atayals. The most success seems to have been obtained in cases where the Atayals have been told: "Skulls are skulls. Hunt monkey skulls, or antelope skulls".

22: Wiedfeldt--32 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 619, 609, 648, 721 Atayal

Just as the struggles with the Japanese have had the effect of producing greater solidarity within the tribes, so in recent years, under the same sort of pressure, there have arisen temporary alliances of several tribes, but never of a majority of tribes, for the purpose of a joint military expedition. In spite of the enthusiastic support given these joint expeditions by many of the tribal chiefs, the Atayals have no confidence in these products of extreme necessity. My question as to whether tribes of different savage peoples had ever united for the purpose of a joint military venture, aroused only laughter and amazed headshakings among the Atayals present.

22: Wiedfeldt--39 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
619, 609 Atayal

The Atayals and the Amis, who bound them on the south, hate each other mutually, and have nothing but hostile dealings with each other.

22: Wiedfeldt--41 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 609, 681, 721 Atayal

Their penal law is based on the principle that every infraction of a legal usage must be punished. Conscious striving after justice is foreign to the Atayals, as far as I can determine. They want to restore conditions which have been upset by the offense to their proper place by means of expiation. They recognize infractions of the law only within the tribe. Adultery with a woman who does not belong to the tribe does not trouble any member of the tribe. To kill a man who belongs to another tribe or even to another people, confers prestige as a head-hunter. I myself have heard an Atayal boast in the presence of the Japanese police commissioner, who had been in office for 13 years in the border territory, that he had stolen a pig from a Chinese the night before. Neither do they consider it objectionable to pick bananas from a neighbor's field as they pass by.

25: Plaut--33-34 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 436, 609, 656, 177.65 China
636.65

The stations of the Training and Development Bureau [EJ: established by the Chinese in 1884 to facilitate the acculturation of the Formosan natives] did not have a conspicuous success. Part of the blame may be laid on the changeable and distrusting nature of the savages, but the greed of the Chinese settlers and officials was the principal cause of the failure. For example, the natives were accustomed to bring their products into the settlements and to exchange them for wares which they [34] used for farming or for decoration. But the Chinese, who were only thinking about the momentary profit and not about the consequences, also sold them weapons. Finally the Government forbade any unrestricted trade with the savages, and it set up a market in each bureau, and said that it was the only place where barter should be permitted. However, the officials, who were entrusted to superintend this, were not reliable. They used their position for personal profit, and they permitted the natives to be cheated. It is not surprising, therefore, that this aroused the old ire among the savages, and that they used every opportunity to gain revenge by beheading some of the Chinese.

26: Honda--470-471 N-3 (1896) 1897 Formosan Aborigines
116, 162, 576, 609 Bunun

On the third day [EJ: of the journey toward Mt. Morrison] we came upon the first settlement of the aborigines. The village comprised thirteen huts, inhabited by about 150 persons. It was called Namaka-ban. Shortly before we reached this village I had sent our armed soldiers back [471] with the thought that they would do more harm than good. My interpreter, a Chinese who had had frequent contact with the aborigines and had delivered salt to them, was very emphatic in his statement that the arrival of armed men would immediately start hostilities. As we approached the village, we saw the chief with about 30 of his men armed with rifles, spears, and bows and arrows; they had taken up their positions on a hill. Bur before we ourselves reached the village, I sent my interpreter to inform the inhabitants of our peaceful intentions. I went to meet the natives without any visible weapons and only with a gun in my pocket; whereupon the chief knelt down and folded his hands over his head as a greeting. I followed him into the village where I presented him with various gifts.

26: Honda--471 [6] N-3 (1896) 1897 Formosan Aborigines
116, 162, 491, 609 Bunun

The next day we marched for five hours through grassland at an altitude of about 2700 meters to the village of Ho-Sha, which has a population of about 300 persons. On the way we passed a hanging bridge of Calamus Rotang which spans the Tinalankei River in a spot where it is about 30 meters wide. In the village of Ho-Sha we were received as on the previous day and once more I had to spend the night in the community building surrounded by smells.

It is because of the camphor industry that the Japanese seek to penetrate to the mountain regions inhabited by the aborigines and thus constantly furnish the latter with new motives for revenge. Honda (1) states that in 1896 the aborgines held the belief that

1. Honda, Dr. S. : "Eine Besteigung des Mount Morrison auf der Insel Formosa." Mitteilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Tokio, 1897.

the Japanese were their brothers who had become separated from them by the evil Chinese; this view has also been confirmed by ethnography, since the Malayan origin of the Japanese now seems fairly certain. The activities of the Japanese once they came into possession of the island, however, must have convinced the aborigines that their former brothers had changed a great deal. The belief mentioned by Honda may have originated among the Tsou aborigines on the Arisan River, a tribe which is far more good-natured than the rest.

31: Hofmann--621 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 178, 609, 721 Tsou

It is strange that, although the Tsou tribe supposedly has given up headhunting long ago, the natives preserve large numbers of human heads in nets; in Tappan I saw about 140 of these. Judging from their age and condition I would say that this tribe practiced headhunting until quite recently; I believe they have ceased to engage in this sport only from motives of self-preservation and from fear of the Chinese and Japanese. The respect with which they treat these trophies of war indicates that, if a war breaks out again, this old custom will be revived. The Tsou are the enemies of the neighboring tribe, the Hosha (cf. Fig. 6) these are a more savage people and I was not able for that reason to observe their villages as much as those of the Tsou. The presence of the Chinese and Japanese, and the guards posted along the boundaries of the latter, prevents warfare between these two tribes. I learned that the reason for the feud is that both claim the same hunting grounds.

31: Hofmann--622 [2] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 181, 609 Tsou

On the whole the aborigines are good-natured, sociable, and gay. When they are together indoors they talk a great deal and they love to sing and to make noise. When they are outside, however, they are shy and their behavior toward strangers, even toward Malayans of another tribe, is modest and reserved.

31: Hofmann--623 [3] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 609, 301, 592, 837 Tsou

Members of the Tsou tribe are monogamous; adultery on the part of the woman does not occur at all. The women are very shy; they do not look strangers in the face, and they go about with their eyes downcast. Some of them wear garments made of cloth from China, others weave their own garments on primitive looms. I saw few women who were wearing ornaments; the men here are far more vain than the women.

31: Hofmann--625-626 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 181, 555, 609 Tsou

On our way back from the Arisan Mountain to Kagi a native, an older man, carried our baggage all the way. This is not the custom ordinarily; most of the natives offer their services only within their own region and return home as soon as they see the first houses of a Chinese settlement. In this case, however, the man wanted to call for his son, a good-for-nothing who had left the leisure of his native village in order to obtain work in Kagi. In another case, a young man had made friends with the Japanese and joined the police force. His work was very satisfactory; [626] he learned to read and write Japanese. After two years, however, he let himself be persuaded by the other members of his tribe to leave the police force and was chosen as a local chief. Thus, although relations between the Japanese and the Tsou natives are fairly good, there is a tendency among the latter to live apart and to retain their freedom. It is only natural that the Japanese scheme for exploiting the island, including the forests sacred to the natives as well as game, is not favored by the natives. While on the surface the Tsou natives now seem by no means hostile to the Japanese, it is not certain that these peaceful conditions will prevail in the future; it is possible that the Tsou natives may ally themselves with the other Malayan tribes against the foreign conquerors. It must be emphasized, however, that these are not bloodthirsty savages; rather they have the mentality of children and are easily swayed by an impulse of the moment. Their gay, happy mood may change in a moment to fear and distrust; then they cry like children. These sudden changes in temperament are frightening to a stranger.

34: Del Re--16 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 181, 609, 674, 829 Yami

"According to the reports published by scientific expeditions, the Yami live in a kind of idyllic natural state which might, indeed, have served as model for some of the 'naturist' utopias beloved of XVIIIth century philosophers, the essential features of which may be seen practised on Botel-Tobago. To give one instance. As far back as the oldest inhabitant is able to recollect, or at least since forty years ago when the Japanese first stationed a couple of policemen on the island, there has been no record of a single case of theft or violence among the natives. The wholesale execution of the crew of an American vessel wrecked there a few years previously of whom only two managed to escape, can hardly be considered as an exception since it appears to have been due to ritual reasons. Apart from the naturally peaceful temper of the Yami, the absence of crime is attributable less to the fact that these and other misdemeanours such as adultery are considered as crimes in themselves or as immoral actions, than to the fact that the tribe looks upon them as undesirable."

35: Collingwood--136 [2] D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 361, 609 Sek-hoan

"The following morning we landed on the southern side of the bay, where we were to find the native village, of which no trace however was visible from the ship. We were met upon the beach by a number of men and women, who were in no respect, either of dress or feature, similar to the Chinese, and along with them, after the first expressions of surprise and curiosity, we entered the village. This is rudely walled, the entrance being through doors at either side, by which we passed into an assemblage of huts constructed chiefly of grass and bamboos. The grass is woven into a kind of trellis or mat, which is placed against the sides, while the chief part of the walls is constructed of upright sticks, the interstices being imperfectly plastered with mud to keep out the weather. The door is of bamboo, and fixed upon a rude hinge, the lower part revolving sometimes upon the bottom of an earthern cup, to give freedom of motion. The roof is a thick thatch of grass and herbs (in which a species of Turk's-cap lily is largely used), and is supported by bamboos irregularly disposed among it. At one end is often an overhanging shed, containing a supply of firewood, of which there is everywhere abundance."

"The costume of these people was somewhat slight. The men were attired similarly to Chinese coolies, that is, usually in a simple pair of short drawers, to which in some cases a blouse was added. The dress of the women consisted of a sarong (1) or petticoat,

1. Meaning literally a sheath or scabbard, but here that part of the dress of both sexes which covers the lower portion of the person, and is in the form of a sack open at both ends. —Editor.

folded round the loins and meeting in front, where it overlapped, but was not fastened. This petticoat did not reach so far as the knees, and the feet and legs were bare. A sort of loose jacket, open in front, completed their attire, though some of the matrons did not make use of this addition. The young children of both sexes were entirely naked. This, however, appears to be a costume not always considered necessary, and those who landed at the village early on the second morning report that the population was more scantily clad, the men being entirely naked, and the women wearing only a flap round the loins. Seeing, however, the strangers arrive, they retired with deliberation to their huts, closed the doors, and reappeared in the costume above described. The women possessed necklaces of beads, which they wore round their necks, and some of them had stone bangles round their arms; their ears were pierced in three or four places from the lobe upwards, though none of them seemed to have ornaments in them, except buttons,

often of the commonest kind. Most of the young children had objects round their necks, such as coins, beads, or buttons."

35: Collingwood--139 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 123, 157, 609 Sek-hoan

"We unpacked our basket of provisions in the middle of the village, and were soon surrounded by the entire population, who pressed curiously about us, but withal civilly; and seemed to think our eatables not bad, particularly the loaf sugar, which young and old appeared to appreciate. Captain Bullock had brought with him some old numbers of the Illustrated London News, which he distributed among them; but I remarked that though all seemed anxious to get a leaf, they did not look at the woodcuts, but immediately folded it up and put it in some part of their dress—nor could I interest them by pointing out to them the most striking illustrations, which they did not appear to comprehend. They did not, however, show any lack of interest and curiosity in most things, and the men particularly most inquisitively examined every part of our dress, feeling its texture, looking into our pockets, and shewing by signs that they wished to see the interior of any box or bag we happened to carry. Nor were they content with looking once, but the same objects must be inspected again and again. The women more particularly exhibited a great anxiety to obtain as presents anything we could give them, particularly anything ornamental. The naval buttons were a great temptation, and over and over again they pointed to them, and intimated their desire to be the fortunate possessors of them. When denied, they would point to a young child and ask it for him, as though we could not refuse it. Darwin, I may observe, makes the same remark when speaking of the Fuegians. If the button was given under these circumstances, it was immediately fastened on a string and tied round the child's forehead. But so importunate were they, that I might have

completely stripped myself and found candidates for every article I possessed. Notwithstanding this, however, and that they repeatedly put their hands into our pockets, not a single article was lost, and no attempt was made to steal, but upon its being re-demanded they never offered to retain any object whatever. After our meal was over, the empty bottles were eagerly sought after, and we soon learned that no more acceptable present than a bottle could be made to them. This, which they called brasco, and tobacco, (1)

1. Both words, no doubt, from the Spanish or Portuguese, frasco and tobaco. —Editor.

were the only two things which they specially applied for."

37: Steere--311 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 482, 771, 609, 787, 825 Chin-hoan

"They carry burdens upon a high wooden frame that is strapped to the back, instead of by the universal Chinese method of a pole across the shoulder. I could find but little traces of religion, but plenty of superstitions. I was one day astonished by the band with which I was traveling suddenly all dropping to the ground and beginning to groan as if they expected to die. Inquiring the cause of this, I found that a certain bird, to which ominous powers are attributed, had cried out on the left side of the path we were traveling, and this was considered a bad omen for us. After a few minutes the party got up and moved on, though all were still groaning and beating their gunstocks with their knives; and they did not regain their composure until the same bird was heard to call out on the right side of the path, when they moved on as usual. They seem to have little or no connection with the other savages, but to live in mortal fear of them. If they ever were in the habit of taking the heads of their enemies, it must have been long ago, as the proofs have disappeared."

37: Steere--314 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 583, 241, 533, 784, 609 Chin-hoan

"The Kale-whan, in times of scarcity, frequently sell their daughters to the Chinese and Pepo-whans, who take them as supplementary wives and make them useful as interpreters in thus bartering with the savages. While we were among the Kale-whan the chief offered to sell us three girls of the tribe at twenty dollars each, or its equivalent, in barter on fee simple. The poor girls were dressed up in all the finery the tribe possessed, one of them having a beautiful stem of wild red lilies in her hair, and were kept singing nearly all night before our door. They are a very musical people, and at night a large number collected in the house of the chief and the women would sing a monotonous but musical chant apparently as long as they could hold their breath, and then the men would answer in the same strain, winding up every time with a loud inspiration. We went among them during their seed time, and there seemed to be some taboo connected with it that forbade them entering their houses, and we found them all sitting around outside with closed doors, or at least with the slabs of slate that served for doors in their places. About midnight the taboo passed off enough so that they entered their houses, but there was still something that forbade them trading with us or assisting us, they even refusing at first to give us fire. Whenever one of the tribe, led by the display of cloth, scissors, etc., that we had with us, was tempted to trade us a pipe or an ornamented knife-scabbard, some one would pronounce the fatal word parici, and the trade was immediately dropped. There were

some rare plants and land shells in the ravines which I wished to collect, but the savages seemed to think that it would bring some great evil upon them if they allowed me to take away any thing, and they almost compelled me by force to desist, pulling me by the arms and shouting parici in my ears. We were told that this taboo would pass off within four or five days, but we had no time to wait and so did not see them in their usual state."

39: Wiedfeldt--25 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 157, 186, 609 Atayal

I have not been able to determine the basic reasons for their reserve. Perhaps it is rooted in excessive pride of race, not to say, haughtiness of race, as some of the Japanese maintain... It is also partly due to a certain shyness. In the presence of people who belong to other races, the Atayals drop their voices to a whisper, and display a prudent reserve in spite of the curiosity of the others. The sources of this attitude, however, continue to be a mystery; the only thing that is clear is their attitude of reserve.

40: Kirk--11 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 609, 721

"It is only natural, say the Japanese, that the savages have developed an intense hatred for all foreigners and look upon Japanese, as well as Chinese, as deadly foes. So many Japanese, in the decade following 1895, lost their lives in a vain effort to subjugate the savages that some officials looked upon the campaign as hopeless and were in favor of giving the savages up as untamable wild men. Others held to the opinion that the aborigines would become civilized if they could be exposed to Japanese culture."

16: Müller--230 [11] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 611

The ascendants and descendants of the third generation are still considered close relatives.

25: Plaut--58-59 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 551, 562, 594, 611

The family relationships among the savage tribes of Formosa present some striking variations. We do not have enough tradition to tell how these originated, but everything indicates that the form of the family today does not represent either the beginning or the end of its development. And as nature and humanity never develop along all lines simultaneously... there are many things in the family life of the natives which have come from earlier times, and which seem like an anachronism now. For example, all of the tribes are strictly monogamous on the basis of perfect equality between the sexes; yet along with that some of them have matrilineal succession from the time of the mother right, and in spite of that they consider that the husband's relatives are blood relatives. We also find that the same tribe is founded on the male line, and yet [59] the mother is the only one who has the right to name the children.

25: Plaut--59 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 428, 591, 594, 601, 611

The family has two forms, depending upon whether it is continued in the woman's tribe or in the man's. Among the Puyuma and the Amis it is based entirely on female descendants. Here the oldest daughter is always the heiress of the house, the other daughters receive a share of the property but the sons do not have the right to inherit anything. They are obliged to leave the house and to marry into another. . . .The Tsarisen, on the other hand, only consider the sons as members of the family, but they frequently marry into the woman's house, too. The same thing is true of the Peipo. In one part of the tribe it is customary for the husband to enter his wife's family. Today the Atayal only recognize the man's tribe, but the fact that they only have one word (yaki) to denote the terms ancestor and grandmother, seems to indicate that in former times they observed matrilineal succession too, and they have the custom that the mother is the only one entitled to name the newborn child.

In other tribes it is impossible to determine whether women ever played a similar role or not. Among the Tsoo, for example, the oldest son succeeds his father as master of the house, and the younger ones do not marry into other houses but found separate establishments with a part of their inheritance. The same thing is true among the Bonum. In the Spayowan tribe, the male line seems to have been the dominant one for centuries, for there is just one word, wonu, to designate the grandfather and the grandson.

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
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or establish a new house if not married to an heir or heiress. There is, thus, a lineal relation between these households. One which has a further relationship with the household from which it derived is lower in rank. Their lineage rules may be summarized as follows:

a) A household is the nucleus of this lineage system.

b) The lineage who first established their house in the village is regarded as the grand lineage or *mamatsanjran*.

c) The house and the name of the house are succeeded too by primogeniture regardless of sex. The heir or *usam* must remain in the house and succeed to the name.

d) Each offspring other than the heir who is married to the heir of another household or establish a new household and take a new house name if married to one who is not the heir, is called the lesser lineage or *maluwtsivtsik*.

e) The rule of succession of a lesser lineage is similar to that of a grand lineage. The son of a lesser lineage is degraded to become commoner or *tala'alalak*.

f) Offspring of a vassal household other than the heir are degraded as commoners.

g) If the household has no heir, it is succeeded by the second son or daughter, even he or she is married out. This second son or daughter who has established a lesser lineage of his own, will give his own lineage up, and return to his prime house to succeed to the lineage. If a lesser lineage has no heir, it may be succeeded to by members from the grand lineage. The vassal will take care of the grand lineage when the heir to succeed the lineage is not yet decided.

B. Marriage rules

a) Residence

1. The heir of a household must remain in the house, and have his spouse come to live with him.

2. Family members other than the heir may marry a heir of another household and goes to his spouse's house.

3. When both the husband and the wife are no heir or heiress, they will establish a new house and have a neolocal residence.

4. If a heir marries with a heiress, this new couple will succeed to both households.

b) Class

1. One who marries one of his own rank is called *metsevoŋ*. Their offsprings belong to the same rank.

2. One who marries one of a higher rank is called *sluŋua*. He himself and his offsprings will have a higher rank too.

3. One who marries one of a lower rank is called *sluŋoja*. He and his offsprings will have a lower rank too.

The Paiwan practise endogamy but not in a strict sense. It may be estimated by the quantity of the bride price. A certain quantity of bride price is set for a certain

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
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different localities, so that their cultures, though similar, are not uniform. The native tribes also differ considerably in the degree to which they have been acculturated and in the type of culture change that has taken place.

The Ami

The Ami live in the Taitung Rift Valley, which runs in approximately a north-south direction for 150 kilometres along the east coast of Formosa. Some Ami live on the east coast proper. The Ami tribe is the largest on Formosa. They are divided into five groups by dialect and cultural differences. The number of households and population of each group, based on the census of 1937, are as follows:

Group	No. of households	Population
Pei-nan	859	9546
Heng-ch'un	461	4403
Hai-an	1159	11760
Hsiu-ku-luan	2008	15861
Nan-shih	1713	8436
Total	6200	50006

The chief traits of the Ami are intensive agriculture and fishing; pile dwellings; paddle-and-anvil pottery; long wooden shields; feather headdresses; clans[1]; matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence; classificatory or Malayan kinship terminology; parent-child nymic linkage; and age-grades.

Tavarong is a town of 5,000 population situated in the central part of the Taitung Rift Valley, in Hualien Hsien. It belongs to the Hsiu-ku-luan group and is regarded by the Ami themselves as the oldest settlement in the whole Ami area. About one per cent of the Tavarong townsmen are Christians; the rest hold to their native religion.

Gods, spirits, and souls

The Ami term for gods, which include also spirits and souls, is *kawas*. The Tavarong Ami believe in two kinds of *kawas*. The first kind, which may be considered natural gods, include *maratau*, *tšidar*, *borar*], and others. *maratau* is a male tutolary deity who resides in heaven. According to informant Maran-Namo?, *maratau* is the god of "politics and strength". In former days, when the Ami were at war with their neighbors, the Atayal, they prayed to *maratau* for protection[2]. *tšidar* is the female sun goddess, and *borar*] the male moon god. The sun goddess is held to be more powerful than the moon god. Maran-Namo? while explaining the designs on the houseposts of the house of the *kahita:n* (priest), stated that *tšidar* is the almighty deity and holds the supreme position over

1. Utsurikawa [1935] reported about 56 clan names for the Ami, but he gave no clan names north of the Vataan, Tavarong, and Karuran areas.
2. According to Furuno [1954:3-42], *maratau* is connected with headhunting and is the god of crops and game, as well as being the war god.

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
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purified through fasting, symbolical washing of hands, and shamanistic expulsion of disease. The structure of the Ami universe is at this time stated as a hierarchy in which each rank of seniority hands down precepts to be obeyed by the next lower rank [see Figure 2]. At the top level, for among the Ami the spiritual world is continuous with the material, are the sun goddess, the moon god, and *maratau*, the tutelary deity who instructed men in the order of things on earth. With them are the *tatakusan*, the ancestral gods who are to be respected as elders and whose way of life is to be followed. Under these were the *kakita:n*, the priestly families who carried out the will of the gods in this world. The rest of the Ami were arranged by seniority into a system of age-grades, each with its chosen monitor, and each harkening to the instructions passed down from the next senior age-grade. Acting as intermediaries between the priests and the laity were the *saparaŋau*, leaders of proven ability selected from the ranks of the elder grades. This structure was annually affirmed symbolically in the *irisiŋ*, and it clear that it was basically gerontocratic in nature, in that the real power was in the hands of old men.

All this is of course now passing away, and element after element of the old Ami way of life is either disappearing or being reinterpreted to meet new conditions. In the realm of social organization, for instance, there is a definite drift in Tavarong and other Ami areas towards patrilineal descent and neolocality, a change fostered by Japanese and Chinese pressure. Ami religion is fast changing, and the *kakita:n* house itself is an unused, half-forgotten relic of interest primarily only to ethnographers. Shamanism for some as yet unexplaind reason has persisted; this is a field for further study.

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50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
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his parents, or if the daughter-in-law does not live harmoniously and affably with her parent-in-laws, the newly married couple may move out and live by themselves. In some cases, the parents may choose to live with their eldest or second son and not necessarily with the youngest, though this may be an exception. Therefore *βaβu²an* is a kind of limited extended family or "compromise family". 592

If a family has only a daughter and no son, or though it has a son who is disliked by the parents, the daughter may remain in her parents's family and the residential system will be matrilocal, that is, her husband will come to live with her and her parents. [591]

After the deaths of the parents, the elder brother has to take up the responsibility for taking care of his unmarried younger siblings, so they may come to live with their elder brother. A widowed sister, widowed sister-in-law, parentless nephew or niece may also depend upon the *otox βaβu²an*. Divorce and remarriage are frequent. The family with remarried spouse may have half-siblings.

2. *sali²*

sali² is a kin group larger than a *βaβu²an*. *sali²* originally also means "family". In *tapilas*, *sali²* refers to two kinds of organization: in its narrow sense, *sali²* means "family", in its broader sense, "consanguinity".

(1) *sali²* in its narrow sense: A man, as stated above, usually establishes a new *βaβu²an* after he is married. But his new house is always erected close to or sometimes adjacent to his parents'. Thus it may be regarded as an extension of the parents' house. This kind of kin group, which includes par··ts' and their offsprings' households, is called *otox* or *qotox sali²*. It is clear then that a *sali²*, though it resembles a family, is not always merely one "family", it may be defined as "kindred", as the term has been employed by W. H. R. Rivers. 596 612

(2) *sali²* in its broader sense: On paternal side, *sali²* consists of lineal ascendants up to third generation and collaterals including tertiary relatives. In other words, it is a group of agnates who share a common grand-grand-father, this group thus includes the brothers and sisters of the grand-father and their offsprings. The Atayal term for this group of kinsmen is *otox* or *qotox jaβa naqo jotas ta*, which literally means "of the same grandfather of father". On maternal side, *sali²* consists of mother's father, mother's brother, and one's maternal cousins. In other words, it is a group of maternal agnates who share a common mother's father, this group thus includes mother's brothers, sisters, and their offsprings. The Atayal term for this group is *otox* or *qotox jaβa naqo jaja miam*, which literally means "of the same mother's father". Members of the same *sali²* are cognates to each other, so *sali²* may be translated as "consanguinities". Marriage is prohibited between members of the same generation within the *sali²*. Therefore a *sali²* is also a patrilineal bilateral type exogamous group. 613

3. *cəlo* and *caca*

A consanguineous group larger than a *sali²* is called a *cəlo* or *caca*. *cəlo* means 621

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
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ARISTOCRACY AND LINEAGE SYSTEM

The political system of Chala'abus village is aristocratic and resembles that of the feudalism of the Chou Dynasty. It is established on two foundations: (1) The first is the tax and tributary system based on the ownership of land. (2) The second is the class system based on lineage rule.

The class system of Chala'abus differs with that of the North Paiwan. The North Paiwan system has three grades: (1) the *mamatsayiran*, (2) the *maluvtsivtsik*, and (3) the *pualu*. The Chala'abus system lacks the third grade *pualu*. The aristocratic class is generally called *mamatsayiran*, and is divided into two subclasses: (1) the upper grade is called *avusamay*, (2) the lower grade is again subdivided into the *maluvtsivtsik* or consanguineous, and the *naitsu a n²nmax* or affinal. The big chief *ruvaniau* belongs to the Chimo group. Three *maluvtsivtsik* of the *ruvaniau* are the south *tʃalas*, the north *tʃalas*, and the *tʃaluŋi*. Among the *naitsu a numax* are the *voto*, the *tara²atea*, the *gumul*, the *matsiliat*, and the *tʃalusayiu* of the Chimo, and the *atsinajay*, the *lusiguay* and the *aliolay* of the Paiwan. The big chief *ruvaniau* possesses one third of the cultivated land of the village. The north and the south *tʃalas* possess another one third. And the remainder is in the hands of other chiefs of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. These chiefs rent their lands to commoners of the villages, so commoners are serfs (*unutel*) and nobles landlords. Each chief has a vassal household (*utsiputsipoy*) to take care of the rental business. The office of the vassal is hereditary, but he is a commoner and owns no land by himself.

The above mentioned aristocratic system is established on the basis of the lineage system. One who first established his household in the village is regarded as the grand lineage. The elder offspring, regardless of sex, is the heir or *usam* to succeed the household. Offspring other than the heir will leave the household and establish a new one when he is married and is regarded as the lesser lineage or *muluvtsivtsik*. The succession of the lesser lineage is similar to that of grand lineage. But offspring other than the heir of the lesser lineage will be degraded as commoner when he departs the household. The *utsiputsipoy* is a commoner who is chosen by a aristocratic household to be their vassal. The heir of the *utsiputsipoy* household succeeds his father's office. It is worth to note that members of the grand lineage of the *utsiputsipoy* are prohibited to intermarry with members of the grand lineage of their aristocratic household.

LINEAGE RULE AND MARRIAGE RULE

A. Lineage rule

The kinship organization is a lineage group with a family as its nucleus. Each family has its own *umax* or house. The *umax* or house has a special significance to the Chala'abus family system. Each house has its *yatay a numax* or house name. One who is born in the house is named after the name of the house. Members live in the house include a married couple, the heir or heiress and sometimes his or her spouse and other unmarried offspring of this married couple. The elder son or daughter succeeds his or her parents as the head of lineage group and remains to live in the house. Other offsprings are either married to the heir or heiress of another household

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
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or establish a new house if not married to an heir or heiress. There is, thus, a lineal relation between these households. One which has a further relationship with the household from which it derived is lower in rank. Their lineage rules may be summarized as follows:

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a) Residence

1. The heir of a household must remain in the house, and have his spouse come to live with him.

2. Family members other than the heir may marry a heir of another household and goes to his spouse's house.

3. When both the husband and the wife are no heir or heiress, they will establish a new house and have a neolocal residence.

4. If a heir marries with a heiress, this new couple will succeed to both households.

b) Class

1. One who marries one of his own rank is called *metsevoy*. Their offsprings belong to the same rank.

2. One who marries one of a higher rank is called *sluzua*. He himself and his offsprings will have a higher rank too.

3. One who marries one of a lower rank is called *sluzoja*. He and his offsprings will have a lower rank too.

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50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 ADl Formosa
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saliʔ is a kin group larger than a *βaβuʔan*. *saliʔ* originally also means "family". In *tapilas*, *saliʔ* refers to two kinds of organization: in its narrow sense, *saliʔ* means "family", in its broader sense, "consanguinity".

(1) *saliʔ* in its narrow sense: A man, as stated above, usually establishes a new *βaβuʔan* after he is married. But his new house is always erected close to or sometimes adjacent to his parents'. Thus it may be regarded as an extension of the parents' house. This kind of kin group, which includes par··ts' and their offsprings' households, is called *otox* or *qotox saliʔ*. It is clear then that a *saliʔ*, though it resembles a family, is not always merely one "family", it may be defined as "kindred", as the term has been employed by W. H. R. Rivers. 596 612

(2) *saliʔ* in its broader sense: On paternal side, *saliʔ* consists of lineal ascendants up to third generation and collaterals including tertiary relatives. In other words, it is a group of agnates who share a common grand-grand-father, this group thus includes the brothers and sisters of the grand-father and their offsprings. The Atayal term for this group of kinsmen is *otox* or *qotox jaβa naqo jotas ta*, which literally means "of the same grandfather of father". On maternal side, *saliʔ* consists of mother's father, mother's brother, and one's maternal cousins. In other words, it is a group of maternal agnates who share a common mother's father, this group thus includes mother's brothers, sisters, and their offsprings. The Atayal term for this group is *otox* or *qotox jaβa naqo jaja miam*, which literally means "of the same mother's father". Members of the same *saliʔ* are cognates to each other, so *saliʔ* may be translated as "consanguinities". Marriage is prohibited between members of the same generation within the *saliʔ*. Therefore a *saliʔ* is also a patrilineal bilateral type exogamous group. 613

3. *cəlo* and *caca*

A consanguineous group larger than a *saliʔ* is called a *cəlo* or *caca*. *cəlo* means 621

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 ADl Formosa
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621 "companions". In the Atayal, a hunting group is organized by men each of whom comes from each family of the village. This group of people hunt together, and divide the game they have gotten. If a villager commits a crime, such as one who is going to marry another member of the same *pinsaqaʔan*, or one who is proposing to divorce his spouse, etc., the person concerned must offer a sacrifice, a pig or a chicken, and holds a *xalion* or a ceremony of breaking taboo for atonement. This ceremony will be attended by all household-heads of the group which hunt together. When the ceremony is over, the sacrifice will be divided among the attendants and will be eaten by them to avert evil influence. Of the above mentioned organizations, the former is a hunting group, and the latter a group for consuming sacrifice together. The *Seqoleq* Atayal call the former *litan*, and the latter *neqan*, but the *tapilas* is rather ignorant of these two terms, they refer to all participants as *otox* or *qotox* *cəlo*, which means "of the same *cəlo*".

caca means "tradition". In time of land clearing, seed-sowing, crop-harvesting, and ritual-hunting, all household-heads participate in the ritual to make offerings to their ancestors. After the ritual is over, the feast starts. The participants are called *otox* or *qotox* *caca* which means "of the same *caca*" or "of the same tradition". In *tapilas*, a *caca* is also a hunting group and a group for consuming sacrifice together as stated above, therefore, there is no distinction between a "*caca*" and a *cəlo*".

4. *camil*

613 There is another kind of unilateral type of kin group called *camil*. *camil* means "root". Those who descend from the same ancestor are called *otox* or *qotox* *camil* or "of the same *camil*". So *camil* has a similar meaning to the Chinese term "tsung" (lineage). A "tsung" is a unilateral kin group. The descent rule of the Atayal is patrilineal, therefore a *camil* is a patrilineal kin group which resembles a lineage of the clannish society. Utsurikawa has translated *camil* as *shizoku* or clan, but, as the present author has noticed, it differs from a clan, because it is not an exogamous unit and is not organized into a certain form of group. People who have the same grand-grand-father can not intermarry with each other. A woman is excluded from the *camil* of her parents and joins her husband's after she is married. A man who has married into his wife's family belongs to his wife's *camil*. In the wedding ceremony, when a bride is sent to bridegroom's house, the go-between always intiates his address to the bride with the following words: "You were belonging to the *camil* so-and-so, but now you have become a member of the *camil* so-and-so". As stated in the foregoing section. *tapilas* has two principal *camils*: One is the *camil tapilas*, which the Chief *βujoŋ-tolai* belongs to. The first ancestor of the *camil* within their memory is called *ijo*. *βujoŋ-tolai*'s grandson is a member in the seventh generation descended from *ijo*. Another is the *camil məlilax*, which the vice-chief *joqex-etex* belongs to. The vicechief's son is in his descendants of the seventh generation counting from the first ancestor. Still another is called *camil majaʔan*, which is the *camil* of our first guide *βaʔai-qaino*. Their first ancestor is called *uʃi*. *βaʔai-qaino*'s son is in his

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955
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descendants of the sixth generation counting from him. It is said that about 80 years ago, *ufi* lived originally in Shih-t'an Hsiang. It was his son *layao-ufi* that moved to Hu-shan. *layao-ufi* had a daughter *qojo-layao* and a son *βaitso-layao*. *qojo-layao* married *taimo-layao*, the grandfather of *joqex-etex*. *βaitso-layao*, the younger brother of *qojo-layao*, had entered *camil maililax* because he was brought up in his sister's husband's family which belonged to *camil məililax*. This case indicates that a *camil* member may not be cansanguinity, A *camil* may include members from other *camil*. Thus *tapilas* is a local social group which is interwoven by the above mentioned k groups.

III. HEAD-HUNTING

Though the Atayal has been famous for their old custom of headhunting, the *Tseo²le²* Tribe which inhabits the regions closer to the plains occupied by the Han people, abandoned the custom earlier than other tribes. In *tapilas* and *paqali*, only a few persons have had experience of head-hunting. The *fiaqalo* Atayal kept the custom until more recent time because they had lived formerly in a more remote regions known as *jaβayan* and *loxqax*. They were coerced by the Japanese to move into this region. The following accounts were given by *joqex-etex* and *taqun-nomin* (70 years of age, he had moved from *loxqax* of *fiaqalo*). In the following descriptions when the custom of these two villages do not accord with each other, (m) indicates that of the former, and (s) that of the latter.

1. Reasons for undertaking a head-hunting expedition

Head-hunting in Atayal is called *mə-qaqa*. It means "to observe the old tradition". According to the motive of the expedition, it may be divided into the following three kinds: (1) for blood vengeance; (2) for military achievement; and (3) for settling dispute. The former two are called *məqetsβo*(m) or *məfiβo*(s), which means "hunting"; the last one is called *məqulaqam*(m) or *²əmolas no qoaq*(s), which means "settling dispute". The former two kinds are employed to venge oneself against the member of another tribe or sometimes one's own tribe; the latter kind undertaken to settle a quarrel between kinsmen. The result of the headhunting expedition, whether it has succeeded or failed, is regarded as the judgement on the case shown by the wishes of their ancestral spirits; therefore the quarrel could be thus settled. It is for this reason that they must carry with them a *tsineto*(s) or *tenato*(m) or a guardian bag.

2. The organization of a hunting expedition

To organize a head-hunting expedition permission must be securred from the Chief. An expedition may consist of two or three or as many as seventy persons. In *tapilas*, participants, as a rule, are enlisted from the same *camil*, though sometimes members of a friendly *camil* may also join them. The participants elect their own *paqa-lain* or leader. The leader is to hold ceremonies and to command attacks.

3. Oath and New fire

After the expedition has been organized, all participants assemble in a certain

22: Wiedfeldt--16-17 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 423, 614, 621 Atayal

Every clan is the permanent owner of a fixed piece of arable land of about 100 to 130 hectares in size. No one knows how or when this land was assigned to the clan. [17] Every family of the clan may take as much of this clan land as it wishes.

22: Wiedfeldt--25 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 602, 619 Atayal

The Atayals have developed two other social institutions which are superior to the individual and are independent of life and death, as well as of the will of the individual. They outlast the changing generations and give stability and strength to the whole Atayal community. Just as each individual belongs to a family, each family is a member of a clan, and each clan in turn is a member of a tribe. No clan can leave its tribe, and no family can leave its clan, unless it is excluded by the decision of the clan.

22: Wiedfeldt--25 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 621 Atayal

The clan, karan, or aran, called scha, or village, by the Chinese, consists of from 8 to 30 families which are interrelated and which act for each other, like the Japanese goningumi. Individual clans trace their tradition back to a common ancestor, but all of them must have some blood ties.

22: Wiedfeldt--25 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 622 Atayal

The clan has two spokesmen: the clan chief and the full assembly. The office of chief is hereditary. During his lifetime, the clan head designates the worthiest of his sons as his successor. If none of his sons is worthy, he selects a younger brother or another relative... The head of the clan almost never retires from office before his death. Like many another official who has long since become incapable of action, he likes to die in harness. The nomination of a successor is designed to avoid a break in continuity and to make it possible for the present head to exert some influence on the future.

22: Wiedfeldt--25 [5] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 623, 614, 527 Atayal

The clan assembly consists of the heads of all the families and the successful head-hunters of the member families. It meets when summoned by the head of the clan, which is regularly on the occasion of the two millet festivals. Aside from these two regular meetings, it meets when it is necessary to impose a punishment or to conduct some legal business.

22: Wiedfeldt--25 [6] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 476 Atayal

The clan is a family on a larger scale, amongst whose members there is complete solidarity. Like the family, its prime tasks are economic ones, although they are not so vital and are limited to those which constitute the obligation of the man of the family. It is an assembly of the men, and it undertakes those things which require more than the strength or the ability of the individual man. Thus, it takes care of protection against numerous enemies.

22: Wiedfeldt--26 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 423, 614, 432, 574 Atayal

The arable land is the property of the clan. It protects the members in the undisturbed possession of the fields which he has planted. If one clan becomes much larger than another, for example, if it becomes much larger than one which has become reduced in numbers in fighting with the Japanese, the larger clan sometimes buys a piece of arable land from the small clan, paying it about 10 rokoschkaha [MC: clothing used as money] for a hillside plot of 12 hectares. The members of the clan fix the payment of this price by the families in the clan assembly, according to their funds. The families that settle on this hillside have to contribute more heavily. Also, the fines imposed upon the clan are collected in the assembly, as is also the price of the bride for a member whose family can not raise the money, but whom they wish to retain in the clan. Fines are paid to the head of the clan who is entitled to receive them. He organizes a feast with them, or hands the fines over to the family to whom they are due, and the family uses them for the same purpose.

22: Wiedfeldt--26 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 476, 614, 736 Atayal

In the hunts, the heads of the clans who take part act as directors and leaders for the members of their clans, for the dekane [MC: hunting association] has no head. If a family belonging to the clan is in distress because of wounds received in war, illness, or death, the neighbors help out, for the clan is a solid unit in aiding each of its members. Poverty or even begging is unknown.

22: Wiedfeldt--26 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 527 Atayal

The degree to which the clan feels itself a solid unit may be seen in the common clan festivals at the time of planting and harvesting the millet. These festivals generally precede the tribal festivals, and only members of the clan are permitted to attend them. No woman who has married into another clan may attend them.

22: Wiedfeldt--26 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 626 Atayal

The solidarity which exists among the members of the clan is clearly evident in the protection of the member families not only against assaults on their possessions from outside, but even to a greater degree against injuries from within. They help the injured husband or father, but they also encroach upon his position. They give this protection of property, person, and marriage partly in an indirect manner, by virtue of their numbers, and partly directly, in accordance with fixed customs, which correspond exactly to those that are in effect for the tribe.

22: Wiedfeldt--31 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 685, 554, 802, 614 Atayal

On the basis of this kind of evidence [MC: i. e. skull trophies], disputed land is awarded to a clan, or a penalty is imposed on a clan. The head of the clan then assigns the land to the family concerned, or demands that they comply with the penalty. In business which concerns only the clan, the procedure is the same. All payments are made by the clan heads, with the occasional assistance of a wise man, that is, one who can surely count up to 30. The payment of the price for a bride, and the adoption settlements, etc., are also mostly made with the help of the head of the clan, for the ordinary Atayal can count up to 5 at the most. In decisions of this sort, where there are two steps, one of which is carried out between clans and the other within the clan, there is no difficulty in putting them into effect, as the tangible nature of what is generally recognized as evidence is a help.

22: Wiedfeldt--31 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 686, 622, 626 Atayal

It is unheard of for the head of a clan not to submit to the decision of the tribe, for example, not to pay a fine at once. If a family or an individual does not submit to the judgment of the clan, which very rarely happens, the clan can suspend the family or the individual from the clan. If the suspended member is old, he is not taken in anywhere, and he perishes in misery. If he is young, as a rule he finds employment in a clan which lives at some distance and belongs to another tribe, for all additional labor is very welcome. To be sure, he and his family are a favorite objective of skull hunts on the part of his former comrades in the clan.

22: Wiedfeldt--37-38 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 426, 556, 614, 622 Atayal

The richest man in the tribe is said to have 250 rokosch-kaha. [MC: ornamented sleeveless jacket used as money] The next richest is supposedly one who has 80. Since the first man is the head of a clan, probably all of this is not his private property, but merely belongs to him as the representative of the clan and is derived from rather large fines. Be that as it may, since the families have an average of 20 to 30 rokosch-kaha, there are no great inequalities of income among the Atayals. As to their other possessions, there is almost no difference between families. The ornaments which serve as money are not used for any other purposes than those which have been mentioned. In particular, it is never loaned, so that capital in the sense of money, and also interest, are unheard of. If the clan helps a family to assemble the amount needed for a fine or for the price of a bride, this is done from a feeling of solidarity, but the family does not repay the amount, nor does anyone expect them to do so. If a family breaks a tool, the neighboring family helps them out. [38] by giving them the tool if they have two of them. When the first family has made another tool, they give it as a gift to the second family.

22: Wiedfeldt--42 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 692, 614 Atayal

Whereas nowadays the corporate body of the state has pushed the injured party to one side, and only in exceptional cases allows him to appear as co-plaintiff, while it acts independently of him through the medium of its experts, an injured party among the Atayals takes the law in his own hands. He kills the adulterer or murderer, and he takes back by force what has been stolen from him. If he can not obtain his rights alone, he calls upon his clan for help, and he alone, or strengthened by his solidarity with his clan, appears as the only plaintiff and demands compensation. The chief of the tribe does not interfere except in the case of an unreasonable demand, or to help determine the identity of the criminal. The fines never flow into the community coffers, that is, those of the tribe, but always into those of the clan, or they go direct to the injured party, who is under obligation to use them for the benefit of the clan.

22: Wiedfeldt--42-43 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 421, 614, 672, 692 Atayal

It may be shown that the Atayals recognize the existence of such a thing as a corporation from the fact that the clan has property, buys and sells land, that it has definite representation, and that action may be brought against it, as it may bring action against someone else. In spite of this, I do not think that the Atayals see the clan as a special repository of their legal rights. It is more probable that they merely regard the head of the clan as the member who has to take care of the joint liabilities of the families in the clan together with them and as their authorized agent. Taking the law into one's own hands is not limited to cases of self-defence. For example, if an adopted child runs away, and the adoption money is not returned, the head of the family can take another child from this family or clan without further ado. [43] Other legal principles, such as fixing a term, or full power of attorney, are also known.

22: Wiedfeldt--44 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 429, 614, 768 Atayal

The widow is the authorized guardian of the children, and can therefore sell them, or can demand the bride-price for a marriageable daughter. If she is not capable of performing this duty, a neighbor who is a member of the clan, or the head of the clan intervenes. At a glance, this recalls the modern system whereby many municipal authorities may exercise a general guardianship.

22: Wiedfeldt--45 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 671, 681, 696 Atayal

The execution of the decision arrived at [MC: in criminal cases] is simple. The clan always bows to the decision in the presence of the chief of the tribe; an individual family, or a single individual almost always does so. If necessary, the clan uses force, or debars a disobedient member from the clan. The injured clan always receives the fine which is due it, even though the clan which is obligated to pay can not always get it from the guilty member, which after all does not mean very much in view of the solidarity of the members of the clan. Thus, the Atayals have a well developed system of criminal law, they possess the most important basic institutions of civil law, and they have orderly legal procedure.

22: Wiedfeldt--46 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 571, 602, 614 Atayal

The next highest social institution [MC: above the family], the clan, is based on the blood relationship of the families, which are thus united into a solid unit. Since each member has the same influence on the direction of the clan, each is exposed to the same dangers, and each derives the same profit from it. Joint responsibility, which is the most rudimentary and most easily developed form of common responsibility is in keeping here, especially since more cultivated types of association with limited or graduated responsibility are unknown. The clan is charged with such economic tasks as exceed the capacity of the individual family. In particular, it owns the property which the member families use and own temporarily... It has other important functions in criminal and civil law, and together with the tribe it facilitates the entire legal side of Atayal life.

22: Wiedfeldt--47 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 594, 614, 622 Atayal

If the family, which is connected among the Atayals by sexual life and propagation, has received its characteristic form because of the economic tasks which it is called upon to perform, the clan is apparently an enlarged family, whose original chief has retained definite legal and economic obligations of a superior nature.

22: Wiedfeldt--48-49 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 64, 182, 614, 631 Atayal

The natural reason for the existence side by side of two superior social institutions, i. e., the clan and the tribe, is space, together with the functions which naturally are incumbent upon them. The tribe occupies 8 to 10 times as much territory as the clan. It would not be feasible to eliminate one of the two organizations, and to give the remaining one all of its functions. The territory occupied by the tribe would be too large to enable the tribe to handle the economic functions of the clan, and to act as owner of all the land. Also, the solidarity of the members of the clan would be impaired by being spread out over too large an area. Reversing the situation, the territory of the clan would be too small to enable the clan to render military and political service. Even the territory covered by the tribe has now proved to be too small for this purpose. The carrying out of their legal customs and their legal procedure would in both cases meet difficulties which could only be overcome by far-reaching changes in the entire social structure. In the organization of society for political functions, the simultaneous existence of two institutions, one of which is subordinate to the other, one of which is regional and the other local, is a logical and necessary thing, which can not be avoided without impairing or even crippling the entire organism. A social organism springs up, however, as soon as we have several people living together. Not only do [49] controversies arise, which must be settled, but there are matters which demand community cooperation and a superior order.

22: Wiedfeldt--52 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 476, 614, 619, 622 Atayal

Although a lack of supplies and transportation seriously cripples the power of the Atayals to act, to act, they have not yet been able to rise to performing any services for the body corporate. [MC: i. e. the tribe] They have only their own persons and their own strength to offer... It is different in the case of the clan. Here the members of the clan join in raising the fines and the purchase prices. One might see in this custom the germ of a tax system. If one were to examine the conditions more closely, one might also discover other basic principles of taxation, such as the consideration of the capacity of the individual to pay, or the imposition of a heavier quota on those who are particularly concerned. The head of a clan who keeps the fines that are paid in may also be regarded as a kind of treasurer. One may see how difficult it is to organize a large number of people to united and permanent activity from the fact that economic means can be levied for the clan, with its social and economic functions which are easy to see, but it is not possible to do this for the tribe even in an emergency. One can see how this difficulty increases with the size of the superior body.

7: Joest--62 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 202, 619 Chin-hoan

When a native approaches the village of a friendly tribe, he usually fires his rifle, and those in the village answer with smoke signals. At the same time both parties call out Wao.

16: Müller--229 [7] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361, 592, 619, 643

The aborigines of Formosa are a settled people and live in communities. The Atai-yal tribe is organized on the basis of nuclear families, the Vonum, Tso'o, Pyuma, and Amis tribes on the basis of composite families. Each tribe has a chief as its head. There are some tribes and federations of tribes which have two head chiefs.

19: Guérin and Bernard--551 [4] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 197, 609, 619

The language of the Kalapaï is unlike that of the Tayal, and the two tribes are separated by a water-course; but they cross it whenever they like, for they are on friendly terms with each other, and with the Maraïkoun, a tribe whose language is derived from the Tayal.

19: Guérin and Bernard--564 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 619

There has never been any federation of tribes, and the only link is the language.

21: Asai--8 [3] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 578, 619, 721

"The territory of each tribe is well fixed, also the hunting area. If one group enters into another's area, war will usually break out. The number of heads taken by each side decides who won the war. Sometimes there are quarrels between gaga in the same village."

22: Wiedfeldt--8 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 182, 582, 619 Atayal

As things are now, one can become well acquainted only with the tribes living on the frontier. Nevertheless, as far as I have been able to observe, the members of other tribes resemble them in stature, clothing and tattooing, and are said to resemble them also in mode of life and customs. Just as all the Atayal tribes are distinguished as a unit from the other savages of Formosa because they do not have the common dormitory for the young men, or because they are not acquainted with the custom of chewing betel, etc., so they are united by similar customs. They have the same type of money, they can understand each other, although their language shows dialect variations, since it does not have the benefit of the restraining influence of a written form. Neighboring tribes of the Atayals intermarry and have occasionally undertaken joint military expeditions, two things which are unheard of between branches of different tribes. Conditions among the Schimptonoff and the Taroku may hence be taken as typical of the Atayals, especially since both tribes, in spite of their frontier location, have lost very little of their tribal peculiarities, and have lost that little very recently, apparently.

22: Wiedfeldt--25 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 602, 619 Atayal

The Atayals have developed two other social institutions which are superior to the individual and are independent of life and death, as well as of the will of the individual. They outlast the changing generations and give stability and strength to the whole Atayal community. Just as each individual belongs to a family, each family is a member of a clan, and each clan in turn is a member of a tribe. No clan can leave its tribe, and no family can leave its clan, unless it is excluded by the decision of the clan.

22: Wiedfeldt--26-27 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 641, 619 Atayal

If the judicial function holds second place in the clan, in the tribe it holds first place in scope, although in importance it is inferior to the political activity of the tribe. Among the Schimptonoff, the members of the tribe are called koto-ro-ryong, [27] people living along the same great river. Among the Taroku, they are called koga-ru-gaya, people with the same customs. As the names indicate, the common bond of the tribe is not blood relationship, but the fact of occupancy of the same territory, or the fact that they have the same political and judicial customs.

22: Wiedfeldt--28 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 643, 619, 692, 648 Atayal

The person who is the political representative and the military leader also has sufficient prestige to handle legal business. If it is a question of matters which concern individuals of the same clan, the clan chief is capable of dealing with them, but if members of different clans are involved, the tribal chief handles them. There is no difference between them, except the one that has just been mentioned, as to the type of matters that they handle. The procedure is the same also. If members of different tribes are involved, there is no legal procedure, if this expression is permissible, for there is no institution in their society which is superior to the tribe, and which could decide which one was right. The matter either is left unsettled, or force of arms determines who is in the right.

22: Wiedfeldt--32 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 619, 609, 648, 721 Atayal

Just as the struggles with the Japanese have had the effect of producing greater solidarity within the tribes, so in recent years, under the same sort of pressure, there have arisen temporary alliances of several tribes, but never of a majority of tribes, for the purpose of a joint military expedition. In spite of the enthusiastic support given these joint expeditions by many of the tribal chiefs, the Atayals have no confidence in these products of extreme necessity. My question as to whether tribes of different savage peoples had ever united for the purpose of a joint military venture, aroused only laughter and amazed headshakings among the Atayals present.

22: Wiedfeldt--39 619, 609 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

The Atayals and the Amis, who bound them on the south, hate each other mutually, and have nothing but hostile dealings with each other.

22: Wiedfeldt--46 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 619, 648 Atayal

The tribe is a political association of the clans which live in a definite territory and are united by similar customs. Accordingly, it has no economic functions. It is responsible for the legal regulations which are beyond the scope of the individual clan. Furthermore, it is charged with certain military and political functions on behalf of its members.

22: Wiedfeldt--47 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 64, 619 Atayal

The gap between our conditions and theirs is further emphasized by the fact that the Atayals lack any political organization which is superior to the tribe, in short, any organization resembling a [MC: national]state.

22: Wiedfeldt--47 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 174, 619, 643 Atayal

Judging from the name and the powers of the chief, the tribe may have originated from the fact that several clans gathered about a skillful and successful military leader.... [MC: National] states in general have originated by force and conquest under a powerful leader, who then took upon himself the obligation to perform valuable services, such as defence against outside forces and the exercise of justice in domestic life. Such a development by the use of force did not take place among the Atayals.

Every tribe is independent of the other tribes, or is even hostile to them. This attitude was adequate, as long as they did not have any dealings with opponents who were superior to them in strength, as is now the case with the Japanese, and it has naturally given the individual tribe and the chief of the tribe a greater measure of freedom and independence than if a portion of his rights and duties had been transferred to a superior institution. To create social organizations without subjection and on a footing of equal rights seems uncommonly difficult in political life as well as in cooperative labor; even for [48]primitive individuals it seems almost impossible, especially if one considers how much scientific effort and practical work has now been directed at this goal. Even under the pressure of the need to defend themselves against Japanese penetration, the Atayal tribes have not been able to unite. Only individual tribes have been able to unite for minor undertakings, and that not particularly satisfactorily. Nevertheless, some of the chiefs have not spared any effort to bring this about. In the tribes in the interior, the union of the clans in the tribe is so slight, that it is not sufficient to enable them to wage war as a joint effort. In their case, it might even be doubtful whether the social bond between the families by means of their clans in the tribe is so strong that they feel themselves to be members of the same tribe, or whether the tribe is only a union of the clan heads. The tribal feasts which are celebrated in common, the uniform and simple legal procedure of tribal decisions, and the fact that they actually seldom take the liberty to absent themselves from tribal wars, make the first assumption seem more probable,

especially since there is no doubt that this is the situation which prevails among the border tribes.

22: Wiedfeldt--52 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 476, 614, 619, 622 Atayal

Although a lack of supplies and transportation seriously cripples the power of the Atayals to act, to act, they have not yet been able to rise to performing any services for the body corporate. [MC: i. e. the tribe] They have only their own persons and their own strength to offer... It is different in the case of the clan. Here the members of the clan join in raising the fines and the purchase prices. One might see in this custom the germ of a tax system. If one were to examine the conditions more closely, one might also discover other basic principles of taxation, such as the consideration of the capacity of the individual to pay, or the imposition of a heavier quota on those who are particularly concerned. The head of a clan who keeps the fines that are paid in may also be regarded as a kind of treasurer. One may see how difficult it is to organize a large number of people to united and permanent activity from the fact that economic means can be levied for the clan, with its social and economic functions which are easy to see, but it is not possible to do this for the tribe even in an emergency. One can see how this difficulty increases with the size of the superior body.

34: Del Re--19-20 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan -Aborigines
116, 619, 621, 183, 577, 421, 437 Yami

"The above [MLB: reluctance of Yami youths to enter government service] follows naturally from the basic principle of [20] their community life, namely that all members of the tribe have full and equal rights and freedom of action limited only by tribal custom which represents the collective will of the community freely accepted by and identifired with that of the individual. This also finds practical expression in their communal attitude towards all except a very few strictly personal belongings such as small canoes and ornaments. Everything else is held in common by the village. Uncultivated land, or land that has ceased to be cultivated, is the property of the community, but anyone who so wishes may take and cultivate it and in this sense it may be called his. Should he allow it to run wild, however, he cannot prevent another from cultivating it and enjoying its fruits. The large canoes and articles of clothing are also communal. In the event of a native wishing for something in the temporary possession of another he need only ask the present owner for it, but is in turn expected, as a matter of course, to do likewise. Such transactions are not necessarily in the nature of an exchange nor is a regular system of barter practised except for goods from outside."

34: Del Re--38 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 619, 868 Yami

"Possessing neither written language, laws nor a religious caste to preserve their traditions and taboos, it is the duty of the elders to pass on to their children the treasures handed down to them by their forefathers, to which they add the fruits of their personal experience. All such traditional or new material is embodied into gnomic sentences, legends and tales which they tell by the seashore or on the slopes of the hills, thus preserving the ancient tribal spirit."

ll: Haguenauer--41-42 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
621 Atayal

The community and the clan are literally a group of souls some of which are imprisoned in bodies, while others are free, but all of them are serving the clan. [42] The community increases in strength in proportion to the number of the souls who are interested in its fate.

21: Asai--2-3 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 621, 622, 626, 794 Atayal

"Among the Atayal, there are four ritual leagues called gagas in one community, each with its own chief. All four gaga are not always in one village. In one village there may be two. One part of the village will belong to one and the other [3] part to another. Among the gaga there is the head of the ceremonies. At present few ceremonies are practiced in the name of gaga. Membership in gagas is hereditary through the father. A man who immigrated into a village from another village would not be able to join the gaga of the new village. If he marries a woman of the new village, his son can join the gaga. It is possible to marry within the gaga. The gaga play an important role in social control."

21: Asai--7 [4] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 582, 621 Bunun

"The Bunun have a clan organization. Takeshi is the word for 'family' name (i.e., clan name). The Bunun have such family names, the other tribes don't. Cannot marry within the same clan. The clan is important in ceremonials, social functions. In the Bunun, each clan has common ceremonies; members of the same clan go hunting together."

22: Wiedfeldt--16-17 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 423, 614, 621 Atayal

Every clan is the permanent owner of a fixed piece of arable land of about 100 to 130 hectares in size. No one knows how or when this land was assigned to the clan. [17] Every family of the clan may take as much of this clan land as it wishes.

22: Wiedfeldt--25 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 621 Atayal

The clan, karan, or aran, called scha, or village, by the Chinese, consists of from 8 to 30 families which are interrelated and which act for each other, like the Japanese goningumi. Individual clans trace their tradition back to a common ancestor, but all of them must have some blood ties.

22: Wiedfeldt--37-38 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
431, 621 Atayal

If a family breaks a tool, the neighboring family helps them out. [38] by giving them the tool if they have two of them. When the first family has made another tool, they give it as a gift to the second family.

31; Hofmann--620-621 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 561, 621 Tsou

The most striking feature in the villages of the aborigines are the houses for bachelors (cf. Fig. 5). Both of the villages I visited, Tebor and Tappan, have a large hut of this type; it may be easily distinguished from the rest since it is erected on pilework, while the other houses are built of stone. The lower story is open on all sides; the upper story is open along the front of the house and has a straw roof. The natives climb up to the hall on a tree trunk in which notches have been cut; this is by no means easy. [621] In this hall all the unmarried men live together. Here the natives also hold their councils of war and discuss all the important affairs of the tribe, so that this hut is, as it were, their ministry, parliament, and stock market. No woman may enter this sanctum under any conditions.

34: Del Re--19 [1] U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 621, 623 Yami

"No hierarchic distinction exists among the islanders nor is the rotation-system practised. Village councils, called 'Quaty', consisted of 12 elders, of over fifty years of age elected by the villagers. Their powers were merely advisory and the community was not obliged to abide by their decisions. In case of offences against the gods or the community, the 'Quatys' had authority to impose a fine in kind--a custom still practised--proportionate to the gravity of the offence. (4)"

4. See below p. 62.

34: Del Re--19-20 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan -Aborigines
116, 619, 621, 183, 577, 421, 437 Yami

"The above [MLB: reluctance of Yami youths to enter government service] follows naturally from the basic principle of [20] their community life, namely that all members of the tribe have full and equal rights and freedom of action limited only by tribal custom which represents the collective will of the community freely accepted by and identifired with that of the individual. This also finds practical expression in their communal attitude towards all except a very few strictly personal belongings such as small canoes and ornaments. Everything else is held in common by the village. Uncultivated land, or land that has ceased to be cultivated, is the property of the community, but anyone who so wishes may take and cultivate it and in this sense it may be called his. Should he allow it to run wild, however, he cannot prevent another from cultivating it and enjoying its fruits. The large canoes and articles of clothing are also communal. In the event of a native wishing for something in the temporary possession of another he need only ask the present owner for it, but is in turn expected, as a matter of course, to do likewise. Such transactions are not necessarily in the nature of an exchange nor is a regular system of barter practised except for goods from outside."

34: Del Re--37-38 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 621, 626, 796 Yami

"In concluding these remarks it should be stressed that while each individual must contribute by his work to the welfare of the community, he is otherwise free to join or not as he pleases in the communal life without exposing himself to criticism or censure except, of course, during the flying-fish festival where failure to comply with the tribal customs would not only involve him but the whole [38] community in the direst misfortunes."

37: Steere--305-306 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 286, 241, 231, 621 Sek-hoan

"They irrigate and cultivate the soil in the same way as the Chinese do, using buffaloes for plowing and for drawing rude carts, that are used in all parts of the island, and are said to be of Dutch origin. They live like the [306] Chinese, gathered together in villages of huts made of adobes and covered with grass roofs."

37: Steere--307 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 131, 142, 621, 291 Chin-hoan

"The savages that I visited east of the Lek-whan settlement of Posia, I have left with the general designation of Che-whan. The Chinese and Pepo-whans often call them Bon-whan. They occupy a part of the water shed of the island about the head-waters of the river that flows through the valley of Posia and into the Formosan channel near Changwha, and of other streams that flow into the Pacific. They are said to belong to a nation or confederacy, of over thirty villages, under one chief. They are very small and inferior looking, hardly averaging five feet in height, but very muscular from their life spent in climbing up and down their steep mountains. Their dress is made of a species of nettle, perhaps the ramil plant, which they cultivate, and which the women weave into narrow strips of very strong and durable, but somewhat coarse cloth, which is generally ornamented with red and blue stripes woven in. The only clothing of the men is a coarse sleeveless shirt of this cloth, which comes down to the middle of the thigh. I saw a couple of men among them wearing nothing but narrow (tapa rabos), not so wide as the hand, made apparently from the hair of some animal, woven, and colored red. They were said to belong to another, but friendly tribe. The women wear a sort of short tunic or kilt."

37: Steere--310 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 131, 621, 142 Chin-hoan

"The Tsui-whan--Chinese Tsui, water, and whan, savage--are so called from living about a small lake, which is situated about ten or fifteen miles to the south of Posia, from which they get a great part of their living by fishing. This lake, with the flat, cultivable lands about it, is entirely shut in by wooded mountains, those to the east rising to great height. The lake is over two miles in length, and contains a number of species of fish and eels. There are three villages of Tsui-whan about the lake, containing perhaps in all a thousand people, under one chief, and apparently entirely separate and independent of any other tribes of savages. They are a small but well-formed race, with regular and rather pleasing features."

37: Steere--311 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 131, 162, 621 Chin-hoan

"The Kale-whan are a tribe of Che-whan inhabiting the mountains east of Takou. The territory they occupy is not extensive, not reaching over the dividing line of mountains, but all lying toward the west. They live in two villages, which are called by the Chinese Toasia and Taosia--large and small towns. The first and lowest contains perhaps two hundred inhabitants, while Taosia is properly a collection of villages, with toward a thousand inhabitants. They can look down from these villages, which must be at a height of four or five thousand feet, upon the great plain below, thickly dotted with Chinese villages and covered with rice fields, and they can even see the sea in the distance."

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
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INVESTIGATION OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CHALA'ABUS PAIWAN, PINGTUNG HSIEN

WEI HWEI-LIN
Translated by CHEN CHI-LU

This is a preliminary report of the field-works among the Chala'abus Paiwan of Pingtung Hsien. Members who participated were Messrs. Ho Ting-jui, Tang Mei-chun, Huang Hsün-ch'eng and the present writer.

Chala'abus village was chosen because: it is one of the important and old tribes of the Central Paiwan, and, is the center of the Chimo racial group of the Paiwan. We have noted after the field-session that the village had other significances: (1) The village consisted of twelve aristocratic households whether of the Chimo or of the Paiwan groups. The village organization was thus rather complicated in structure. (2) The dwelling houses and their arrangement had been well preserved in their original form. (3) Old traits in material culture, such as stone-engraving, wood-carving, designed weaving, and embroidery, had been also well kept. (4) The ethnic character is rather conservative. They have been comparatively less influenced by the Japanese and the Chinese as compared to the other groups of the tribe.

Because of the limitation of time and investigators, we emphasized tribal organization and chieftanship of the village. Our field-work was undertaken from Feb. 1 to 15. Because of the complexity of the culture, the investigation is by no means a complete one.

SETTLEMENT TYPE AND DUAL ORGANIZATION

Chala'abus village is situated on the south-eastern slope of Mt. Nan-ta-wu and stands on the northern bank of the Lai-i River or the Upper Lin-pien River. The population of Chala'abus village was 158 households and 948 persons at the time of our investigation. With the Exception of 12 households who had moved to Chipasan which lies between the village site and the plain below it and formed a separate hamlet by themselves, all the other 146 households were concentrated on the two adjacent fan-shaped slopes which in the present report are referred to as the village site. The village of Chala'abus hence consisted of two parts: the south and the north-parts. Each of them occupied a fan-shaped slope. The south-part was called Chinimoan or "the living land of the Chimo", and the north-part Pinaiwanan or "the living land of the Paiwan". The village site was on a slope of 30 degree to 45 degree inclination, with the width north to south 80 M., and length east to west 100 M. Dwelling houses, including floors and roofs, were built of slate. All these houses had small front yards paved with slate. A continuous row of houses of the same level had their yards adjacent on the same level; but communication between two rows of houses was by means of narrow stair-ways, because the front yards of houses in the rear row were always on a level with the roofs of the front houses. The village is thus in a terrace form. Chinimoan consisted of eight terraces, and Pinaiwanan ten. Each terrace had a row

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
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of five to twelve houses. Chinimoaŋ had 55 houses and Pinaiwanaŋ 101. The cultivated fields around the village were possessed by the aristocratic households (*usam na mamatsaŋiran*) of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. By annexing and transition of these fields, their state of possession had become rather complicated. The distribution of aristocratic households had also become rather complicated too. The village had 12 aristocratic households, 9 of them belonged to the Chimo. Among them was the *ruvaniau* household which was of the highest rank. The *ruvaniau* also in charge of the *satsilapan* household which was saved as a village temple in time of our investigation. These two households were both situated on the upper part of Chinimoaŋ. The other 8 Chimo aristocratic households were equally distributed in the two hamlets. The *tʃaluŋi*, the *matsiliat*, the *gumul*, and the *voto* were in Chinimoaŋ, while the south *tʃalas*, the north *tʃalas*, the *tarapatea*, and the *tʃalusaŋiu* were in Pinaiwanaŋ. Two of the Paiwan aristocratic households, the *lusiguan* and the *alijulan* were in *Pinaiwanan*, and the *atsinajan* was in southeast end of Chinimoaŋ. From the distribution of those households, therefore, we may say that the significance of the distinction of Chinimoaŋ and Pinaiwanaŋ has been lost. But by their possession of hunting grounds (*aluliapan*), the existence of dual organization in the early days has been revealed. The village had 6 localities of hunting grounds, two lay south and east of the village, *pasulaval* and *vuit*, and belonged to the Chimo chiefs, four lay in west and north and belonged to the Paiwan chiefs. At the time of investigation, *alulialiav* and *pasulaots* belonged to the *lusiguan* household; *patsavatsavan*, south *tʃalas*; *pasupaots*, north *tʃalas*. The latter two may have been annexed by the Chimo. The fishing grounds were similar in condition to hunting grounds. The Lai-i River (or the *pasulaval* river as it is called by the natives) was the fishing grounds of the Chimo. Most of the lower part belonged to the *atsinajan*, *lusiguan*, north *tʃalas*, *gumul*, *tara'atea* and the south *tʃalas* respectively. The tributary of the Lai-i River, which is called *pasuivelin* by the natives, was originally the fishing grounds of the Paiwan but it was then divided into two parts and is owned by the *atsinajan* and the north *tʃalas*. The Chimo though they predominated over the Paiwan in hunting grounds, and equalled the Paiwan in fishing grounds, had less influence on aspects of religious and ritual. *Para'aree*, the priest of the most important religion rite *malɔvo*, the five-years-feast, was a member of the *atsinajan* household of the Paiwan. The ceremonies of *malɔvo* was initiated in the *lusigunan* and *atsinajan* of the Paiwan and then performed in Chimo households. Two of the three *puliŋao* or priestesses who sang songs for inviting gods were Paiwan. But the *pusao* or the six-years-feast was performed by the Chimo priest and priestesses. The *para'aree* and *puliŋao* of these two groups have acquired their techniques from their own group. This teaching had been kept secret from each other.

By the above mentioned facts, we may assume that the Paiwan are the natives and the Chimo came later. The Chimo though predominated over the Paiwan in economic and political power, but the Paiwan have maintained their position in religious life.

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ARISTOCRACY AND LINEAGE SYSTEM

The political system of Chala'abus village is aristocratic and resembles that of the feudalism of the Chou Dynasty. It is established on two foundations: (1) The first is the tax and tributary system based on the ownership of land. (2) The second is the class system based on lineage rule.

The class system of Chala'abus differs with that of the North Paiwan. The North Paiwan system has three grades: (1) the ***mamatsayiran***, (2) the ***maluvtsivtsik***, and (3) the ***pualu***. The Chala'abus system lacks the third grade ***pualu***. The aristocratic class is generally called ***mamatsayiran***, and is divided into two subclasses: (1) the upper grade is called ***avusamay***, (2) the lower grade is again subdivided into the ***maluvtsivtsik*** or consanguineous, and the ***naitsu a n²nmax*** or affinal. The big chief ***ruvaniau*** belongs to the Chimo group. Three ***maluvtsivtsik*** of the ***ruvaniau*** are the south ***tfalas***, the north ***tfalas***, and the ***tfaluyi***. Among the ***naitsu a numax*** are the ***voto***, the ***tara²atea***, the ***gumul***, the ***matsiliat***, and the ***tfalusayiu*** of the Chimo, and the ***atsinajay***, the ***lusiguay*** and the ***aliolay*** of the Paiwan. The big chief ***ruvaniau*** possesses one third of the cultivated land of the village. The north and the south ***tfalas*** possess another one third. And the remainder is in the hands of other chiefs of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. These chiefs rent their lands to commoners of the villages, so commoners are serfs (***umutel***) and nobles landlords. Each chief has a vassal household (***utsiputsipoy***) to take care of the rental business. The office of the vassal is hereditary, but he is a commoner and owns no land by himself.

The above mentioned aristocratic system is established on the basis of the lineage system. One who first established his household in the village is regarded as the grand lineage. The elder offspring, regardless of sex, is the heir or ***usam*** to succeed the household. Offspring other than the heir will leave the household and establish a new one when he is married and is regarded as the lesser lineage or ***muluvtsivtsik***. The succession of the lesser lineage is similar to that of grand lineage. But offspring other than the heir of the lesser lineage will be degraded as commoner when he departs the household. The ***utsiputsipoy*** is a commoner who is chosen by a aristocratic household to be their vassal. The heir of the ***utsiputsipoy*** household succeeds his father's office. It is worth to note that members of the grand lineage of the ***utsiputsipoy*** are prohibited to intermarry with members of the grand lineage of their aristocratic household.

LINEAGE RULE AND MARRIAGE RULE

A. Lineage rule

The kinship organization is a lineage group with a family as its nucleus. Each family has its own ***umax*** or house. The ***umax*** or house has a special significance to the Chala'abus family system. Each house has its ***yatay a numax*** or house name. One who is born in the house is named after the name of the house. Members live in the house include a married couple, the heir or heiress and sometimes his or her spouse and other unmarried offspring of this married couple. The elder son or daughter succeeds his or her parents as the head of lineage group and remains to live in the house. Other offsprings are either married to the heir or heiress of another household

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
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tsuvulavay, lusaliay, suli'i, laluriay. 643

d) *sasaolay* (servants of the *avusamay* household)·····
·····two households of commoner, they are not hereditary.

B. Religious chiefs:

a) *para'are a malava* (a priest of the five-years-feast)·····
·····*atsinajay* (Paiwan)
para'are a pusav (priest of the six-years-feast and priest of agricultural rituals)·····*tsivuluvay giligilao* (Chimo)
para'are na ara (priest of head-hunting ceremony)·····
·····*tsipulayay* (Chimo)

b) *paraiyay* (priest of the hunting grounds, one for each ground)·····determined by divination

c) *puliyao* (priestess)·····two Paiwan, two Chimo.

C. Military chiefs:

rara'atsay (chivalry chief)·····*tsavalit*
rara'atsay tsalala (lesser chivelry chiefs)·····number of person are not fixed, promoted by military achievements.

D. Tribal councils:

a) *malaval a maluvtsivtsik*—Members of *malaval a maluvtsivtsik*, the administrative council or aristocratic council consist of all aristocratic household-heads. *utsiputsipoy*, vassals of the chiefs may attain the council but they have no voice in the council. The administative council is headed by the big chief *ruvaniau*. 623

b) *malaval tsalala'alay*—The villagers' meeting consists of all household-heads of the village. It is also assembled by the big chief *ruvaniau*.

c) *malaval ta palisilisiay*—Ritual day assembly it is assembled by the big chief *ruvaniau*, but *para'are*, the priest is the chief speaker.

d) *malaval na rara'atsay* or chavalry meeting—The meeting is held everynight. In occasions of head-hunting expedition or war, it is assembled and headed by *rara'atsay*.

FEUDALISM AND TRIBUTARY SYSTEM

A. Feudalism 631

The feudalism of Chala'abus village which resembles that of the ancient Chinese system is called *moli-umax*. The representative of a feudal lord is called *pinairaratsa*. 621 The big chief *ruvaniau* had nine (possibly more than nine) *atunayay* or dominions in other villages. They are shown as follows:

atunayay village		*pinairaratsa* household	
pailus	„	*tsamatsiay*	„
vunalit	„	*talavunay*	„
butsunuk	„	*tsaododo*	„
tsuvutsa'atay	„	*tsulimodo*	„

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

631
621

pulti	„	*talialup*	„
aviayay	„	*tsiyulol*	„
tsaovarul	„	*ruvaniau*	„
ralide	„	?	
atsa²atsaray	„	?	

B. Tax and labour

421
423
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All dwelling lands (*inaray*), hunting grounds (*aliupay*), fishing grounds (*pana*), cultivating lands (*atunayay*) and things above the land were owned by aristocratic households. A commoner in order to have some lands to till, some grounds for hunting and fishing, and stones and fuel to be collected in the valleys or on the mountains, must submit himself to some aristocratic household as a serf (*unutal*), and is obliged to pay taxes to render feudal labours to his feudal lord. Taxes are of the following kinds:

a) *wadis na satsomul*—tax for hunting animal
b) *wadis na pana*—tax for fishing
c) *wadis na atsay*—tax for domesticating animal
d) *itsivoy*—wine tax
e) *iluplup*—tax for collecting fuel
f) *pa²a*—tax for trading
g) *pa²a lura ta putsel*—tax for marriage

Feudal labours of a serf to his feudal lord are of the following kinds:

a) Land tillage (*pata²alay*): Each aristocratic household has preserved a portion of tilling land for its own. This portion of land is called *vavutaloy*. The *vavutaloy* of the *ruvaniau* household was tilled by all commoners of the village. Other *vavutaloy* were respectively tilled by serfs of those households. All products of these *vavutaloy* belong to the aristocratic households. This land-tillage system has been employed in Chala'abus village to substitute the land-tax.

b) House-building and house repairing (*jirayuts*): The commoners have the obligation to build or repair houses for chiefs. All commoners are obliged to render this kind of service to the *ruvaniau* and *sadilapay* households.

c) Miscellaneous duties (*painuma a tsavatsavuy*): Commoners must render services to chiefs' households in their marriage, funeral or other occasions of the same kind.

d) Travelling service (*putsatsalay*): A chief may require certain commoner to accompany him when travelling.

C. Tributary and audience

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The representative of the big chief in other villages must pay visits and tributes to his overlord the *ruvaniau* household after the harvests of millet and taro. Tributes presented by a *pinairaratse* to his overlord include 20 bundles of millet ears, a bottle of wine, a pig, 10 bunches of betel nut, a bag of groundnuts. In time of the five-years-feast, the chiefs of Chala'abus will be invited to visit villages where they have their representatives. At the death of the *pinairaratsa*, the overlord must condole the family of the dead and at the same time appoints the *usam* or heir of the family to succeed

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 ADl Formosa
Formosan Aborigines A1
Atayal AD4

his parents, or if the daughter-in-law does not live harmoniously and affably with her parent-in-laws, the newly married couple may move out and live by themselves. In some cases, the parents may choose to live with their eldest or second son and not necessarily with the youngest, though this may be an exception. Therefore *βaβu²an* is a kind of limited extended family or "compromise family". 592

If a family has only a daughter and no son, or though it has a son who is disliked by the parents, the daughter may remain in her parents's family and the residential system will be matrilocal, that is, her husband will come to live with her and her parents. [591]

After the deaths of the parents, the elder brother has to take up the responsibility for taking care of his unmarried younger siblings, so they may come to live with their elder brother. A widowed sister, widowed sister-in-law, parentless nephew or niece may also depend upon the *otox βaβu²an*. Divorce and remarriage are frequent. The family with remarried spouse may have half-siblings.

2. *sali²*

sali² is a kin group larger than a *βaβu²an*. *sali²* originally also means "family". In *tapilas*, *sali²* refers to two kinds of organization: in its narrow sense, *sali²* means "family", in its broader sense, "consanguinity".

(1) *sali²* in its narrow sense: A man, as stated above, usually establishes a new *βaβu²an* after he is married. But his new house is always erected close to or sometimes adjacent to his parents'. Thus it may be regarded as an extension of the parents' house. This kind of kin group, which includes parents' and their offsprings' households, is called *otox* or *qotox sali²*. It is clear then that a *sali²*, though it resembles a family, is not always merely one "family", it may be defined as "kindred", as the term has been employed by W. H. R. Rivers. 596 612

(2) *sali²* in its broader sense: On paternal side, *sali²* consists of lineal ascendants up to third generation and collaterals including tertiary relatives. In other words, it is a group of agnates who share a common grand-grand-father, this group thus includes the brothers and sisters of the grand-father and their offsprings. The Atayal term for this group of kinsmen is *otox* or *qotox jaβa naqo jotas ta*, which literally means "of the same grandfather of father". On maternal side, *sali²* consists of mother's father, mother's brother, and one's maternal cousins. In other words, it is a group of maternal agnates who share a common mother's father, this group thus includes mother's brothers, sisters, and their offsprings. The Atayal term for this group is *otox* or *qotox jaβa naqo jaja miam*, which literally means "of the same mother's father". Members of the same *sali²* are cognates to each other, so *sali²* may be translated as "consanguinities". Marriage is prohibited between members of the same generation within the *sali²*. Therefore a *sali²* is also a patrilineal bilateral type exogamous group. 613

3. *calo* and *caca*

A consanguineous group larger than a *sali²* is called a *calo* or *caca*. *calo* means 621

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Atayal

"companions". In the Atayal, a hunting group is organized by men each of whom comes from each family of the village. This group of people hunt together, and divide the game they have gotten. If a villager commits a crime, such as one who is going to marry another member of the same ***pinsaqa²an***, or one who is proposing to divorce his spouse, etc., the person concerned must offer a sacrifice, a pig or a chicken, and holds a ***xalion*** or a ceremony of breaking taboo for atonement. This ceremony will be attended by all household-heads of the group which hunt together. When the ceremony is over, the sacrifice will be divided among the attendants and will be eaten by them to avert evil influence. Of the above mentioned organizations, the former is a hunting group, and the latter a group for consuming sacrifice together. The *Seqoleq* Atayal call the former ***litan***, and the latter ***neqan***, but the ***tapilas*** is rather ignorant of these two terms, they refer to all participants as ***otox*** or ***qotox*** ***cəlo***, which means "of the same ***cəlo***".

caca means "tradition". In time of land clearing, seed-sowing, crop-harvesting, and ritual-hunting, all household-heads participate in the ritual to make offerings to their ancestors. After the ritual is over, the feast starts. The participants are called ***otox*** or ***qotox*** ***caca*** which means "of the same ***caca***" or "of the same tradition". In ***tapilas***, a ***caca*** is also a hunting group and a group for consuming sacrifice together as stated above, therefore, there is no distinction between a "***caca***" and a ***cəlo***".

4. ***camil***

There is another kind of unilateral type of kin group called ***camil***. ***camil*** means "root". Those who descend from the same ancestor are called ***otox*** or ***qotox*** ***camil*** or "of the same ***camil***". So ***camil*** has a similar meaning to the Chinese term "tsung" (lineage). A "tsung" is a unilateral kin group. The descent rule of the Atayal is patrilineal, therefore a ***camil*** is a patrilineal kin group which resembles a lineage of the clannish society. Utsurikawa has translated ***camil*** as ***shizoku*** or clan, but, as the present author has noticed, it differs from a clan, because it is not an exogamous unit and is not organized into a certain form of group. People who have the same grand-grand-father can not intermarry with each other. A woman is excluded from the ***camil*** of her parents and joins her husband's after she is married. A man who has married into his wife's family belongs to his wife's ***camil***. In the wedding ceremony, when a bride is sent to bridegroom's house, the go-between always intiates his address to the bride with the following words: "You were belonging to the ***camil*** so-and-so, but now you have become a member of the ***camil*** so-and-so". As stated in the foregoing section, ***tapilas*** has two principal ***camils***: One is the ***camil tapilas***, which the Chief ***βujoŋ-tolai*** belongs to. The first ancestor of the ***camil*** within their memory is called ***ijo***. ***βujoŋ-tolai***'s grandson is a member in the seventh generation descended from ***ijo***. Another is the ***camil məililax***, which the vice-chief ***joqex-etex*** belongs to. The vicechief's son is in his descendants of the seventh generation counting from the first ancestor. Still another is called ***camil maja²an***, which is the ***camil*** of our first guide ***βa²ai-qaino***. Their first ancestor is called ***ufi***. ***βa²ai-qaino***'s son is in his

10: Schumacher--225 [3] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 628 Chin-hoan

In order to settle their disputes the Tschin-Huan elect chiefs and otherwise they maintain a continuous feud.

19: Guérin and Bernard--563 [3] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 643

The tribe does not have any high chief. The hamlet has a magistrature which is both hereditary and elective (the son does not replace his father unless he is judged worthy of it). The magistrate's power and influence are based entirely upon his wealth and courage.

19: Guérin and Bernard--564 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 682, 692

He [VMM: i.e. the magistrate in a savage community] is a justice of the peace, and he always tries to conciliate the parties. There is no murder among these savage tribes, but theft is rather frequent and only in exceptional cases does the victim render justice himself. The parties appear before the magistrate, and he tries to appease the feeling of hatred between them and to make the delinquent restore the goods or at least pay compensation for them.

21: Asai--2 [7] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622

"The social structure patterns are varied and often complex. In Japanese writings on the life of Formosans, the chieftain of the village is often mentioned, but he is not the same kind of chief as in Africa or as in some places in Indonesia."

21: Asai--3 [3] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 241, 622 Paiwan

"In the village of the Paiwan there is a chief. The villagers are all subjects of the chief. All land belongs to him and he has absolute power. Labor is performed by the order of the chief. The workers are given a portion of the crops. (This is similar to Marshall Islands.)"

22: Wiedfeldt--25 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 622 Atayal

The clan has two spokesmen: the clan chief and the full assembly. The office of chief is hereditary. During his lifetime, the clan head designates the worthiest of his sons as his successor. If none of his sons is worthy, he selects a younger brother or another relative... The head of the clan almost never retires from office before his death. Like many another official who has long since become incapable of action, he likes to die in harness. The nomination of a successor is designed to avoid a break in continuity and to make it possible for the present head to exert some influence on the future.

22: Wiedfeldt--31 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 686, 622, 626 Atayal

It is unheard of for the head of a clan not to submit to the decision of the tribe, for example, not to pay a fine at once. If a family or an individual does not submit to the judgment of the clan, which very rarely happens, the clan can suspend the family or the individual from the clan. If the suspended member is old, he is not taken in anywhere, and he perishes in misery. If he is young, as a rule he finds employment in a clan which lives at some distance and belongs to another tribe, for all additional labor is very welcome. To be sure, he and his family are a favorite objective of skull hunts on the part of his former comrades in the clan.

22: Wiedfeldt--31 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 646, 622, 202 Atayal

The full assembly of all clan heads and honorary chiefs meets at the invitation of the tribal chief. The time and the place, in case it should be held somewhere else but in the hut of the tribal chief, as well as the agenda, are announced to the nearest clan heads by swift runners. These clan heads, in turn, similarly inform the clan heads who live near them.

22: Wiedfeldt--37-38 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 426, 556, 614, 622 Atayal

The richest man in the tribe is said to have 250 rokosch-kaha. [MC: ornamented sleeveless jacket used as money] The next richest is supposedly one who has 80. Since the first man is the head of a clan, probably all of this is not his private property, but merely belongs to him as the representative of the clan and is derived from rather large fines. Be that as it may, since the families have an average of 20 to 30 rokosch-kaha, there are no great inequalities of income among the Atayals. As to their other possessions, there is almost no difference between families. The ornaments which serve as money are not used for any other purposes than those which have been mentioned. In particular, it is never loaned, so that capital in the sense of money, and also interest, are unheard of. If the clan helps a family to assemble the amount needed for a fine or for the price of a bride, this is done from a feeling of solidarity, but the family does not repay the amount, nor does anyone expect them to do so. If a family breaks a tool, the neighboring family helps them out. [38] by giving them the tool if they have two of them. When the first family has made another tool, they give it as a gift to the second family.

21: Asai--2-3 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 621, 622, 626, 794 Atayal

"Among the Atayal, there are four ritual leagues called gagas in one community, each with its own chief. All four gaga are not always in one village. In one village there may be two. One part of the village will belong to one and the other [3] part to another. Among the gaga there is the head of the ceremonies. At present few ceremonies are practiced in the name of gaga. Membership in gagas is hereditary through the father. A man who immigrated into a village from another village would not be able to join the gaga of the new village. If he marries a woman of the new village, his son can join the gaga. It is possible to marry within the gaga. The gaga play an important role in social control."

22: Wiedfeldt--47 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 594, 614, 622 Atayal

If the family, which is connected among the Atayals by sexual life and propagation, has received its characteristic form because of the economic tasks which it is called upon to perform, the clan is apparently an enlarged family, whose original chief has retained definite legal and economic obligations of a superior nature.

Even more than the family needs a head do the populous institutions of the clan and the tribe need a head to direct them and act for them, for a large number of persons can only act through a representative. In addition, they also need, since they include many people, a body which will express and put into effect the will of the community. Since the dekan [MC: hunting association composed of several clans] lacks both bodies, it is not a social organism, but only a start in that direction. In the clan, this inclusive assembly consists of the heads of all the families, and the bachelors who have been tattooed. In the tribe, it consists of the clan heads and the honorary chiefs. The modern method of selecting the most suitable persons to represent the rest of the population by some kind of electoral procedure is unknown to the Atayals, even in the tribe, where it would be possible. Just as the head of the family represents the family in the clan, [50] so the hereditary heads of the clans are the natural representatives of the members of their clans in the tribal assembly. All the representatives to the assemblies have equal rights. Anyone who is absent is not counted, not even as a negative vote... This would be unnecessary anyway, for among the Atayals, everyone appears. The full assemblies have the authority to make decisions, and they pass on all matters of a general nature. The will of the totality is recognized by the mechanical means of a simple majority. If there is a tie between two opinions, the chief has the decisive voice.

If a resolution is passed, the chief is empowered and obligated to put it into effect, for example, a clan head may be authorized to buy a certain piece of land at a set price,

or a tribal chief may be authorized to carry on negotiations with the Japanese concerning the changes in the Aiyu line. The not unfamiliar contrast between representative and constituent has been rendered impossible among the Atayals by restricting the representative to limited powers. The clan assembly can hold the hereditary head of the clan responsible for voting as it desires in the tribal assembly, for as a rule the clan assembly precedes, and it does so. The corporate body does not relinquish its exclusive right to make decisions even under unfavorable circumstances.

22: Wiedfeldt--50-51 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 643, 648 Atayal

After an unsuccessful [MC: diplomatic] battle against the Japanese, the chief of the tribe was forced to break off the negotiations, as soon as circumstances arose which had not been foreseen when his powers were conferred upon him, and had to go back and question his tribal assembly anew, to the annoyance of the Japanese. In view of the fact that they are closely bound to observe the decisions of the full assembly, neither the head of the clan nor the chief of the tribe in particular becomes a real leader and authority, for example, in the protection of foreign envoys. They would not be able to develop any initiative if their position were not assured of a certain independence from another source. They are not chosen by election, and hence they are free from any influence from the side of the assembly or the members of the tribe. Both have inherited their positions as representatives from their forebears, chiefly from their fathers, who selected the most suitable successor on the basis of their long experience and their judgment, without any help from the body corporate. Just [51] as they enter upon their office at the death or retirement of their predecessor, without any particular ceremony, so the termination of their careers as representatives depends entirely on their own wishes. The chief of a tribe retires from his somewhat honorary position when he thinks that he can no longer perform important functions. . .

22: Wiedfeldt--52 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 476, 614, 619, 622 Atayal

Although a lack of supplies and transportation seriously cripples the power of the Atayals to act, to act, they have not yet been able to rise to performing any services for the body corporate. [MC: i. e. the tribe] They have only their own persons and their own strength to offer... It is different in the case of the clan. Here the members of the clan join in raising the fines and the purchase prices. One might see in this custom the germ of a tax system. If one were to examine the conditions more closely, one might also discover other basic principles of taxation, such as the consideration of the capacity of the individual to pay, or the imposition of a heavier quota on those who are particularly concerned. The head of a clan who keeps the fines that are paid in may also be regarded as a kind of treasurer. One may see how difficult it is to organize a large number of people to united and permanent activity from the fact that economic means can be levied for the clan, with its social and economic functions which are easy to see, but it is not possible to do this for the tribe even in an emergency. One can see how this difficulty increases with the size of the superior body.

22: Wiedfeldt--52[2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 623, 643, 646 Atayal

The Atayals possess, in addition to the family, two higher grades of social organizations [MC: ie. the clan and the tribe] with a clearly defined and suitable distribution of functions to both institutions. Each one of them has the two indispensable spokesmen: the assembly of the whole and the head, between whom the powers have up to now been adequately divided.

24: Anonymous--92 [5] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 212, 622, 695

The chiefs of one tribe are divided into the head chief and assistant chiefs. There are five or six of these in a community, depending upon the number of families. Trials in one tribe are held in the community house; minor feud are settled elsewhere. Among the clerks of court, there are some who know the Dutch writing; these are called chiao-ts'ê (registrars), and they count all those who go in or out. They dip a goose feather quill into the ink and they write across the page from left to right, instead of up and down. It is said that in recent times, the aborigines have adopted Chinese customs, and that private teachers are trying to teach the children Chinese literature, customs, and music.

Administration of justice is always in the hands of the chief.

The chief examines the question, listens to the parties and some witnesses, and gives a verdict. Sometimes he puts his sentence into effect at once, or he may let the victim or his family attend to it. In doubtful cases, when there is no other way to reach a decision, the natives invoke the gods. In other words, the deceased ancestors of the contending parties are invoked to make the decision. There are two ways of obtaining this decision--they are head-hunting and single combat. Head-hunting is organized in this manner: the two opponents, who are frequently accompanied by their friends, go out separately and attack Chinese peasants who are working alone in the field, or they attack unprotected settlements, and then they behead those people whom they can overpower. The group which comes back with one, or several, or with the largest number of heads has won the suit. [40] The duel is fought by the two opponents, or, if one of them is accused of murder, it is between the accused and the accuser, who is usually a relative of the murdered man. They fight until one of them kills the other and cuts off his head. This indicates that the ancestors have given the victor strength to vanquish his opponent, and this demonstrates the innocence or justice of his accusation--the guilty man has received his punishment.

The affair is more serious when the opponents belong to different tribes. The chiefs generally try to reach a peaceful settlement, but they do not always succeed, and then there is no other recourse but to settle the quarrel by battle between the two tribes.

25: Plaut--40 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 681, 692

The chief's decision is invoked when there is a murder, in cases of adultery and seduction, theft, calumny, and quarrels. Nearly all of the tribes believe that each act has its price, and that if the guilty man pays this price, he can be exonerated from all blame. In many tribes it is left to the victim to decide whether he will accept the money, or whether he prefers the revenge.

25: Plaut--40 [4] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 682, 692 Paiwan

The chief of the Paiwan convokes a tribunal of selected members of the tribe for the abjudication of capital crimes; the murderer is always permitted to pay a ransom, and its amount varies according to whether the perpetrator can show a "just cause" for his deed or not.

26: Honda--471 [3] N-3 (1896) 1897 Formosan Aborigines
116, 579, 622 Bunun

Every village is headed by a chief who is completely independent. Frequently neighboring villages are hostile towards each other.

31; Hofmann--619 [2] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 361, 513, 622 Tsou

When I entered the first village, Teboro, I was received by the chief and treated with great respect; the village is enclosed by a low stone wall, as is each of the houses in the village. The huts are oval in shape; they are made of rough stones taken from rivers and brooks. They are barely 1 1/2 meters high; the ratio between the length and width is 4 to 1. The post which supports the roof consists of a tree trunk which has not been shaped in any way; the roof itself consists of reeds. There is one, or at most two openings without a door; these are on the narrow sides of the house and serve both to give light and to admit air. The hut of the chieftain is somewhat larger. There are niches in the walls which serve as sleeping quarters; the natives sleep on clay which has been beaten flat, while the chieftain sleeps on a bamboo support which is in the center of the hut. The clay floor of the house I visited had been cleaned, but I do not know whether this is always the case.

31: Hofmann--625 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 692 Tsou

As far as we know, the office of chieftain today is passed on through inheritance; the chieftain is also the only judge in the tribe. Each tribal village also has its local chief, chosen by the people themselves; these subordinate chiefs, however, exercise very little power.

34: Del Re--19 [2] U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 625, 177.62 Yami

"When the Japanese, for administrative reasons, tried to induce the members of each village community to elect their own headsman, they met with such opposition that they were obliged to select and appoint one themselves. In practice, however, this Japanese appointee is not recognized by the natives as being anything more than a useful link between themselves and the authorities. (5) Furthermore, unlike what is the

5. cpr. VF, (Pt. I. p.5 f.)

case among other Formosan tribes, it was very difficult before the war to get youths to wear uniform or act as police assistants in spite of the considerable inducements offered them to enter government service."

34: Del Re--33 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 796, 805, 622, 756, 226 Yami

"The ceremony of 'calling' the flying-fish opens the year which begins, according to the Yami system, in April corresponding, in the solar calendar, to October. It is accompanied by most elaborate ritual observances the purpose of which is to secure a good season and to celebrate the arrival of the fish. On this occasion the tribe annually chooses the man whom it considered best fitted to exercise the role of high priest and to represent it. It may be noted in passing that, contrary to what occurs in other tribes, the Yami have no medicine-women, all ritual observances being restricted to men alone."

34:Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Paiwan

627
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Paiwan Chief in full dress

37: Steere--307 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 627, 553 Sek-hoan

"There are still some remains of their ancient tribal government among them, but the lineal chiefs or head men seem to have purchased small mandarinships, and thus unite the Chinese authority with that inherited. Justice is generally administered as among the Chinese by the elders and head men of the village. They have a curious custom of naming their children after the different kinds of trees in the forests."

37: Steere--311-312 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 142, 291, 622, 301 Chin-hoan

"The Kale-whan are very small in stature, averaging about five feet. The features of the younger ones are quite regular and pleasant, but among the old, want and vice have almost made them to look like brutes. They dress in Chinese cloth--the men in the short coat or hunting shirt, that leaves the legs and arms exposed. The chief was dressed in the skin of a tiger cat, which seemed to be his badge of office. The women dress much as the Chinese and Pepo-whans in the plain below, but they sometimes spend much time in embroidering their sleeves and trowsers. The women were always, while we were among them, whether at work in the fields or in the villages, crowned with wreaths of vines and flowers. These were often nothing more than sweet potato vines, but in some cases beautiful wild plants and flowers. Many of the men were also decorated in this way, and it would almost seem to be [312]a distinguishing mark of the tribe."

37: Steere--312 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 721, 861, 622 Chin-hoan

"From the fact that they have become so dependent upon their trade with the Pepo-whans, the practice of head hunting seems to have nearly gone into disuse. There were several skulls in niches in their houses, and I was shown a grass hut, with seven or eight skulls heaped in a corner. There were a number of small seats upon the ground, and as nearly as I could ascertain, this hut was used as a dormitory for the small boys, that they might get accustomed to the sight of the skulls of their enemies, and learn to prize them. The villages are upon steep hill-sides. The houses are built solidly, but rudely, of slabs of slate stone. Places are excavated in the hill-side, and the walls built up and covered with slate, the roofs slanting in but one direction, and that with the direction of the hill, so that the houses are hardly seen at a little distance. The roofs are supported by heavy cross walls inside, and by timbers, some of which have been rudely ornamented with carving. The doors, which also serve for windows, are so low that we had to creep on our hands and knees to enter. They are secured by slabs of slate set upright."

39: Wiedfeldt--11-12 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 436, 555, 622, 802 Atayal

The Atayals have a better idea of counting than they have of measuring time. Most of them, to be sure, can only count up to three or five, and that is sufficient for their purposes. Anyone who can count up to thirty is considered clever, and only a few individuals in the border tribes can count up to a hundred. Some of the Japanese maintain that a smart Atayal of the interior can count up to a thousand, but most people say that this is just talk. Most of the tribes are said to have names for numbers up to five only, and to count further by saying five and one, five and two, five and three, five and four. They have a special word for ten, and also for twenty and thirty. Some tribes are said to know more words for numbers, but they seem to have acquired them recently through Chinese or Japanese interpreters. Most of the clan heads can count this way up to twenty or thirty. If they need to go beyond that, they call in a wise man to help them, if fines are to be paid. They also have to count when they are fixing the prike of the bride or the price for adopted children. They count 25 rokosch-kaha, or 250 yen, by putting down 20 rokosch-kaha, or garments with precious [12] materials, and 10 bintoan, breastpieces with precious materials. Presumably the calculation is made at once in this way, and the reduction to a common denominator is made by the interpreter. In tribes that have lived for years inside the Aitu line, and that accept Japanese money, families will sell a rokosch-kaha together with their profit on it for 13 or 15 yen, because they can conceive only of 13 as 1 rokosch-kaha plus 1 binrai, or 15 as 1 rokosch-kaha plus 1 bintoan, but they can not imagine 11, 12, or 14 yen.

39: Wiedfeldt--13 [2] F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 153, 182, 622 Atayal

Some of them, of course, are able to think further agead. For years, some of the tribal chiefs have understood and have attempted to make the others understand that individual fights against the Japanese on the part of different tribes mean useless shedding of blood, and that their only hope lies in common action by all the tribes. They have not achieved a great measure of success, due largely to the difficulty of introducing new ideas into the mind of the Atayals, who do not follow their heads, but the prize skulls. ...They are capable of observing closely, and often make slow but correct deductions from their observations...

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

ARISTOCRACY AND LINEAGE SYSTEM

The political system of Chala'abus village is aristocratic and resembles that of the feudalism of the Chou Dynasty. It is established on two foundations: (1) The first is the tax and tributary system based on the ownership of land. (2) The second is the class system based on lineage rule.

The class system of Chala'abus differs with that of the North Paiwan. The North Paiwan system has three grades: (1) the *mamatsayiran*, (2) the *maluvtsivtsik*, and (3) the *pualu*. The Chala'abus system lacks the third grade *pualu*. The aristocratic class is generally called *mamatsayiran*, and is divided into two subclasses: (1) the upper grade is called *avusamay*, (2) the lower grade is again subdivided into the *maluvtsivtsik* or consanguineous, and the *naitsu a n²nmax* or affinal. The big chief *ruvaniau* belongs to the Chimo group. Three *maluvtsivtsik* of the *ruvaniau* are the south *tfalas*, the north *tfalas*, and the *tfaluyi*. Among the *naitsu a numax* are the *voto*, the *tara²atea*, the *gumul*, the *matsiliat*, and the *tfalusayiu* of the Chimo, and the *atsinajay*, the *lusiguay* and the *aliolay* of the Paiwan. The big chief *ruvaniau* possesses one third of the cultivated land of the village. The north and the south *tfalas* possess another one third. And the remainder is in the hands of other chiefs of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. These chiefs rent their lands to commoners of the villages, so commoners are serfs (*unutel*) and nobles landlords. Each chief has a vassal household (*utsiputsipoy*) to take care of the rental business. The office of the vassal is hereditary, but he is a commoner and owns no land by himself.

The above mentioned aristocratic system is established on the basis of the lineage system. One who first established his household in the village is regarded as the grand lineage. The elder offspring, regardless of sex, is the heir or *usam* to succeed the household. Offspring other than the heir will leave the household and establish a new one when he is married and is regarded as the lesser lineage or *muluvtsivtsik*. The succession of the lesser lineage is similar to that of grand lineage. But offspring other than the heir of the lesser lineage will be degraded as commoner when he departs the household. The *utsiputsipoy* is a commoner who is chosen by a aristocratic household to be their vassal. The heir of the *utsiputsipoy* household succeeds his father's office. It is worth to note that members of the grand lineage of the *utsiputsipoy* are prohibited to intermarry with members of the grand lineage of their aristocratic household.

LINEAGE RULE AND MARRIAGE RULE

A. Lineage rule

The kinship organization is a lineage group with a family as its nucleus. Each family has its own *umax* or house. The *umax* or house has a special significance to the Chala'abus family system. Each house has its *yatay a numax* or house name. One who is born in the house is named after the name of the house. Members live in the house include a married couple, the heir or heiress and sometimes his or her spouse and other unmarried offspring of this married couple. The elder son or daughter succeeds his or her parents as the head of lineage group and remains to live in the house. Other offsprings are either married to the heir or heiress of another household

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

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On the sixth day, all grade members gathered once more in front of the *ka·ita:n* house. At this time all the *šikawasai* (shamans) of the town came to the house and performed rites to ward off disease from the attending celebrants. Then, the *šikawasai* danced together, while the others went out to their own fields to perform a ceremony of mimical cultivation to guarantee a good harvest in the year to come.

The final day of the *irisiŋ*, all the inhabitants of Tavarong went to fish in the streams and rivers. Each individual offered one fish to the gods to inform them that the New Year had commenced. After the celebrants returned to the town, the fish were offered to the *tatakusan*, the ancestral gods; the offering was then divided up among the populace and eaten, thus breaking the taboo on fish and vegetables. This concluded the *irisiŋ*.

Conclusions

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In our examination of Ami religion, we found that at least in part Ami society can be considered as a theocracy. The *kakita:n*, the hereditary priests, combined in their persons both temporal and spiritual power. The priestly house served as the ceremonial and political center of the tribesmen and may bear some theoretical importance as a possible prototype of the village-temple.

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Shamans and priests are clearly distinguished among the Ami. The former succeeded by reincarnation, and the latter through inheritance. Ami shamanism [this was still true in 1953] in typically Asiatic, in that its practitioners are emotionally unstable individuals who derive their power from direct contact with the spiritual world; this contact is made at times of the greatest physical strain [chronic illness]. Ami shamanism is also of a non-Arctic type, since the neophyte is indoctrinated with the shamanistic techniques, instead of receiving them through spiritual experiences of a personal, charismatic nature. The shamans practice a complex and typically Indonesian type of divination.

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As with many other peoples of the Indonesian culture area, no sharp distinction is made by the Ami between gods, spirits, and souls, which are all designated by the generic term *kawas*. However, the Ami are atypical among the Formosan tribes in that they possess a relatively highly developed genealogical mythology or theogony. The possible relation between this theogony and Ami social structure is worthy of future study. It may be of significance, for instance, that in this matrilineal society the sun is a female goddess, and the moon male. This spiritual world provides the power and justification for all Ami religious activities, being beseeched with prayers and bribed with offerings.

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The *irisiŋ*, the great New Year ceremony which was described in detail, is functionally a world renewal ritual, the renewal of the powers of the stream and soil and, in fact, a renewal of the whole society. In this, the population was

22: Wiedfeldt--25 [5] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 623, 614, 527 Atayal

The clan assembly consists of the heads of all the families and the successful head-hunters of the member families. It meets when summoned by the head of the clan, which is regularly on the occasion of the two millet festivals. Aside from these two regular meetings, it meets when it is necessary to impose a punishment or to conduct some legal business.

Even more than the family needs a head do the populous institutions of the clan and the tribe need a head to direct them and act for them, for a large number of persons can only act through a representative. In addition, they also need, since they include many people, a body which will express and put into effect the will of the community. Since the dekan [MC: hunting association composed of several clans] lacks both bodies, it is not a social organism, but only a start in that direction. In the clan, this inclusive assembly consists of the heads of all the families, and the bachelors who have been tattooed. In the tribe, it consists of the clan heads and the honorary chiefs. The modern method of selecting the most suitable persons to represent the rest of the population by some kind of electoral procedure is unknown to the Atayals, even in the tribe, where it would be possible. Just as the head of the family represents the family in the clan, [50] so the hereditary heads of the clans are the natural representatives of the members of their clans in the tribal assembly. All the representatives to the assemblies have equal rights. Anyone who is absent is not counted, not even as a negative vote... This would be unnecessary anyway, for among the Atayals, everyone appears. The full assemblies have the authority to make decisions, and they pass on all matters of a general nature. The will of the totality is recognized by the mechanical means of a simple majority. If there is a tie between two opinions, the chief has the decisive voice.

If a resolution is passed, the chief is empowered and obligated to put it into effect, for example, a clan head may be authorized to buy a certain piece of land at a set price,

or a tribal chief may be authorized to carry on negotiations with the Japanese concerning the changes in the Aiyu line. The not unfamiliar contrast between representative and constituent has been rendered impossible among the Atayals by restricting the representative to limited powers. The clan assembly can hold the hereditary head of the clan responsible for voting as it desires in the tribal assembly, for as a rule the clan assembly precedes, and it does so. The corporate body does not relinquish its exclusive right to make decisions even under unfavorable circumstances.

22: Wiedfeldt--52[2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 623, 643, 646 Atayal

The Atayals possess, in addition to the family, two higher grades of social organizations [MC: ie. the clan and the tribe] with a clearly defined and suitable distribution of functions to both institutions. Each one of them has the two indispensable spokesmen: the assembly of the whole and the head, between whom the powers have up to now been adequately divided.

34: Del Re--19 [1] U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 621, 623 Yami

"No hierarchic distinction exists among the islanders nor is the rotation-system practised. Village councils, called 'Quaty', consisted of 12 elders, of over fifty years of age elected by the villagers. Their powers were merely advisory and the community was not obliged to abide by their decisions. In case of offences against the gods or the community, the 'Quatys' had authority to impose a fine in kind--a custom still practised--proportionate to the gravity of the offence. (4) "

4. See below p. 63.

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 ADl Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

tsuvulavaŋ, lusaliaŋ, suli'i, laluriaŋ. 643

d) *sasaolaŋ* (servants of the *avusamaŋ* household)·····
·····two households of commoner, they are not hereditary.

B. Religious chiefs:

a) *para'are a malava* (a priest of the five-years-feast)·····
·····*atsinajaŋ* (Paiwan)
para'are a pusav (priest of the six-years-feast and priest of agricultural rituals)·····*tsivuluvaŋ giligilao* (Chimo)
para'are na ara (priest of head-hunting ceremony)·····
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b) *paraiŋaŋ* (priest of the hunting grounds, one for each ground)·····determined by divination

c) *puliŋao* (priestess)·····two Paiwan, two Chimo.

C. Military chiefs:

rara'atsaŋ (chivalry chief)·····*tsavalit*

rara'atsaŋ tsalala (lesser chivelry chiefs)·····number of person are not fixed, promoted by military achievements.

D. Tribal councils:

a) *malaval a maluvtsivtsik*—Members of *malaval a maluvtsivtsik*, the administrative council or aristocratic council consist of all aristocratic household-heads. *utsiputsipoŋ*, vassals of the chiefs may attain the council but they have no voice in the council. The administative council is headed by the big chief *ruvaniau*. 623

b) *malaval tsalala'alaŋ*—The villagers' meeting consists of all household-heads of the village. It is also assembled by the big chief *ruvaniau*.

c) *malaval ta palisilisiaŋ*—Ritual day assembly it is assembled by the big chief *ruvaniau*, but *para'are*, the priest is the chief speaker.

d) *malaval na rara'atsaŋ* or chavalry meeting—The meeting is held everynight. In occasions of head-hunting expedition or war, it is assembled and headed by *rara'atsaŋ*.

FEUDALISM AND TRIBUTARY SYSTEM

A. Feudalism

The feudalism of Chala'abus village which resembles that of the ancient Chinese system is called *moli-umax*. The representative of a feudal lord is called *pinairaratsa*. The big chief *ruvaniau* had nine (possibly more than nine) *atunaŋaŋ* or dominions in other villages. They are shown as follows: 631 621

atunaŋaŋ village		*pinairaratsa* household	
pailus	„	*tsamatsiaŋ*	„
vuŋalit	„	*taluvuŋaŋ*	„
butsuŋnok	„	*tsaododo*	„
tsuvutsa'ataŋ	„	*tsulimodo*	„

11: Haguenauer--29 -30 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 486, 625

How do you travel in the savage territory? You have to have a safe-conduct, which is supplied by the Chief of Police who is in charge of the savages. With this passport you can travel under escort along the trails which skirt [30] the "savage zone". You go from post to post. These are generally placed four or five kilometers apart, and they are guarded by Japanese policemen, assisted by natives, who can speak enough Japanese so that they can act as interpreters. Larger posts are placed at strategic spots. And there you find a large exchange post, a school and workshops.

11: Haguenauer--30 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 437, 625

The policeman of the savage zone has an entirely different task than his collegues of the metropolis; he is essentially a director of public works, a professor of agriculture, a teacher and a councillor. The policeman even engages in commerce, but it is of a very special kind, for he does not deal in money; there is a fixed rate for bartered products, and according to that he takes the savage goods and exchanges them for sabre blades, knives, pieces of glass, sauce pans, thread, matches, and alcohol.

34: Del Re--15-16 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 161, 181, 625, 177.16 Yami

"On the whole they appear to have preserved almost intact their traditional social organization and religious beliefs which the Japanese not only did not attempt to modify, except in certain minor points, but took care that the natives should not be contaminated by outside contacts. These were infrequent, partly by reason of the island's inaccessibility, and partly because the authorities following a policy of segregation and in order to avoid exploitation, did not encourage casual visitors, whether Japanese or foreign. The same was true, to a lesser degree, in the case of the 'wild' savages of the interior. One of the results of this policy was an increase in the savage population. The relations between the latter and the specially chosen police force were on the whole very harmonious. Some of these policemen indeed, elected to make their permanent home among the savages [16] rather than be transferred elsewhere. The unfortunate Musha insurrection (1930) which cost the lives of a considerable number of Japanese women and children as well as policemen, and was ruthlessly suppressed, was due to the conduct of individual policemen and not the result of government policy."

34: Del Re--19 [2] U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 625, 177.62 Yami

"When the Japanese, for administrative reasons, tried to induce the members of each village community to elect their own headsman, they met with such opposition that they were obliged to select and appoint one themselves. In practice, however, this Japanese appointee is not recognized by the natives as being anything more than a useful link between themselves and the authorities. (5) Furthermore, unlike what is the

5. cpr. VF, (Pt. I. p.5 f.)

case among other Formosan tribes, it was very difficult before the war to get youths to wear uniform or act as police assistants in spite of the considerable inducements offered them to enter government service."

34: Del Re--23 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan: Aborigines
116, 625, 437, 178, 415, 396, 531 Yami

"Besides acting as schoolmasters and, when necessary, as doctors, the police control (as in the case of other tribes) the exchange of local products against implements imported from Formosa, which are replacing the primitive stone and shell ones used for cultivating the land, or for working wood out of which they make their domestic utensils, some of which are very handsomely carved. The Yami are particularly skilful in building canoes, no less graceful than swift and seaworthy, decorated with elaborate designs and painted sometimes in red, white and black."

39: Wiedfeldt--12-13 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 625, 723, 177.62 Atayal
636.62 Japanese

They succeeded over and over again in taking Japanese troups by surprise through their stratagems in battle, so that the Japanese army, which is admitted to be good, [13] proved to be of little use in these battles, and has been replaced by numerous policemen, who live there for long periods and are not so easily outwitted.

"At the close of 1934 there were 536 stations with 5,509 policemen, whose duty it is to maintain peace and order, to give industrial and agricultural training to the villagers, especially the young folks, and to provide medical care. The chief objectives of this work may be briefly summarized: an invigoration of the national spirit, diffusion of the national language, abolition of long-standing evil customs, cultivation of a love for labor, of thrift, and of settled farming. (3)

3. Kokusai Nippon Kyokai, A Record of Taiwan's Progress, Taihoku, p. 62.

This ambitious program to assimilate the aborigines of Formosa, 154,255 strong, is entrusted to a Bureau of Aborigines Affairs within the Police Affairs Section of the Government General. The work of the policeman among the Takasagozoku, as the primitives are called, is in many respects decidedly unique. This guardian of the law, to repeat, is teacher, counselor, financial and agricultural adviser, doctor, nurse, and religious leader all in one. To educate the savages in Japanese manners and ideals, to [15] destroy native customs, beliefs, and traditions, and to accelerate the process of ko-min-ka (i.e., change to Imperial people) are the policeman's main duties in each village. Notwithstanding certain difficulties which have arisen in the past because of unfortunate relations of some policemen with native women, high officials, report that the teacher-policemen, assigned to the special task of savage administration, seem to

have done creditable work.

In addition to schools, young men's associations are formed to stimulate an interest in the study of the Japanese language."

40: Kirk--15 [2] S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 437, 625

"The Japanese claim that the savages know nothing about business and that the usual run of merchants and traders take an unfair advantage when they get a chance to bartar with the natives. Consequently, the policeman assumes complete control over native affairs and decides with whom the primitives are to trade."

21: Asai--2-3 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 621, 622, 626, 794 Atayal

"Among the Atayal, there are four ritual leagues called gagas in one community, each with its own chief. All four gaga are not always in one village. In one village there may be two. One part of the village will belong to one and the other [3] part to another. Among the gaga there is the head of the ceremonies. At present few ceremonies are practiced in the name of gaga. Membership in gagas is hereditary through the father. A man who immigrated into a village from another village would not be able to join the gaga of the new village. If he marries a woman of the new village, his son can join the gaga. It is possible to marry within the gaga. The gaga play an important role in social control."

21: Asai--8 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 626, 776, 784 Yami

"There are many tabus among the Yami. They believe that anyone who goes against the laws will be killed by the gods."

22: Wiedfeldt--26 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 626 Atayal

The solidarity which exists among the members of the clan is clearly evident in the protection of the member families not only against assaults on their possessions from outside, but even to a greater degree against injuries from within. They help the injured husband or father, but they also encroach upon his position. They give this protection of property, person, and marriage partly in an indirect manner, by virtue of their numbers, and partly directly, in accordance with fixed customs, which correspond exactly to those that are in effect for the tribe.

22: Wiedfeldt--31 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 686, 622, 626 Atayal

It is unheard of for the head of a clan not to submit to the decision of the tribe, for example, not to pay a fine at once. If a family or an individual does not submit to the judgment of the clan, which very rarely happens, the clan can suspend the family or the individual from the clan. If the suspended member is old, he is not taken in anywhere, and he perishes in misery. If he is young, as a rule he finds employment in a clan which lives at some distance and belongs to another tribe, for all additional labor is very welcome. To be sure, he and his family are a favorite objective of skull hunts on the part of his former comrades in the clan.

22: Wiedfeldt--40 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 183, 626, 671 Atayal

There is no Atayal system of laws, in the modern sense of the word, for the fall of man in the development of laws, as Savigny calls the codification of legal usages, has not yet made its appearance in these tribes which can not write. For all that, they do not act with complete freedom of the will in their legal paradise, but move in the fixed grooves of traditional and generally observed rules which govern their relations with each other, not merely in the case of infractions of the legal usage, but in their community life as a whole.

34: Del Re--37-38 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 621, 626, 796 Yami

"In concluding these remarks it should be stressed that while each individual must contribute by his work to the welfare of the community, he is otherwise free to join or not as he pleases in the communal life without exposing himself to criticism or censure except, of course, during the flying-fish festival where failure to comply with the tribal customs would not only involve him but the whole [38] community in the direst misfortunes."

If a Tayal wife is mistreated by her husband's family [35] she can go home to her parents. But this is a very serious act, for it entails not only a divorce, but a rupture between the two families. It is a case of vendetta, and the only way of avoiding a reprisal on the part of the wife's family is by paying an indemnity. Usually an unhappy wife just asks a third person to intervene, it may be the village chief, or some one else. If the husband is at fault, he is scolded. If the husband is guilty of adultery, the wife has the right to leave the house, and the husband cannot ask her family to return the sum that he paid in order to marry her. If the wife is guilty, her spouse has the right to repudiate her and to ask for the restoration of this sum. When the divorce proceedings are over, each family must kill a pig and distribute the pieces among the other families in the village. A Tayal woman who has been repudiated never goes back to her family; she has to marry again or live alone.

16: Müller--230 [9] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 593, 627

It is a tradition in native family life that the murder of a parent must be revenged (blood vengeance).

18: Kakyo--70 [4] E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 593, 627, 858

Love between parents and children among the Formosan savages is based above all on the principle that rules in general the relations between young and old; to this is added parental love, which created a strong bond between parents and children. Although, among savages, the ethical love of children is not prominent as compared with natural love, nevertheless the parents love and care for their children, while the children look on it as their sacred duty, if father or mother is killed, for example, to take revenge. This is enough to show that the ethical love of children is being developed.

22: Wiedfeldt--40 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 183, 627, 684 Atayal

An Atayal, unlike a modern cuckold, can not disregard this offence, but the clan, with its strict conception of marriage, will demand that the offence be punished, and if need be, will intervene in his place. Their simple and consistent legal principles are part of the flesh and blood of every Atayal, and are apparently more closely observed and less frequently violated than the individual regulations which are turned out by our parliamentary paragraph factories, which are a matter of concern to virtually only the parties interested for the moment. The penal law, civil law, and legal procedure of the Atayals, if I may be permitted to use these terms for the sake of brevity, could be put into the form of laws, if it were worth the trouble, and if, in so doing, their most characteristic features would not be lost. For this entire legal system consists of nothing but basic principles, from which one may safely deduce the necessary procedure for every individual case.

25: Plaut--41 [5] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 627, 674, 685

Theft is unknown among some of the tribes. Among others it is very rare, and it is usually handled in such a way that the thief is required to restore the stolen property, or its equivalent, and to pay an additional fine.

25: Plaut--42 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 578, 582, 627

If a person has made some slanderous remark, he is forced to retract it and to ask for pardon. If he refuses to do that, he has to pay a fine to the insulted party.

If two men love the same girl and neither one is willing to give her up, there is usually no solution but for them to fight until one dies, and the other one has the bride.

37: Steere--307 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 627, 553 Sek-hoan

"There are still some remains of their ancient tribal government among them, but the lineal chiefs or head men seem to have purchased small mandarinships, and thus unite the Chinese authority with that inherited. Justice is generally administered as among the Chinese by the elders and head men of the village. They have a curious custom of naming their children after the different kinds of trees in the forests."

7: Joest--55 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361, 628

The eastern half of the island is mountainous and covered with dense forests; the natives of the island were pushed back into this region by the Chinese. Along the coast there are several tribes who live in great poverty as fishermen. Most of the natives, however, built villages in the forests so that each tribe has its own community; these live chiefly by hunting. There are constant feuds among them.

34: Del Re--20-23 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 183, 421, 577, 627, 777 Yami

"The real secret of the smooth working of their system of life may be attributed to the absence of any selfish possessive feeling in respect of things and persons based on deep-rooted 'natural' ethical principles which allow the reciprocal claims of the individual and the community to be harmoniously adjusted in a spirit of freedom and equality. An illuminating instance of [pages 21 and 22 contain illustrations] [23] the application of these principles (6) is seen in the custom, which still persists though

> 6. According to VF (Pt. I, p. 9) community of property is not usual among other Formosan savages.

frowned upon by the police, of settling every community dispute by means of a wrestling match followed, in cases where the two parties are not satisfied, by a bloodless duel. When this occurs, the two opponents armed with bamboo lances and wearing rattan armour proceed to the seashore accompanied by their seconds and there fight it out. It rarely happens that either is seriously injured or killed, because this would be considered highly unlucky and must therefore be avoided."

7: Joest--61 [14] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 628 Chin-hoan

Blood vengeance is...traditional among the Chinwan and is practiced constantly.

10: Schumacher--225 [3] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 628 Chin-hoan

In order to settle their disputes the Tschin-Huan elect chiefs and otherwise they maintain a continuous feud.

11: Haguenauer--29 [2]T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 628, 657, 728

The pacification [MC: of the tribes living in the mountains] came to an end in 1915, for most of the villages had surrendered at that time. Since then the savage zone has been tranquil, and head hunting will soon be just a memory. The electric current no longer runs through the wire barrier which was set up to keep the aborigines from entering civilized territory. And you can cross the island in two places at least. However, it is wise not to go too far from the lookouts elsewhere, for there are still quarrels between some of the tribes at rather frequent intervals.

14: Tamai--96 [20] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 628 Chin-hoan

The practice of blood vengeance is traditional among the Tschinwans. A Tschinwan will seek revenge for the murder of a relative all his life.

14: Tamai--98 [3] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 577, 728, 628 Chin-hoan

One [MC: Japanese] official addressed the Tschinwans as follows: "We are very happy to see you. We feel like brothers toward you. For that reason we have wanted to see you for a long time but so far we did not have an opportunity to come to you. Fortunately, through our war with China we have acquired the land of our brothers, Taiwan, and we are exceedingly happy at this. We have been told that until now you have killed many Chinese. That is not right. From now on you must not kill us, who are your brothers; you must love us like brothers and live with us in peace. You must come to visit us often and we shall visit you, too. Today we have prepared a large banquet of food and Sake for you; eat and drink as much as you like." One of the chieftains answered him: "We did not really want to kill the Chinese, but we were forced to do it for they killed our men. But since the Japanese are our brothers we shall not kill them."

Then all the Tschinwans present dug out a hole in the ground and placed a stone in it. Then they threw clods of earth at each other with loud shouts and covered the stone with earth.

This custom is equivalent to an oath with them. The thought behind it is "just as the stone does not rot in the earth so our word (oath or vow) does not change."

16: Müller--236 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 681, 628 Tayal

Among the Ataiyal aborigines the following are the chief forms of punishment:

1. A small fine, for offenses such as trespassing in the fields.
2. Beating, used chiefly for personal insults. This may be administered symbolically, by striking the offender's arm very gently, or actually, with sticks.
3. Capital punishment, chiefly applied if the offender has murdered a relative or committed adultery, etc.
4. Confiscation of property and plundering of houses, applied against an entire tribe.

25: Plaut--41-42 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 423, 578, 628

Settlement of quarrels. Quarrels naturally arise from many sources, the most frequent being hunting, slander and, among bachelors, love. Each tribe has its hunting territory, which it has possessed for a long time, and it has definite boundaries which members of other tribes are not permitted to cross. If anyone is found hunting in a preserve where he has no right to be, he has to pay a fine [42] to the offended tribe. If his statement contradicts that of his accuser, his own chief forces him to fight a duel with the other man in order to avoid a general quarrel.

22: Wiedfeldt--48-49 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 64, 182, 614, 631 Atayal

The natural reason for the existence side by side of two superior social institutions, i. e., the clan and the tribe, is space, together with the functions which naturally are incumbent upon them. The tribe occupies 8 to 10 times as much territory as the clan. It would not be feasible to eliminate one of the two organizations, and to give the remaining one all of its functions. The territory occupied by the tribe would be too large to enable the tribe to handle the economic functions of the clan, and to act as owner of all the land. Also, the solidarity of the members of the clan would be impaired by being spread out over too large an area. Reversing the situation, the territory of the clan would be too small to enable the clan to render military and political service. Even the territory covered by the tribe has now proved to be too small for this purpose. The carrying out of their legal customs and their legal procedure would in both cases meet difficulties which could only be overcome by far-reaching changes in the entire social structure. In the organization of society for political functions, the simultaneous existence of two institutions, one of which is subordinate to the other, one of which is regional and the other local, is a logical and necessary thing, which can not be avoided without impairing or even crippling the entire organism. A social organism springs up, however, as soon as we have several people living together. Not only do [49] controversies arise, which must be settled, but there are matters which demand community cooperation and a superior order.

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 ADl Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

tswvulavay, lusaliay, suli'i, laluriay. 643

d) *sasaolay* (servants of the *avusamay* household)·····
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b) *paraiyay* (priest of the hunting grounds, one for each ground)·····determined by divination

c) *puliyao* (priestess)·····two Paiwan, two Chimo.

C. Military chiefs:

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rara'atsay tsalala (lesser chivelry chiefs)·····number of person are not fixed, promoted by military achievements.

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a) *malaval a malwtsivtsik*—Members of *malaval a malwtsivtsik*, the administrative council or aristocratic council consist of all aristocratic household-heads. *utsiputsipoy*, vassals of the chiefs may attain the council but they have no voice in the council. The administative council is headed by the big chief *ruvaniau.* 623

b) *malaval tsalala'alay*—The villagers' meeting consists of all household-heads of the village. It is also assembled by the big chief *ruvaniau.*

c) *malaval ta palisilisiay*—Ritual day assembly it is assembled by the big chief *ruvaniau*, but *para'are*, the priest is the chief speaker.

d) *malaval na rara'atsay* or chavalry meeting—The meeting is held everynight. In occasions of head-hunting expedition or war, it is assembled and headed by *rara'atsay.*

FEUDALISM AND TRIBUTARY SYSTEM

A. Feudalism

The feudalism of Chala'abus village which resembles that of the ancient Chinese system is called *moli-umax.* The representative of a feudal lord is called *pinairaratsa.* The big chief *ruvaniau* had nine (possibly more than nine) *atunayay* or dominions in other villages. They are shown as follows: 631 621

atunayay village		*pinairaratsa* household	
pailus	„	*tsamatsiay*	„
vunalit	„	*talwunay*	„
butsunok	„	*tsododo*	„
tswutsa'atay	„	*tsulimodo*	„

48: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

pulti	„	*talialuɬ*	„
aviayay	„	*tsiyulol*	„
tsaovarul	„	*ɾuvaniau*	„
ɾalide	„	?	
atsaˀatsaray	„	?	

B. Tax and labour

All dwelling lands (*inaray*), hunting grounds (*aliupay*), fishing grounds (*pana*), cultivating lands (*atunayay*) and things above the land were owned by aristocratic households. A commoner in order to have some lands to till, some grounds for hunting and fishing, and stones and fuel to be collected in the valleys or on the mountains, must submit himself to some aristocratic household as a serf (*umutal*), and is obliged to pay taxes to render feudal labours to his feudal lord. Taxes are of the following kinds:

a) *wadis na satsɔmul*—tax for hunting animal
b) *wadis na pana*—tax for fishing
c) *wadis na atsay*—tax for domesticating animal
d) *itsivoy*—wine tax
e) *iluplup*—tax for collecting fuel
f) *paˀa*—tax for trading
g) *paˀa lura ta putsel*—tax for marriage

Feudal labours of a serf to his feudal lord are of the following kinds:

a) Land tillage (*pataˀalay*): Each aristocratic household has preserved a portion of tilling land for its own. This portion of land is called *vavutəloy*. The *vavutəloy* of the *ɾuvaniau* household was tilled by all commoners of the village. Other *vavutəloy* were respectively tilled by serfs of those households. All products of these *vavutəloy* belong to the aristocratic households. This land-tillage system has been employed in Chala'abus village to substitute the land-tax.

b) House-building and house repairing (*jirayuts*): The commoners have the obligation to build or repair houses for chiefs. All commoners are obliged to render this kind of service to the *ɾuvaniau* and *sadilapay* households.

c) Miscellaneous duties (*painuma a tsɔvatsɔvuy*): Commoners must render services to chiefs' households in their marriage, funeral or other occasions of the same kind.

d) Travelling service (*putsatsalay*): A chief may require certain commoner to accompany him when travelling.

C. Tributary and audience

The representative of the big chief in other villages must pay visits and tributes to his overlord the *ɾuvaniau* household after the harvests of millet and taro. Tributes presented by a *pinairaratse* to his overlord include 20 bundles of millet ears, a bottle of wine, a pig, 10 bunches of betel nut, a bag of groundnuts. In time of the five-years-feast, the chiefs of Chala'abus will be invited to visit villages where they have their representatives. At the death of the *pinairaratsɔ*, the overlord must condole the family of the dead and at the same time appoints the *uum* or heir of the family to succeed

636.10 --------636.88

15: U. S. Navy--31 [4] (no date) 1944 Formosan Aborigines
116, 511, 342, 361, 177.16 Japanese
636.16

"The aborigines along the southeast coast (the Paiwan and Ami tribes) live in fairly well constructed wooden or stone houses, set among meager patches and fields. They live on a primitive agricultural level, supplementing their livelihood by occasional hunting and fishing. The aborigines living farther back in the mountains or along the northeastern coast live in extreme poverty, hunting and fishing and scratching the earth in small patches near their hovels, which may be thatched huts having a single opening, or bamboo and cane cabins perched on stilts. Gradually the Japanese are forcing them to leave their solitary clearings and to gather in villages on level areas where they can learn to subsist on an agricultural economy of the poorest sort."

4:Grajdanzev--37 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 721, 177.17 Japan
636.17

"But arms were necessary for the aborigines, not only to fight the Japanese, but also to hunt for food. The Japanese authorities may have been sincere in their desire 'to civilize' the savages, but civilization as they understood it meant the turning of hunters into cultivators of rice fields. From the warrior and hunter they were taking away his lands and his gun and were granting him a hen for egg production. Savage 'superstitions' were 'eradicated', but the savages were expected to believe in the Japanese goddess, Amaterasu Omikami, with her million deities and the Son of Heaven. The natural consequence of this 'civilizing' was war. This war with the savages cost 7,083 lives and more than 4,100 wounded. For the time being their resistance may be considered to have been overcome, but this has been due to overwhelming force, and not to the beneficent influence of rice fields and shinto shrines."

19: Guérin and Bernard--564-565 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 175, 177.17 China
636.17

If the Dutch had succeeded in establishing their dominion, it would have been an excellent thing for the Formosan tribes. Under the rule of these prudent and clever masters, the tribes would have been taught a relative kind of civilization; in any case, [565] they would have learned how to live and to prolong their race. But the Chinese invasion took all their possessions without teaching them anything in return, it has been pitiless from necessity for the island was small, and the invaders were both numerous and hungry. During Koxinka's time there was a general retreat of the poor tribes, and then since then events have proceeded at the slow tempo which still characterizes them today. The new-comers see that the valleys and the plain are occupied, and so they move toward the mountains and infringe upon the territory belonging to the tribes; they want to get land which may be transformed into rice fields, to seize a water-course that is essential for irrigation, to cultivate indigo, tobacco, and especially sweet potatoes on the slopes, and then they are anxious to exploit the forests, especially those containing camphor trees.

In the north the advance has been very slow; it may be that the aborigines have defended their land foot by foot, or it is possible that the Chinese have found a permanent source of wealth in the lands that they have annexed, and so they have not been spurred on to new conquests. In the south, on the other hand, there were some enormous

19: Guérin and Bernard--564-565 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines-2
116, 175, 177.17 China
636.17

deforestation projects at the start. This resulted in some vast empty regions which extend from the last Chinese farms to the frontiers of the aborigines. The tribes may have vegetated more safely on this account, but they have suffered from the difficulty of bartering their products, and this is caused by the absence of roads and the difficulty in navigating the rivers. This deforestation would have been more difficult if several tribes had not joined the conqueror, so there was no resistance whatsoever.

19: Guérin and Bernard--565-566 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177.17 China
636.17

The Chinese pioneer tries to obtain what he wants by buying it, and his favorite tactics are persuasion; but if he encounters an obstinate refusal, he will try other means, at his own risk of course. Thus wood choppers scatter [566] through the forests singly, or in small groups, and they are an easy prey to marauders. Sometimes the villages or wealthy proprietors do business with a part of the tribe, which comes to the neighborhood to protect the workers. These good services are rewarded by a subsidy (rice, wine, poultry, young pigs etc.) Finally, if the savages refuse to make any concessions, the Chinese proceed in a large group, and half of them keep armed guard over the safety of the workmen. In this way there is no danger, and if the Chinese adopted this procedure all the time, the tribes would be condemned to retreat a little more each day; but the Chinese only do this on rare occasions, and they do not like to use this method.

4:Grajdanzev--170 [2] S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-1-2
116, 204, 563, 656, 177.20 Japan
636.20

"Now let us turn to another important sphere of cultural activities—newspapers. In Taiwan no newspaper can be published without the permission of the government-general, and the government-general has established a 'custom' of permitting only one newspaper to a city, so that up to 1932 there were only four newspapers in Taiwan, all in the Japanese language, though they sometimes carried a column in Chinese (1). Five

1. In 1937 a fifth one was permitted for Takao.

million Chinese in Taiwan had no newspaper of their own. In 1932 permission was granted to a Chinese weekly to appear as a daily, so that for the first time since the Japanese conquest the Chinese could read their own newspaper—Taiwan Shin-minpao. However, this experiment was short-lived. In 1937 it was decided that the people now know the Japanese language so well that no obstacles should exist to the japanization of the islanders. On March 1, 1937, all Japanese newspapers and the Chinese one carried a notice to the effect that after April 1 (for the Chinese newspaper, after June 1,) they were to cease publication of columns in Chinese (2).

2. Information on the newspapers is taken from Nippon shimbun nenkan, 1939, pp. 143-145. It is confirmed also by Sekai nenkan, 1929.

4:Grajdanzev--170 [21 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-2
116. 204. 563. 656. 177.20 Japan
636.20

Thus after 1937 five and one half million Chinese could not read a newspaper in their own language, though most of them do not know Japanese."

15: U.S. Navy--22 [3]
116, 208, 609, 873, 177.20
636.20

(no date) 1944

Formosans
Japanese

"The general population knows little of the outside world. The United Nations have individually and consistently been placed in an unfavorable light by the Japanese press, radio and educational policies. However, the Formosans who have reached the Middle and Higher Schools and those who have studied in Japan Proper, where they have had access to more evidence of American standards of living and national character, uniformly seem to admire the United States and what they understand of its liberal policies. The record of America's administration in the Philippines has made a considerable impression on educated Formosans. A few Formosans have received their higher education in America colleges and universities. For some years now they have been subject to strict surveillance."

21: Asai--7 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 231, 241, 243, 177.24 Japan
636.24

"Agriculture. Grow chiefly sweet potatoes, millet, peanuts. The fields are on the slopes of hills. They keep pigs—used originally for sacrifice. They grew dry field rice, but the Japanese started them growing wet rice. This was bad for their health as malaria would start up."

22: Wiedfeldt--10[3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 264, 576, 177.26 Japanese
636.26

The Atayals have two meals a day, which serve to set a beginning and an end to their day. One is in the early morning, after they get up, and the second is in the evening, before they go to bed. Men, women, and children eat together. A guest eats with his host, while the women and children eat afterward. The hollow of the hand serves as their cup, and as knife, fork, and spoon they use the five-pronged fork with which they were born. In the Japanese school which has recently been organized the young Schimptonoff are receiving their first instructions in the use of table implements and drinking vessels.

22: Wiedfeldt--38-39 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 439, 177.43 Japanese
636.43

What the Japanese really need is the valuable camphor trees which grow in Atayal territory. This important commodity is not bartered, however, and the Japanese control only the camphor trees inside the Aiyu line, pushing this line ahead as they feel the need. The tribes in the interior naturally do not share in this insignificant trade in trifles which has slowly developed in the border territories. Barter between tribes is just as impossible as barter between members of tribes, for all the Atayals produce the same things, and therefore have nothing to offer each other.[39] The Atayals and the Amis, who bound them on the south, hate each other mutually, and have nothing but hostile dealings with each other. Since the Japanese forbade the importation of guns and salt, a contraband barter in these two articles, which can hardly be dispensed with for purposes of defence and maintenance, is said to have developed in place of the former free gift of these things to the tribes of the interior, but no one knew anything about it, or if they did, they were unwilling to say anything about it.

4:Grajdanzev--35-36 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116. 563. 657. 727. 177.56 Japan
636.56

"After their occupation of the island the Japanese took over the Chinese 'reservation' system for the aborigines and the territory inhabited by the 'uncivilized' tribes was surrounded by military outposts, (1) which kept constant watch over the [36] natives.

1. The fact that these outposts were manned by Japanese policemen and not by soldiers makes little difference, because at their stage of cultural development the aborigines could hardly appreciate the difference.

The latter understood only that the Chinese system would continue a system of incessant warfare in which finally they were the losers and their best lands were taken away."

4:Grajdanzev--36 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 166, 563, 657, 728, 177.56 Japan
636.56

"It is difficult to say whether they understood, at the beginning, even the change of the sovereignty. In any case the war continued. During the first years of occupation the Japanese, preoccupied with the suppression of Chinese rebellions, tried only to keep them within the reservation, but later a complete program of subjugation was worked out. Its essential feature was the removal of aborigines to low lands in order that the mountainous areas which they had occupied might be exploited. These areas were rich (or at least were thought to be) in timber, minerals and agricultural potentialities, for a certain part of the area could be sown with tropical plants."

39: Wiedfeldt--12-13 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 625, 723, 177.62 Atayal
636.62 Japanese

They succeeded over and over again in taking Japanese troups by surprise through their stratagems in battle, so that the Japanese army, which is admitted to be good, [13] proved to be of little use in these battles, and has been replaced by numerous policemen, who live there for long periods and are not so easily outwitted.

6: Kirchhoff--30-31 U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosans
116, 161, 177.63 China
636.63

The whole of Formosa, belongs only to the Chinese "sphere of interest," together with the islands off its coast. In reality only the western side is ruled by the Chinese, the north and, recently, a narrow strip of land along the eastern coast. Within this ruled region the Chinese Government is said to have carried out a census of the inhabitants, but [31] to have treated the results as an official secret. The assertion, made for a long time past, that Formosa has 3 million inhabitants, has thus practically no basis whatever. If this estimate were correct, it would enable one to conclude that the density of population attained the not inconsiderable figure of 90.

6: Kirchhoff--37-38 U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosans-1-3
116, 177.63 China
636.63

The slow advancement made in the more careful treatment of Formosa by the Chinese Government is reflected in the divisions into administrative districts that grow smaller in extent. At first some importance was attached to the southwest alone, and it was superficially divided into the three districts (Hsiën) of Tai-uan (now Tai-nan) in the middle, Tschu-lo in the north and Fung-schan in the south. Subordinated were the Fisher Islands and the remote Tam-sui as ting, i. e., "sea district" or, probably more correctly, "district of inferior rank." The warning rebellion of 1722 brought about the splitting of the excessively large northern district into a northern half, administered from Tschang-hua, and a southern half administered from Tschu-lo. This latter administrative center received, as a result of the self-sacrificing defense offered the rebels in 1788, the honorable name of Kia-y, i. e., "praiseworthy love of the fatherland." Until 1875 this organization of the four Hsiën (each under a Tsche-hsiën, a district president) was allowed to go on pretty much unaltered, except that [38] a few Ting were added, these being Komalan, later called Y-lan, and even the region round Tam-sui.

Then the fear of a Japanese invasion induced important reforms. Two centers of administration were now set up, a northern one in the newly created town of Tai-pe-fu, which in accordance with the Chinese custom bears the name of the district it administers*

*Tai-pe-fu is a shortened form of Tai-uan-pe-fu, i. e., the northern prefecture of Tai-uan (or Formosa).

and a southern one in Tai-uan-fu, which now received the corresponding name of Tai-nan-fu (southern prefecture). Each of these prefectures was governed by a higher official with the title of Tsche-fu (chief president). Subject to the president of North Formosa were the following districts, each administered by a Tsche-hsiën:

1) Tam-sui,
2) Sin-tschu (formerly Ting Teuk-tscham),
3) Y-lan (formerly Ting Komalan),
4) Tai-uan (i. e., Tai-nan),
5) Fung-schan,
6) Heng-tschun,
7) Pi-lam.

Similarly the districts of the same level subject to the chief president of South Formosa were:

1) Tschang-hua,
2) Kia-y.

The south of the former district of Fung-schan (from the stream entering the sea at Pang-leao down) had also received its own Hsiën administration, and was provided with the capital of Heng-tschun, founded for this purpose, and the same was done with the

greater part of the east coast, where the former village of Pi-lam became the administrative capital of an extensive district reaching from the north to the border of Komalan. Only the Schiffer Inseln (Pung-hu) remained a Ting.

The highest administrative chief of the island was appointed as the superior of the two chief presidents or prefects of North and South Formosa, with the title of tao-taï, and his official seat was at Tai-uan-fu (now Tai-nan). Every year he had to traverse the island once, and he was the highest court of appeal in all administrative and legal matters, being immediately subject to the Governor of Fo-kiën, who had to undertake a journey of inspection in Formosa every third year. But as a consequence of the Franco-Chinese conflict, the importance of Formosa as the "eye of the Southern Sea" increased in the eyes of the Peking cabinet to such an extent that, in accord with an Imperial Decree of October, 1885, the Provincial Governor of Fo-kiën was compelled henceforth to set up his residence on Formosa itself, so that he should govern the island directly. At his side a brigadier-general commanded the Formosan garrison, which was armed in European fashion and, even in peace, numbered 10,000 or 12,000 men.

6: Kirchhoff--38 U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosans-1-2
116, 631, 177.63 China
636.63

The administration of Formosa has become even more specialized and made even more independent in the last years. According to Hosie's report, the island has now been raised to the rank of an independent Chinese province under a governor directly responsible to the central government of the Empire. At the present he resides in Tai-pe-fu. At the same time the division of Formosa into three prefectures was ordered, each of them embracing a number of sub-prefectures (hsiën, ting, tschu). They consist of the following:

I. Northern prefecture (Tai-pe-fu).
   1) Hsiën Tem-sui,
   2) " Sin-tschu (or Hsin-tschu),
   3) " Y-lan (or I-lan),
   4) Ting Ki-lung.

II. Middle prefecture (Tai-uan-fu).
   1) Hsiën Tai-uan, *

* This district must consequently have its center of administration in a town called Tai-uan; we thought we should indicate this to be to the east of Tschang-hua, where Hosie's map shows a town called Tai-nan (obviously an error in lettering).

2) Hsiën Tschang-hua,
3) " Jün-lin,
4) " Miao-li,
5) Ting Pu-li.

III: Southern prefecture (Tai-nan-fu).
1) Hsiën An-ping,
2) " Fung-schan (Feng-schan, as the English call it),
3) " Kia-y (or Kia-i),
4) " Heng-tschun,
5) Tschu Tai-tung (formerly the district of Pi-lam).

22: Wiedfeldt--27 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 643, 177.64 Japanese
636.64

The tribe has the same organs as the clan. The designation applied to the chief, maraho, or moruhuk, means venerable old man, also leader of the army. The Japanese Governor-General is called by the Atayals the maraho of the Japanese. The chief is by no means the richest member of the tribe, and he lives in a hut just like the other members of the tribe. His title is hereditary, as it is in the clan, but a tribal chief is never also a clan chief. This office is said to have been held by the family of the present chief of the Schimptonoff [MC: an Atayal tribe] from the beginning of the tribe. At any rate, their position has not been disputed. Partly from lack of knowledge and partly for political reasons, the Japanese have often appointed Atayals who were friendly to them as chiefs, but their appointees have never been able to obtain any influence or to be successful.

22: Wiedfeldt--43 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116; 177.64 Japanese
636.64

The agreements between the tribes and the Japanese officials are in the nature of international law, and have been forced upon the Atayals in the last decade and a half.

6: Kirchhoff--37 [5] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosans
116, 177.65 China
636.65

Originally the colonizing zeal of the Hakkas and the people of Fokien had quite independently won the soil of the island step by step. Then the rule of the Imperial Government was proclaimed after the collapse of the Koschinga dynasty on Formosa, but until more recent times the central government paid no attention to the "island of the eastern barbarians." The extension of the area cultivated by the Chinese on Formosa remained the private affair of the settlers; the officials sent to the island felt as if they had been banished and used the years of their exile to enrich themselves.

11: Haguenauer--30-31 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 871, 887, 177.65 Japanese
636.65

In spite of what other people may have said, the Japanese are treating the savages in a very kind fashion today. The civilizing work is proceeding methodically and patiently. Most of the savages who are over fifteen have not as yet understood the usefulness of the teaching, however, and only the little ones are beginning to become Japanese. The elders get bored, live an idle existence, and die of illness or alcohol. Their only delight is to borrow a gun from the police station occasionally, and to shoot three or four bullets at the wild boars or the deer. The bow and arrow are enough to kill birds. However, there are fortunately some exceptions, and the teachers have obtained some very brilliant results. I talked Japanese to some savages who had become thoroughly Japanese; they had diplomas from a normal school, and were working as assistants to directors of the posts or teachers. I repeat that the [31] Japanese are treating the natives in a very humanitarian manner. And this should be more successful than in other places, for here in these poor regions there is nothing to attract the large commercial companies, which are all too often the curse of colonies. The gentleness of the system may succeed in saving a part of the native population, possibly the Amis. The savages who will not be able to adapt themselves will probably disappear in the near future.

39: Wiedfeldt--16 [2] F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 153, 811, 177.65 Atayal
636.65 Japanese

The capacity of the Atayals to grasp something that has been told them is also limited. If one attempts to tell them something through the medium of an interpreter, one runs up against a complete lack of comprehension, even if it is only a question of their forming a new concept out of elements already known to them. They do not even have an idea of the power of the Japanese, of which they should have been clearly conscious in view of the bloody battles that they have had with them. In order to make them aware of this, and to scare them off from making further attacks, the Japanese have very cleverly taken a number of highly respected Atayals to Tokyo every year at the expense of the state, so that they could get an idea there by what they themselves could see of the power and the resources of Japan, and could then tell the members of their tribe. The sum total of all this is that the Atayals do not completely lack imagination...but it has been employed only in a few fields, and has not been very productive even in these...

25: Plaut--32 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosans
116, 206, 496, 654, 177.65 China
636.65

Liu-Ming-Chuan [EJ: the Chinese Viceroy appointed in 1884] was eager to make Formosa more progressive. So he built a railroad from Kelung to the capital T'ai-pei-fu, and from there on to Hsin-chu; he connected the capital T'ai-pei to T'ai-nan and the Pescadores with a telegraph line, and then he made Formosa a part of the world telegraph system by constructing a cable to Futchou. He also established a well-regulated postal system. Industry, including sugar, also received his support. Although Liu-Ming-Chuang's administration was very beneficial for Formosa, he aroused much dissatisfaction by raising the taxes and levying an inland duty, for the previous revenues were not sufficient to defray the costs of his innovations.

25: Plaut--32-33 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines-1-3
116, 647, 654, 721, 177.65 China
636.65

We should give particular attention to the viceroy's [EJ: i.e., the Chinese Viceroy Liu-Ming-Chuan, appointed in 1884] efforts to enclose the natives' territory. During the course of time the natives who lived in the western plain, the P'ing-pu-fan, Formosan Pe-po-huan "plain savages" and the Shou-fan, Formosan Sek-huan "ripe savages" or half-tamed ones, had been conquered or else they had retired into the inaccessible mountains of the eastern portion of the island, where the Sheng-fan, Formosan Tseng-huan, the most uncivilized tribes have lived in a state of complete independence for a long time. There was a continual battle between the settlers and the mountain savages; the settlers were eager to push their boundaries farther into the native domain, while the natives used every opportunity to attack isolated settlers or unprotected villages, and in this way they got their revenge and secured some more Chinese heads. Prior to the time of Liu-Ming-Chuan, the Governors had not followed any definite plan with regard to the savages, and in general they allowed the settlers to defend themselves as well as they could; the viceroy undertook to find a means of overcoming this handicap and he resolved to civilize the natives. For this purpose he established the "Training and Development Bureau", Fu-k'en-chu, (Japanese Bu-kon-kyoku). He had set himself the enormous task of educating the savages and of making the land arable.

To fulfill this plan, he established three principal bureaus in Ta-ku-kuan, Tung-shi-chiao and Pei-nan [33] and then had twelve branch offices, one in each of the Hsien

cities, I-lan, Yün-lin, Pu-li-she and Lien-hua-chiang, while the twelve others were in Su-ao, A-li, San-chiao-yung, Wu-chi-shan, Shuang-hsi, T'ien-wei, Hsien-ts'ai-weng, Ta-hu, Fang-liao, Nan-hu, Shui-chang-jung, and Hsiu-ku-luan. To attract settlers from the mainland, he set up settler recruiting bureaus in Amoi, Swatow and Hongkong.

The personnel of the bureaus consisted of 1 commisioner, 3 clerks, 5 policemen, 2 interpreters, 1 cook and 1 native maid. Then there was also 1 doctor and 1 barber. All of these employees were well paid: the commissioner, who was the superintendent of the branch office, received 30-80 taels a month, each clerk had 14-25, a policeman had 6-7, the first interpreter 20, the second 14-15, the maid 7, the cook 4-5 taels, and they all received free board. The interpreters had the hardest task, for they had to work with the savages and make them in favor of the Government's projects. The yearly expenditures of a branch office averaged about 6000 taels, and then in addition to that there was the food and equipment for the protecting troops. All of these expenses were defrayed by the revenue from the camphor monopoly.

As the savages are on a low cultural plane, it was necessary to be sparing with proofs of their good intentions, for it would have been an easy matter to have spoiled them. Accordingly interpreters went to them with gifts, and tried to persuade them to surrender; then at the same time the natives saw the protecting troops at frequent intervals, so any idea of insubordination was nipped in the bud. Those who showed their readiness

to collaborate were given rice, grain, meat, salt and vegetables; every month the barber paid them a visit, and at the end of the year they received clothing, oxen, and sows. Many of the natives entered the Chinese service as fire watchers and interpreters, in return for a monthly compensation, and then fathers sent their children to the school which was established for them in front of the south gate of T'ai-pei; there they received instruction in the dialect of the natives as well as in Classical Chinese.

As the viceroy realized that one of the chief means of civilizing wild peoples is to bring them into contact with educated people, he had the troops build an 80 kilometer road from Chang-hua diagonally across the mountain to Shui-wei on the east coast; the result was that many of the inhabitants of the interior and the eastern part of the island surrendered, they adopted the Manchu queue, and began to till the soil.

25: Plaut--33-34 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 436, 609, 656, 177.65 China
636.65

The stations of the Training and Development Bureau [EJ: established by the Chinese in 1884 to facilitate the acculturation of the Formosan natives] did not have a conspicuous success. Part of the blame may be laid on the changeable and distrusting nature of the savages, but the greed of the Chinese settlers and officials was the principal cause of the failure. For example, the natives were accustomed to bring their products into the settlements and to exchange them for wares which they [34] used for farming or for decoration. But the Chinese, who were only thinking about the momentary profit and not about the consequences, also sold them weapons. Finally the Government forbade any unrestricted trade with the savages, and it set up a market in each bureau, and said that it was the only place where barter should be permitted. However, the officials, who were entrusted to superintend this, were not reliable. They used their position for personal profit, and they permitted the natives to be cheated. It is not surprising, therefore, that this aroused the old ire among the savages, and that they used every opportunity to gain revenge by beheading some of the Chinese.

25: Plaut--34 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 654, 177.65 China
636.65

To be just to Liu-Ming-Chuan's attempts, we must remember that his civilizing activities only lasted for six years, [EJ: Liu-Ming-Chuan was Chinese Viceroy of Formosa from 1884 to 1891] and that is much too short a space of time to remedy some deep-rooted evils. It is true that he made the mistake of going too rapidly, and of trying to do too many things at once. Finally he was no longer able to pay the expenses for his undertakings, in spite of the increased taxes, and in 1891 he resigned his post. His successor was more economical, but he did not have time to accomplish very much, for the days of Chinese rule on Formosa were already numbered.

4:Grajdanzev--36-37 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 175, 721, 177.72 Japan
636.72

"The process of subjugation proved difficult because the terrain was mountainous and covered with tropical jungles. Many times the regular army detachments were sent into the territory of the savages and returned without achieving anything; they lost men in ambushes and from illness, and in some cases the imperial troops were actually defeated by the savages, who knew the terrain perfectly. It became clear to the authorities that the aborigines could not be conquered by a frontal assault, and so they began a constant siege. No weapon was left unused in the struggle. Barbed wire for hundreds of miles surrounded the savages and, in the regions of the most 'difficult' aborigines, electric current was used to make the barbed wire fatal. But the savages soon discovered ways of overcoming this difficulty. After the World War bombing from airplanes was used against them, but without apparent success. Their arms were confiscated, but by paying exorbitant prices they managed to buy new ones from Chinese smugglers. Hatred between tribes was exploited and Japanese policemen would return in company with triumphant tribesmen who were carrying the heads of defeated enemies. Nevertheless, this policy failed, (1) and the reason for its failure was simple; the [37] Japanese could not or

1. Owen Rutter, a British colonial administrator, who is opposed to the 'pampering of the native' and who is a partisan of 'justice and firmness' in dealings with

> the [371 natives. writes: 'I say that the Japanese have failed utterly, in their endeavors to solve the important question of bringing the natives under their influence.' Through Formosa, p. 233.

would not understand savages who were unwilling to give up their lands. Governor-General Sakuma, for example. starting his campaign in 1909 to make the savages a 'law-abiding people'—though they were quite law-abiding from their own point of view—compelled them to surrender their arms and had those who refused 'chastised'."

4: Grajdanzev--37-38 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 659, 728, 177.72 Japan
636.72

"Twenty thousand men with primitive tribal organization and primitive weapons could not resist indefinitely the machinery of a modern state with all its attributes. But the submission was unwilling and as late as October 1930, aborigines, several thousand strong, burnt the police stations in the district of Musha, seized arms, and occupied the town. In order to suppress this rebellion the Japanese were compelled to use a considerable military force. (1) The suppression cost the Japanese

1. 'October 1930' is given by the Japan Year Book, 1939-40; in the 1933 edition it is said that the revolt took place 'in the summer of 1929.' Which is the truth we do not know, for the affair was not made public until long after it took place. Since 1929 a sum of ¥ 60,000 has been spent annually on special guards in Musha district.

160 lives and the incident shows that if the aborigines [38] should see a favorable opportunity, further trouble may follow. Now a force of 5,000 guards 90,000 aborigines, of which probably not more than 20,000 are mature men, disarmed and separated into their various tribal units by government lines."

6: Kirchhoff--31 [4] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
116, 609, 721, 177.72 China
636.72

At times the Chinese do not fear, even today, to use open force, if it is a matter of forcing the Pepo-huan off better soil. This was done with the natives inhabiting the north of the island, who are called Kabaran. They finally withdrew to the other side of the mountains, to the fruitful plain of Komalan (more popularly, Kapsulan), which stretches out on the eastern coast of North Formosa as far as Su-aô; there 4,000 of them are said to live in flourishing settlements and to extend even farther south along the coast as far as Hua-lien. Unfortunately they are constantly at odds with each other, so that there can be no question of a united opposition against the Chinese. Nor can they take flight into the neighboring mountains on the west; for there they would be met by the free Tsche-huan, who hate them as renegades.

6: Kirchhoff--31 [5] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 563, 177.72 China
636.72

The geographical distribution of Chinese, Pepo-huan and Tsche-huan is not so simple as often described: in the plain, the hilly country and the mountains, respectively. The only thing right about this is the fact that the free savages live alone in the mountains, protected by the forests. The Chinese push on step by step even into the mountains of the interior and fell the forests.

22: Wiedfeldt--30-31 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 721, 609, 177.72 Japanese
636.72

. . . In the Atayal concept, the members of the tribe are the only ones who should be protected. They are permitted to hunt only savages of other tribes, Japanese, and Chinese, and quite understandably, Europeans, but the number of these is very small. The first group retaliates by conducting their own skull hunts, or by special punitive and plundering forays. The second group is protected by a strong military and police force, which punish such excesses as severely as possible. The third group is victimized comparatively more often but even in this case the Japanese occasionally take harsh measures against a tribe that has a particularly large amount of skull hunting chalked up against it, and force it to withdraw behind the Aiyu line. Inasmuch as unrestrained head hunting on the part of the members of the tribe has seriously endangered the tribe formerly and now in particular, when this practice endangers its independence and its very existence, head hunting is only permitted in the border tribes and supposedly in most of the tribes of the interior when it is ordered by the tribal chief. In many of the tribes of the interior the clan chief also has this privilege. In many tribes, it takes place only in the fall, after the tribal assembly, so that apparently all legal contests are postponed until that time. Everywhere a young man who wants to acquire the skull which will show that he has come of age must control himself until a skull hunt has been declared open for his clan. This regulation does not make the skull hunt any the less dangerous for strangers who approach the territory of the tribe, for they never know whether or not a skull hunt

has been ordered for precisely that time. At any rate, the time before the millet harvest is the safest, and the time after it is the most dangerous. This unpleasant custom is the only thing that gives the slightest justification to the application of the otherwise unjustified designation of savages to the Atayals. It makes no difference whether a skull is that of a man, woman, or child, provided only that the child is over two years old, for the skulls are not captured in battle, but are taken by tricking and surprising the victim. [31] According to the statistics, which are surely incomplete, about 300 Chinese and 40 Japanese are killed annually in the skull hunts. Some 300 Chinese and 20 Japanese are wounded. There is no clue to the number of savages who are captured, but it must be almost as large as the number of Chinese, in the border districts alone. In spite of all the punitive expeditions and all the efforts on the part of the Japanese border patrol, almost no progress has been made in suppressing this unpleasant custom up to now, because it is closely connected with the legal aspect of the life of the Atayals. The most success seems to have been obtained in cases where the Atayals have been told: "Skulls are skulls. Hunt monkey skulls, or antelope skulls".

21: Asai--6 [5] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 872, 882, 177.87 Japan
636.87

"After the Japanese came in, the children were sent to school for four years and learned Japanese. The Japanese put the Formosans on reservations and restricted the number of visitors and also restricted the movements of the Formosans. At present young men's clubs are strongest among the Tsou."

22: Wiedfeldt--47 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 64, 619 Atayal

The gap between our conditions and theirs is further emphasized by the fact that the Atayals lack any political organization which is superior to the tribe, in short, any organization resembling a [MC: national]state.

22: Wiedfeldt--48-49 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 64, 182, 614, 631 Atayal

The natural reason for the existence side by side of two superior social institutions, i. e., the clan and the tribe, is space, together with the functions which naturally are incumbent upon them. The tribe occupies 8 to 10 times as much territory as the clan. It would not be feasible to eliminate one of the two organizations, and to give the remaining one all of its functions. The territory occupied by the tribe would be too large to enable the tribe to handle the economic functions of the clan, and to act as owner of all the land. Also, the solidarity of the members of the clan would be impaired by being spread out over too large an area. Reversing the situation, the territory of the clan would be too small to enable the clan to render military and political service. Even the territory covered by the tribe has now proved to be too small for this purpose. The carrying out of their legal customs and their legal procedure would in both cases meet difficulties which could only be overcome by far-reaching changes in the entire social structure. In the organization of society for political functions, the simultaneous existence of two institutions, one of which is subordinate to the other, one of which is regional and the other local, is a logical and necessary thing, which can not be avoided without impairing or even crippling the entire organism. A social organism springs up, however, as soon as we have several people living together. Not only do [49] controversies arise, which must be settled, but there are matters which demand community cooperation and a superior order.

22: Wiedfeldt--26-27 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 641, 619 Atayal

If the judicial function holds second place in the clan, in the tribe it holds first place in scope, although in importance it is inferior to the political activity of the tribe. Among the Schimptonoff, the members of the tribe are called koto-ro-ryong, [27] people living along the same great river. Among the Taroku, they are called koga-ru-gaya, people with the same customs. As the names indicate, the common bond of the tribe is not blood relationship, but the fact of occupancy of the same territory, or the fact that they have the same political and judicial customs.

7: Joest--56 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
643

Being thus alone among 200,000 Chinese gave me an opportunity to study their way of life, and to observe the activities of the independent Tautai, who almost every day ordered people to be flogged, tortured, or beheaded and who often let his victims die of starvation.

16: Müller--229 [7] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361, 592, 619, 643

The aborigines of Formosa are a settled people and live in communities. The Atai-yal tribe is organized on the basis of nuclear families, the Vonum, Tso'o, Pyuma, and Amis tribes on the basis of composite families. Each tribe has a chief as its head. There are some tribes and federations of tribes which have two head chiefs.

16: Müller--229-230 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 643

The office of the chieftain of the tribe or federation is either hereditary or based on election. Sometimes his power is absolute, [230] sometimes he must have the consent of the tribal elders in all the more important decisions that concern the tribe.

19: Guérin and Bernard--563 [3] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 643

The tribe does not have any high chief. The hamlet has a magistrature which is both hereditary and elective (the son does not replace his father unless he is judged worthy of it). The magistrate's power and influence are based entirely upon his wealth and courage.

22: Wiedfeldt--16 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
643 Atayal

They [MC: the fish caught] are divided into as many piles as the number of clans represented, in which process the chief of the tribe sees that justice is observed.

22: Wiedfeldt--27 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 643, 177.64 Japanese
636.64

The tribe has the same organs as the clan. The designation applied to the chief, maraho, or moruhuk, means venerable old man, also leader of the army. The Japanese Governor-General is called by the Atayals the maraho of the Japanese. The chief is by no means the richest member of the tribe, and he lives in a hut just like the other members of the tribe. His title is hereditary, as it is in the clan, but a tribal chief is never also a clan chief. This office is said to have been held by the family of the present chief of the Schimptonoff [MC: an Atayal tribe] from the beginning of the tribe. At any rate, their position has not been disputed. Partly from lack of knowledge and partly for political reasons, the Japanese have often appointed Atayals who were friendly to them as chiefs, but their appointees have never been able to obtain any influence or to be successful.

22: Wiedfeldt--27 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 643, 701 Atayal

If a man brings back a great many enemy skulls from a war, he is sometimes called a boku-maraho, an honorary chief, and he has the right to be the first to express his opinion in the tribal assembly, after the maraho. From this one might assume that the present family acquired the chieftaincy because of the special prowess of one of their ancestors in battle. Occasionally the tribal chief resigns his title in favor of a successor whom he has appointed, for example, if a war is imminent, or if major hostilities have broken out between several clans. Like the old German duke, the maraho is, as his name indicates, primarily a leader in battle. He prepares the ground for the fight, he chooses the positions, he arranges the units, and he is himself the leader in the fighting. As Clausewitz has said, war is only the continuation of politics, using other means, and thus the maraho is also the political leader of his tribe. He carries on negotiations with the Japanese and with the other "savage" peoples, and with other Atayal tribes. By means of his prestige, he protects their embassadors against over-zealous members of the tribe by keeping them always close to him. In making plans for the wars, and especially in political negotiations, he can not act independently, but his power is limited. If things take an unexpected turn in the negotiations, he must obtain new authority.

22: Wiedfeldt--28 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 527, 643 Atayal

The two great millet festivals, in which the tribal chief is the leader, also serve to maintain political solidarity and to foster a harmonious attitude in the tribe.

22: Wiedfeldt--28 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 643, 619, 692, 648 Atayal

The person who is the political representative and the military leader also has sufficient prestige to handle legal business. If it is a question of matters which concern individuals of the same clan, the clan chief is capable of dealing with them, but if members of different clans are involved, the tribal chief handles them. There is no difference between them, except the one that has just been mentioned, as to the type of matters that they handle. The procedure is the same also. If members of different tribes are involved, there is no legal procedure, if this expression is permissible, for there is no institution in their society which is superior to the tribe, and which could decide which one was right. The matter either is left unsettled, or force of arms determines who is in the right.

22: Wiedfeldt--32 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 643, 646, 721 Atayal

The negotiations [MC: carried on in an Atayal tribal assembly called koto-kumai-roh] concern political and military affairs. The koto-kumai-roh makes the decisions and confers upon the tribal chief the necessary powers, according to which he acts. The assembly has nothing to do with his judicial powers. Nevertheless, the assembly takes this opportunity to question the clan heads concerned in any infraction of the law that has taken place, and on their confession, a penalty is imposed or a skull hunt is ordered. Decisions are for the most part made unanimously. Otherwise, voting is by rising from the squatting position. A simple majority decides, and the vote of the tribal chief is used to break a tie. In general, a minority is bound by the decision. In the tribes of the interior, which have not yet had any fights with the Japanese, only those clans are said to take part in a fight whose heads have voted for it, while the other clans remain at home, but are not permitted to give aid to the enemy.

22: Wiedfeldt--44-45 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 643, 671, 692 Atayal

Finally, some traces of formal legal procedure may also be detected, although there is no training in the law nor even a special legal profession as such. In cases of civil law, the chief of the tribe is not really the authority who has the deciding word on the legal aspect of the case. He merely collects the evidence, and from the results of this, the decision is clear to everyone, and the deductions to be made are self-evident, for everyone is well acquainted with the legal usages. In criminal law, the chief of the tribe has considerably more power, because the community has a real interest in not permitting a crime, for example, adultery, to go unpunished through the complaisance of the husband. Nor do they wish the murder of a child to go unavenged by the head of a family, because the murderer was a more powerful neighbor, and they are anxious to prevent the irascible victim of a thief from taking the law into his own hands and thus committing a new and unjustifiable crime. As representatives of the community in such cases the two most highly respected [45] men are naturally called to serve. At the same time, if it is necessary, they pass on the possibility of carrying out the sentence. Their jurisdiction is simply and clearly limited according to whether members of the same clan, or members of different clans are involved in the case. Where there is no such spokesman, there is no course of law, so that among the Atayals all of their legal activity has continued to be limited to the individual tribe.

22: Wiedfeldt--47 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 174, 619, 643 Atayal

Judging from the name and the powers of the chief, the tribe may have originated from the fact that several clans gathered about a skillful and successful military leader.... [MC: National] states in general have originated by force and conquest under a powerful leader, who then took upon himself the obligation to perform valuable services, such as defence against outside forces and the exercise of justice in domestic life. Such a development by the use of force did not take place among the Atayals.

Even more than the family needs a head do the populous institutions of the clan and the tribe need a head to direct them and act for them, for a large number of persons can only act through a representative. In addition, they also need, since they include many people, a body which will express and put into effect the will of the community. Since the dekan [MC: hunting association composed of several clans] lacks both bodies, it is not a social organism, but only a start in that direction. In the clan, this inclusive assembly consists of the heads of all the families, and the bachelors who have been tattooed. In the tribe, it consists of the clan heads and the honorary chiefs. The modern method of selecting the most suitable persons to represent the rest of the population by some kind of electoral procedure is unknown to the Atayals, even in the tribe, where it would be possible. Just as the head of the family represents the family in the clan, [50] so the hereditary heads of the clans are the natural representatives of the members of their clans in the tribal assembly. All the representatives to the assemblies have equal rights. Anyone who is absent is not counted, not even as a negative vote... This would be unnecessary anyway, for among the Atayals, everyone appears. The full assemblies have the authority to make decisions, and they pass on all matters of a general nature. The will of the totality is recognized by the mechanical means of a simple majority. If there is a tie between two opinions, the chief has the decisive voice.

If a resolution is passed, the chief is empowered and obligated to put it into effect, for example, a clan head may be authorized to buy a certain piece of land at a set price,

or a tribal chief may be authorized to carry on negotiations with the Japanese concerning the changes in the Aiyu line. The not unfamiliar contrast between representative and constituent has been rendered impossible among the Atayals by restricting the representative to limited powers. The clan assembly can hold the hereditary head of the clan responsible for voting as it desires in the tribal assembly, for as a rule the clan assembly precedes, and it does so. The corporate body does not relinquish its exclusive right to make decisions even under unfavorable circumstances.

22: Wiedfeldt--50-51 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 643, 648 Atayal

After an unsuccessful [MC: diplomatic] battle against the Japanese, the chief of the tribe was forced to break off the negotiations, as soon as circumstances arose which had not been foreseen when his powers were conferred upon him, and had to go back and question his tribal assembly anew, to the annoyance of the Japanese. In view of the fact that they are closely bound to observe the decisions of the full assembly, neither the head of the clan nor the chief of the tribe in particular becomes a real leader and authority, for example, in the protection of foreign envoys. They would not be able to develop any initiative if their position were not assured of a certain independence from another source. They are not chosen by election, and hence they are free from any influence from the side of the assembly or the members of the tribe. Both have inherited their positions as representatives from their forebears, chiefly from their fathers, who selected the most suitable successor on the basis of their long experience and their judgment, without any help from the body corporate. Just [51] as they enter upon their office at the death or retirement of their predecessor, without any particular ceremony, so the termination of their careers as representatives depends entirely on their own wishes. The chief of a tribe retires from his somewhat honorary position when he thinks that he can no longer perform important functions. . .

22: Wiedfeldt--52[2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 623, 643, 646 Atayal

The Atayals possess, in addition to the family, two higher grades of social organizations [MC: ie. the clan and the tribe] with a clearly defined and suitable distribution of functions to both institutions. Each one of them has the two indispensable spokesmen: the assembly of the whole and the head, between whom the powers have up to now been adequately divided.

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

582 565 556 583 class. A man of the lower class must pay as much as or more than that of a upper class member if he wants to marry one above himself. The lower class member does not marry one above him because he can not afford to do so.

C. Incest prohibition

601 835 The kindred group of the Paiwan is bilateral. The present writer has assigned it as occasional bi-sexual lineage. No emphasis upon either the paternal or the maternal consanguinities is made. No distinction between lineal and collateral is made in addressed terms, but it is made in indirect and collective terms. Those who have the same parents are called *malwlwŋuluŋa*, those who have the same grand parents, *malusiatsətsəl*, those have the same grand-grand parents, *malusiatsalaitaita*, and those have the same grand-grand-grand parents, *malusiapatsətsəv*. *malusiatsəlsəl* are prohibited to marry. *malusiatsalaitsata* are also called *naŋaʾaŋa putsəl*, they are allowed to marry. *malusiapatsetsev* are also called *naŋaʾaŋa lavatsə putsəl*, they are the most prefered mates. Relative beyond the *malusiapatsətsəv* are called *aolav*. *aolav* are allowed to marry with each other, but they are not as preferable as the *malusiapatsətsəv*, and even the *malusiatsalaitaita*. It is noteworthy that these marriage prohibitions are not to supplement the rule of exogamy but serve as the limitations of the rule of endogamy.

TRIBAL CHIEFTAINSHIP

643 The tribal chieftainship of Chala'abus village differs with the dual chieftainship of the North-Paiwan, and may be regarded as a kind of mutual independence of the three powers: political, religious, and military. The political and economic powers are in the hands of the Chimo chiefs. The religious powers are equally distributed over the chiefs of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. The nomination of a *paraʾara* or priest is determined by a kind of divination called *paiwata*. The military powers fall in hands of the commoners. The office of the priest of the headhunting ritual (*paraʾare na ara*) is held hereditary by the *tsivulaŋaŋ* household of commoner. The tribal chiefs and their offices are listed as follows:

A. Political and economic chiefs:

a) *avusamaŋ* (big chief)·····*ruwaniau*
malwtsivtsih (consanguineous chiefs)·····*tsaluŋi*, *tfalas* (south), *tfalas* (north)
naitsu anumax (affinal chiefs)·····*lusiguaŋ, atsinajaŋ, alijulaŋ, taraʾatea, gumul, matsiliat, voto, tfalusaŋiu.*

b) *pinairaratsə* (representatives of the big chief of other villages)·····
tfalas (north) a representative of the *tsulivuaŋ*, the big chief of Kunanao village.
tavalaŋ a representative of the *karaŋiraŋ*, the big chief of Kulalus village.

c) *utsiputsipaŋ* (vassals of the chiefs)·····*ruwaniau, tsapalai, tavalaŋ, suajoŋ,*

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

tsuvulavay, lusaliay, suli'i, laluriay. 643

d) *sasaolay* (servants of the *avusamay* household)·····
·····two households of commoner, they are not hereditary.

B. Religious chiefs:

a) *para'are a malava* (a priest of the five-years-feast)·····
·····*atsinajay* (Paiwan)
para'are a pusav (priest of the six-years-feast and priest of agricultural rituals)·····*tsivuluvay giligilao* (Chimo)
para'are na ara (priest of head-hunting ceremony)·····
·····*tsipulayay* (Chimo)

b) *paraiyay* (priest of the hunting grounds, one for each ground)·····determined by divination

c) *puliyao* (priestess)·····two Paiwan, two Chimo.

C. Military chiefs:

rara'atsay (chivalry chief)·····*tsavalit*

rara'atsay tsalala (lesser chivelry chiefs)·····number of person are not fixed, promoted by military achievements.

D. Tribal councils:

a) *malaval a maluvtsivtsik*—Members of *malaval a maluvtsivtsik*, the administrative council or aristocratic council consist of all aristocratic household-heads. *utsiputsipoy*, vassals of the chiefs may attain the council but they have no voice in the council. The administative council is headed by the big chief *ruvanian.* 623

b) *malaval tsalala'alay*—The villagers' meeting consists of all household-heads of the village. It is also assembled by the big chief *ruvanian.*

c) *malaval ta palisilisiay*—Ritual day assembly it is assembled by the big chief *ruvanian*, but *para'are*, the priest is the chief speaker.

d) *malaval na rara'atsay* or chavalry meeting—The meeting is held everynight. In occasions of head-hunting expedition or war, it is assembled and headed by *rara'atsay.*

FEUDALISM AND TRIBUTARY SYSTEM

A. Feudalism

The feudalism of Chala'abus village which resembles that of the ancient Chinese system is called *moli-umax.* The representative of a feudal lord is called *pinairaratsa.* 631 621 The big chief *ruvanian* had nine (possibly more than nine) *atumayay* or dominions in other villages. They are shown as follows:

atumayay village		*pinairaratsa* household	
pailus	"	*tsumatsiay*	"
vuyalit	"	*taluvuyay*	"
butsuynok	"	*tsaododo*	"
tsuvutsa'atay	"	*tsulimodo*	"

16: Müller--230 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 561, 646

In all those tribes where there is a tendency toward autonomy, there is a marked division according to age levels among the men who hold the vote.

The chief of the tribe sets a day for the gathering of the chiefs of the clans, and also for catching fish in the large river. It is in the fall, when the trout has reached its full growth and the millet is ripe. Every clan sends at least one representative, and the women and children [16] also come.

22: Wiedfeldt--31 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 646, 622, 202 Atayal

The full assembly of all clan heads and honorary chiefs meets at the invitation of the tribal chief. The time and the place, in case it should be held somewhere else but in the hut of the tribal chief, as well as the agenda, are announced to the nearest clan heads by swift runners. These clan heads, in turn, similarly inform the clan heads who live near them.

22: Wiedfeldt--32 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 646, 527, 484, 576 Atayal

This koto-kumai-roh, or common council [MC: the full assembly of all clan heads of the tribe and honorary chiefs]... meets as a rule at the time of the millet harvest. It begins early in the morning, since most of the clan heads have used the previous day for traveling, and it lasts one to three hours. Connected with it are the community fishing expedition, which supplies the food, and on the next morning, the tribal millet festival. The chief of the tribe opens, conducts, and closes the meeting. He presents the agenda briefly, and then yields the floor to such honorary chiefs and then such clan heads as have something to say. While someone is talking, all the others listen attentively in silence, without interrupting him in any way. Each individual speaks only a few minutes, for it is considered improper to take a long time to express one's opinion.

22: Wiedfeldt--32 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 643, 646, 721 Atayal

The negotiations [MC: carried on in an Atayal tribal assembly called koto-kumai-roh] concern political and military affairs. The koto-kumai-roh makes the decisions and confers upon the tribal chief the necessary powers, according to which he acts. The assembly has nothing to do with his judicial powers. Nevertheless, the assembly takes this opportunity to question the clan heads concerned in any infraction of the law that has taken place, and on their confession, a penalty is imposed or a skull hunt is ordered. Decisions are for the most part made unanimously. Otherwise, voting is by rising from the squatting position. A simple majority decides, and the vote of the tribal chief is used to break a tie. In general, a minority is bound by the decision. In the tribes of the interior, which have not yet had any fights with the Japanese, only those clans are said to take part in a fight whose heads have voted for it, while the other clans remain at home, but are not permitted to give aid to the enemy.

Even more than the family needs a head do the populous institutions of the clan and the tribe need a head to direct them and act for them, for a large number of persons can only act through a representative. In addition, they also need, since they include many people, a body which will express and put into effect the will of the community. Since the dekan [MC: hunting association composed of several clans] lacks both bodies, it is not a social organism, but only a start in that direction. In the clan, this inclusive assembly consists of the heads of all the families, and the bachelors who have been tattooed. In the tribe, it consists of the clan heads and the honorary chiefs. The modern method of selecting the most suitable persons to represent the rest of the population by some kind of electoral procedure is unknown to the Atayals, even in the tribe, where it would be possible. Just as the head of the family represents the family in the clan, [50] so the hereditary heads of the clans are the natural representatives of the members of their clans in the tribal assembly. All the representatives to the assemblies have equal rights. Anyone who is absent is not counted, not even as a negative vote... This would be unnecessary anyway, for among the Atayals, everyone appears. The full assemblies have the authority to make decisions, and they pass on all matters of a general nature. The will of the totality is recognized by the mechanical means of a simple majority. If there is a tie between two opinions, the chief has the decisive voice.

If a resolution is passed, the chief is empowered and obligated to put it into effect, for example, a clan head may be authorized to buy a certain piece of land at a set price,

or a tribal chief may be authorized to carry on negotiations with the Japanese concerning the changes in the Aiyu line. The not unfamiliar contrast between representative and constituent has been rendered impossible among the Atayals by restricting the representative to limited powers. The clan assembly can hold the hereditary head of the clan responsible for voting as it desires in the tribal assembly, for as a rule the clan assembly precedes, and it does so. The corporate body does not relinquish its exclusive right to make decisions even under unfavorable circumstances.

22: Wiedfeldt--52[2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 623, 643, 646 Atayal

The Atayals possess, in addition to the family, two higher grades of social organizations [MC: ie. the clan and the tribe] with a clearly defined and suitable distribution of functions to both institutions. Each one of them has the two indispensable spokesmen: the assembly of the whole and the head, between whom the powers have up to now been adequately divided.

We should give particular attention to the viceroy's [EJ: i.e., the Chinese Viceroy Liu-Ming-Chuan, appointed in 1884] efforts to enclose the natives' territory. During the course of time the natives who lived in the western plain, the P'ing-pu-fan, Formosan Pe-po-huan "plain savages" and the Shou-fan, Formosan Sek-huan "ripe savages" or half-tamed ones, had been conquered or else they had retired into the inaccessible mountains of the eastern portion of the island, where the Sheng-fan, Formosan Tseng-huan, the most uncivilized tribes have lived in a state of complete independence for a long time. There was a continual battle between the settlers and the mountain savages; the settlers were eager to push their boundaries farther into the native domain, while the natives used every opportunity to attack isolated settlers or unprotected villages, and in this way they got their revenge and secured some more Chinese heads. Prior to the time of Liu-Ming-Chuan, the Governors had not followed any definite plan with regard to the savages, and in general they allowed the settlers to defend themselves as well as they could; the viceroy undertook to find a means of overcoming this handicap and he resolved to civilize the natives. For this purpose he established the "Training and Development Bureau", Fu-k'en-chu, (Japanese Bu-kon-kyoku). He had set himself the enormous task of educating the savages and of making the land arable.

To fulfill this plan, he established three principal bureaus in Ta-ku-kuan, Tung-shi-chiao and Pei-nan [33] and then had twelve branch offices, one in each of the Hsien

cities, I-lan, Yün-lin, Pu-li-she and Lien-hua-chiang, while the twelve others were in Su-ao, A-li, San-chiao-yung, Wu-chi-shan, Shuang-hsi, T'ien-wei, Hsien-ts'ai-weng, Ta-hu, Fang-liao, Nan-hu, Shui-chang-jung, and Hsiu-ku-luan. To attract settlers from the mainland, he set up settler recruiting bureaus in Amoi, Swatow and Hongkong.

The personnel of the bureaus consisted of 1 commisioner, 3 clerks, 5 policemen, 2 interpreters, 1 cook and 1 native maid. Then there was also 1 doctor and 1 barber. All of these employees were well paid: the commissioner, who was the superintendent of the branch office, received 30-80 taels a month, each clerk had 14-25, a policeman had 6-7, the first interpreter 20, the second 14-15, the maid 7, the cook 4-5 taels, and they all received free board. The interpreters had the hardest task, for they had to work with the savages and make them in favor of the Government's projects. The yearly expenditures of a branch office averaged about 6000 taels, and then in addition to that there was the food and equipment for the protecting troops. All of these expenses were defrayed by the revenue from the camphor monopoly.

As the savages are on a low cultural plane, it was necessary to be sparing with proofs of their good intentions, for it would have been an easy matter to have spoiled them. Accordingly interpreters went to them with gifts, and tried to persuade them to surrender; then at the same time the natives saw the protecting troops at frequent intervals, so any idea of insubordination was nipped in the bud. Those who showed their readiness

to collaborate were given rice, grain, meat, salt and vegetables; every month the barber paid them a visit, and at the end of the year they received clothing, oxen, and sows. Many of the natives entered the Chinese service as fire watchers and interpreters, in return for a monthly compensation, and then fathers sent their children to the school which was established for them in front of the south gate of T'ai-pei; there they received instruction in the dialect of the natives as well as in Classical Chinese.

As the viceroy realized that one of the chief means of civilizing wild peoples is to bring them into contact with educated people, he had the troops build an 80 kilometer road from Chang-hua diagonally across the mountain to Shui-wei on the east coast; the result was that many of the inhabitants of the interior and the eastern part of the island surrendered, they adopted the Manchu queue, and began to till the soil.

14: Tamai--94 J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
576, 609, 648 Chin-hoan

On the other side of the river 13 chieftains from the Mareisha villages came forward; the Chinese trader came over to them and asked them to cross the river and meet the Japanese. [MC: members of a reconnaissance expedition] They refused at first, saying "We do not know the Japanese and do not know whether they are traitors like the Chinese or honest men. But so that they may not attack us unawares we have brought along a hundred armed men who are lying in ambush. If the Japanese agree to come to us unarmed we shall be glad to negotiate with them, for we have a favor to ask of them." The Japanese agreed to this and as they came across the river they were greeted in the way that is customary on this island, by the "swinging of the swords"; the chief went around with his sword drawn and cut off the points of the blades of grass.

22: Wiedfeldt--28 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 643, 619, 692, 648 Atayal

The person who is the political representative and the military leader also has sufficient prestige to handle legal business. If it is a question of matters which concern individuals of the same clan, the clan chief is capable of dealing with them, but if members of different clans are involved, the tribal chief handles them. There is no difference between them, except the one that has just been mentioned, as to the type of matters that they handle. The procedure is the same also. If members of different tribes are involved, there is no legal procedure, if this expression is permissible, for there is no institution in their society which is superior to the tribe, and which could decide which one was right. The matter either is left unsettled, or force of arms determines who is in the right.

22: Wiedfeldt--32 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 619, 609, 648, 721 Atayal

Just as the struggles with the Japanese have had the effect of producing greater solidarity within the tribes, so in recent years, under the same sort of pressure, there have arisen temporary alliances of several tribes, but never of a majority of tribes, for the purpose of a joint military expedition. In spite of the enthusiastic support given these joint expeditions by many of the tribal chiefs, the Atayals have no confidence in these products of extreme necessity. My question as to whether tribes of different savage peoples had ever united for the purpose of a joint military venture, aroused only laughter and amazed headshakings among the Atayals present.

22: Wiedfeldt--46 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 619, 648 Atayal

The tribe is a political association of the clans which live in a definite territory and are united by similar customs. Accordingly, it has no economic functions. It is responsible for the legal regulations which are beyond the scope of the individual clan. Furthermore, it is charged with certain military and political functions on behalf of its members.

22: Wiedfeldt--47-48 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 177, 182, 619, 648, 721 Atayal

Every tribe is independent of the other tribes, or is even hostile to them. This attitude was adequate, as long as they did not have any dealings with opponents who were superior to them in strength, as is now the case with the Japanese, and it has naturally given the individual tribe and the chief of the tribe a greater measure of freedom and independence than if a portion of his rights and duties had been transferred to a superior institution. To create social organizations without subjection and on a footing of equal rights seems uncommonly difficult in political life as well as in cooperative labor; even for [48]primitive individuals it seems almost impossible, especially if one considers how much scientific effort and practical work has now been directed at this goal. Even under the pressure of the need to defend themselves against Japanese penetration, the Atayal tribes have not been able to unite. Only individual tribes have been able to unite for minor undertakings, and that not particularly satisfactorily. Nevertheless, some of the chiefs have not spared any effort to bring this about. In the tribes in the interior, the union of the clans in the tribe is so slight, that it is not sufficient to enable them to wage war as a joint effort. In their case, it might even be doubtful whether the social bond between the families by means of their clans in the tribe is so strong that they feel themselves to be members of the same tribe, or whether the tribe is only a union of the clan heads. The tribal feasts which are celebrated in common, the uniform and simple legal procedure of tribal decisions, and the fact that they actually seldom take the liberty to absent themselves from tribal wars, make the first assumption seem more probable,

especially since there is no doubt that this is the situation which prevails among the border tribes.

22: Wiedfeldt--50-51 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 643, 648 Atayal

After an unsuccessful [MC: diplomatic] battle against the Japanese, the chief of the tribe was forced to break off the negotiations, as soon as circumstances arose which had not been foreseen when his powers were conferred upon him, and had to go back and question his tribal assembly anew, to the annoyance of the Japanese. In view of the fact that they are closely bound to observe the decisions of the full assembly, neither the head of the clan nor the chief of the tribe in particular becomes a real leader and authority, for example, in the protection of foreign envoys. They would not be able to develop any initiative if their position were not assured of a certain independence from another source. They are not chosen by election, and hence they are free from any influence from the side of the assembly or the members of the tribe. Both have inherited their positions as representatives from their forebears, chiefly from their fathers, who selected the most suitable successor on the basis of their long experience and their judgment, without any help from the body corporate. Just [51] as they enter upon their office at the death or retirement of their predecessor, without any particular ceremony, so the termination of their careers as representatives depends entirely on their own wishes. The chief of a tribe retires from his somewhat honorary position when he thinks that he can no longer perform important functions. . .

34: Del Re 651, 796 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines Yami

[MLB: The caption below the photograph on p. 17 states that on ceremonial occasions such as weddings, a tax is levied on the villagers in the form of a large iron basin.]

48: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

631
621

pulti	„	*talialuþ*	„
aviayay	„	*tsiyulol*	„
tsaovarul	„	*ruvanian*	„
ralide	„	?	
atsa'atsaray	„	?	

B. Tax and labour

421
423
651

All dwelling lands (*inaray*), hunting grounds (*aliupay*), fishing grounds (*þana*), cultivating lands (*atunayay*) and things above the land were owned by aristocratic households. A commoner in order to have some lands to till, some grounds for hunting and fishing, and stones and fuel to be collected in the valleys or on the mountains, must submit himself to some aristocratic household as a serf (*smutal*), and is obliged to pay taxes to render feudal labours to his feudal lord. Taxes are of the following kinds:

a) *wadis na satsamul*—tax for hunting animal
b) *wadis na þana*—tax for fishing
c) *wadis na atsay*—tax for domesticating animal
d) *itsivoy*—wine tax
e) *ilwpluþ*—tax for collecting fuel
f) *þa'a*—tax for trading
g) *þa'a lura ta putsel*—tax for marriage

Feudal labours of a serf to his feudal lord are of the following kinds:

a) Land tillage (*þata'alay*): Each aristocratic household has preserved a portion of tilling land for its own. This portion of land is called *vavutaloy*. The *vavutaloy* of the *ruvanian* household was tilled by all commoners of the village. Other *vavutaloy* were respectively tilled by serfs of those households. All products of these *vavutaloy* belong to the aristocratic households. This land-tillage system has been employed in Chala'abus village to substitute the land-tax.

b) House-building and house repairing (*jirayuts*): The commoners have the obligation to build or repair houses for chiefs. All commoners are obliged to render this kind of service to the *ruvanian* and *sadilapay* households.

c) Miscellaneous duties (*þainuma a tsavatsavuŋ*): Commoners must render services to chiefs' households in their marriage, funeral or other occasions of the same kind.

d) Travelling service (*putsatsalay*): A chief may require certain commoner to accompany him when travelling.

C. Tributary and audience

651

The representative of the big chief in other villages must pay visits and tributes to his overlord the *ruvanian* household after the harvests of millet and taro. Tributes presented by a *pinairaratse* to his overlord include 20 bundles of millet ears, a bottle of wine, a pig, 10 bunches of betel nut, a bag of groundnuts. In time of the five-years-feast, the chiefs of Chala'abus will be invited to visit villages where they have their representatives. At the death of the *pinairaratsa*, the overlord must condole the family of the dead and at the same time appoints the *saam* or heir of the family to succeed

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

his father's office. If the *pinairaratsə* has no heir or if his works were not regarded as satisfactory, the overlord may appoint another household to the office. Taxes collected by the *pinairaratsə* need not be forward to their overlords, they may be consumed by the *pinairaratsə* himself. 651

CLASS AND PRIVILEGE

A. Naming system

A name indicates one's social status. They are of three grades: 565

a) Names of the big chiefs:

men's names: *arutsayal, tʃanupah, tsivuluay, giligilao, palilas, ləyuyai, trotsə.*

women's names: *rumurumay, moni, vonum, slup, lutsium, tsipulay.*

b) Names of the second grade chiefs:

men's names: *apitsuay, ulili, pulalujay, tsimuluyai, tsama, gulagul, rayaray, apay, tsumul.*

women's names: *tsianhim, lavlav, kalshus, tso'o, rere, ateves, kumara, moahai.*

c) Names of the commoners:

men's names: *maitsəl, guluts, tsuvi* and others.

women's names: *saolalui, alalu, vais, kai* and others.

The *utsiputsipoy* have the same names as commoners. The name of an aristocrat is decided in a kins' meeting. To acquire a name above his class he must get a permission from the big chief. The name of a commoner is given by his parents or determined by a divination.

B. Tattooing (*veytsih*)

Tattooing is one of the privileges enjoyed by the aristocratic class. A commoner may have tattoo if he has military achievements and is so permitted by the chief. Men tattoo their breasts, backs, arms, and legs; women only tattoo their forearms and backs of hand. The designs indicate their social status, only the big chiefs may have human figures (*pinarutsautsauay*) and snake designs (*pinavulvuluvay*). 565 304

C. House decoration

Houses are distinguished by two kinds. The houses of the big chief or the second grade chiefs are always larger in size and more decorative. In front of these houses, there are larger front yards (*assasaway*) and platforms (*aluvuluvay*) which serve as the meeting places of the villagers. On the platform a stone pillar is erected to represent their ancestor which is called *saotsaolai*. House posts, beams, walls, and storage boxes may be decorated with human figure or snake designs. The houses of the commoners, include houses of *utsiputsipoy*, are always smaller in size and can not be decorated. 565 531 341

D. Clothing and ornaments

Clothing and ornaments also indicate one's social status. The aristocratic class wear clothes of dark colours—dark blue, dark purple, or black colour. The clothes of the aristocratic class are always embroidered or design-weaved, while the commoners are prohibited to wear such. Several kinds of clothe—*tsapo aliulao* (clothe made of leopard's skin), *vajal a tsinuyuay* (shoulder cloth), *katin a veytsiay* (a kind of trousers) 565 291

16: Müller--230 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 466, 653, 561, 805 Ami

Among some tribes of the Amis group it is customary to assign public works according to the degree of physical development rather than age, since in some cases they do not even keep track of their age. They divide the men into three to eleven classes and assign these to permanent positions; this includes the construction of roads, guard duty, etc.

25: Plaut--32-33 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines-1-3
116, 647, 654, 721, 177.65 China
636.65

We should give particular attention to the viceroy's [EJ: i.e., the Chinese Viceroy Liu-Ming-Chuan, appointed in 1884] efforts to enclose the natives' territory. During the course of time the natives who lived in the western plain, the P'ing-pu-fan, Formosan Pe-po-huan "plain savages" and the Shou-fan, Formosan Sek-huan "ripe savages" or half-tamed ones, had been conquered or else they had retired into the inaccessible mountains of the eastern portion of the island, where the Sheng-fan, Formosan Tseng-huan, the most uncivilized tribes have lived in a state of complete independence for a long time. There was a continual battle between the settlers and the mountain savages; the settlers were eager to push their boundaries farther into the native domain, while the natives used every opportunity to attack isolated settlers or unprotected villages, and in this way they got their revenge and secured some more Chinese heads. Prior to the time of Liu-Ming-Chuan, the Governors had not followed any definite plan with regard to the savages, and in general they allowed the settlers to defend themselves as well as they could; the viceroy undertook to find a means of overcoming this handicap and he resolved to civilize the natives. For this purpose he established the "Training and Development Bureau", Fu-k'en-chu, (Japanese Bu-kon-kyoku). He had set himself the enormous task of educating the savages and of making the land arable.

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As the savages are on a low cultural plane, it was necessary to be sparing with proofs of their good intentions, for it would have been an easy matter to have spoiled them. Accordingly interpreters went to them with gifts, and tried to persuade them to surrender; then at the same time the natives saw the protecting troops at frequent intervals, so any idea of insubordination was nipped in the bud. Those who showed their readiness

to collaborate were given rice, grain, meat, salt and vegetables; every month the barber paid them a visit, and at the end of the year they received clothing, oxen, and sows. Many of the natives entered the Chinese service as fire watchers and interpreters, in return for a monthly compensation, and then fathers sent their children to the school which was established for them in front of the south gate of T'ai-pei; there they received instruction in the dialect of the natives as well as in Classical Chinese.

As the viceroy realized that one of the chief means of civilizing wild peoples is to bring them into contact with educated people, he had the troops build an 80 kilometer road from Chang-hua diagonally across the mountain to Shui-wei on the east coast; the result was that many of the inhabitants of the interior and the eastern part of the island surrendered, they adopted the Manchu queue, and began to till the soil.

25: Plaut--34 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 654, 177.65 China
636.65

To be just to Liu-Ming-Chuan's attempts, we must remember that his civilizing activities only lasted for six years, [EJ: Liu-Ming-Chuan was Chinese Viceroy of Formosa from 1884 to 1891] and that is much too short a space of time to remedy some deep-rooted evils. It is true that he made the mistake of going too rapidly, and of trying to do too many things at once. Finally he was no longer able to pay the expenses for his undertakings, in spite of the increased taxes, and in 1891 he resigned his post. His successor was more economical, but he did not have time to accomplish very much, for the days of Chinese rule on Formosa were already numbered.

25: Plaut--33-34 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 436, 609, 656, 177.65 China
636.65

The stations of the Training and Development Bureau [EJ: established by the Chinese in 1884 to facilitate the acculturation of the Formosan natives] did not have a conspicuous success. Part of the blame may be laid on the changeable and distrusting nature of the savages, but the greed of the Chinese settlers and officials was the principal cause of the failure. For example, the natives were accustomed to bring their products into the settlements and to exchange them for wares which they [34] used for farming or for decoration. But the Chinese, who were only thinking about the momentary profit and not about the consequences, also sold them weapons. Finally the Government forbade any unrestricted trade with the savages, and it set up a market in each bureau, and said that it was the only place where barter should be permitted. However, the officials, who were entrusted to superintend this, were not reliable. They used their position for personal profit, and they permitted the natives to be cheated. It is not surprising, therefore, that this aroused the old ire among the savages, and that they used every opportunity to gain revenge by beheading some of the Chinese.

4:Grajdanzev--35-36 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116. 563, 657, 727. 177. 56 Japan
636. 56

"After their occupation of the island the Japanese took over the Chinese 'reservation' system for the aborigines and the territory inhabited by the 'uncivilized' tribes was surrounded by military outposts, (1) which kept constant watch over the [36] natives.

> 1. The fact that these outposts were manned by Japanese policemen and not by soldiers makes little difference, because at their stage of cultural development the aborigines could hardly appreciate the difference.

The latter understood only that the Chinese system would continue a system of incessant warfare in which finally they were the losers and their best lands were taken away."

4:Grajdanzev--36 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 166, 563, 657, 728, 177.56 Japan
636.56

"It is difficult to say whether they understood, at the beginning, even the change of the sovereignty. In any case the war continued. During the first years of occupation the Japanese, preoccupied with the suppression of Chinese rebellions, tried only to keep them within the reservation, but later a complete program of subjugation was worked out. Its essential feature was the removal of aborigines to low lands in order that the mountainous areas which they had occupied might be exploited. These areas were rich (or at least were thought to be) in timber, minerals and agricultural potentialities, for a certain part of the area could be sown with tropical plants."

11: Haguenauer--29 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 161, 657

The seiban [MC: completely unacculturated natives] are divided into eight large tribes: the Tayal, Saisat, Tchou, Bunun, Paiwan, Puyuma, Amis and the Yami. The total population is only 134,000, and that is very small for such a large territory.*

* The map [MC: see category 102 page:facing 25] shows the location of these eight tribes. The Tayal are divided into the Tayal and the Sedjiek. The Tsarisen speak a language which is similar to that of the Paiwan.

The tribes that I have just named are distinguished by somatological characteristics, language, social organization and customs. They have nothing in common except the system of administration, to which they were subjected by the Japanese.

11: Haguenauer--29 [2]T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 628, 657, 728

The pacification [MC: of the tribes living in the mountains] came to an end in 1915, for most of the villages had surrendered at that time. Since then the savage zone has been tranquil, and head hunting will soon be just a memory. The electric current no longer runs through the wire barrier which was set up to keep the aborigines from entering civilized territory. And you can cross the island in two places at least. However, it is wise not to go too far from the lookouts elsewhere, for there are still quarrels between some of the tribes at rather frequent intervals.

40: Kirk--14-15 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 185, 625, 657, 177.62 Japanese

"At the close of 1934 there were 536 stations with 5,509 policemen, whose duty it is to maintain peace and order, to give industrial and agricultural training to the villagers, especially the young folks, and to provide medical care. The chief objectives of this work may be briefly summarized: an invigoration of the national spirit, diffusion of the national language, abolition of long-standing evil customs, cultivation of a love for labor, of thrift, and of settled farming. (3)

3. Kokusai Nippon Kyokai, A Record of Taiwan's Progress, Taihoku, p. 62.

This ambitious program to assimilate the aborigines of Formosa, 154,255 strong, is entrusted to a Bureau of Aborigines Affairs within the Police Affairs Section of the Government General. The work of the policeman among the Takasagozoku, as the primitives are called, is in many respects decidedly unique. This guardian of the law, to repeat, is teacher, counselor, financial and agricultural adviser, doctor, nurse, and religious leader all in one. To educate the savages in Japanese manners and ideals, to [15] destroy native customs, beliefs, and traditions, and to accelerate the process of ko-min-ka (i. e., change to Imperial people) are the policeman's main duties in each village. Notwithstanding certain difficulties which have arisen in the past because of unfortunate relations of some policemen with native women, high officials, report that the teacher-policemen, assigned to the special task of savage administration, seem to

have done creditable work.

In addition to schools, young men's associations are formed to stimulate an interest in the study of the Japanese language."

40: Kirk--15 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 166, 311, 361, 657, 177.36 Japanese

"The government of Formosa, as a part of ko-min-ka, has adopted a policy of removing the aborigines from their remote mountain homes to small parcels of land on the plains where they can be more easily watched and where they may acquire some skill as tillers of the soil. The agricultural possibilities of the lowlands include rice fields, livestock, sericulture, and sugar cane. Not infrequently, when the authorities have tried to pull a village up by the roots and transplant it at the foot of the mountain, the natives have openly rebelled against their rulers. But the soldiers quickly subdue the ringleaders and continue their policy of 'removals' according to schedule. The government errects huts on the plains, rent free, for the mountain families and prepares rice fields and vegetable plots, which are also free from tax. Free medical care is provided."

4: Grajdanzev--37-38 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 659, 728, 177.72 Japan
636.72

"Twenty thousand men with primitive tribal organization and primitive weapons could not resist indefinitely the machinery of a modern state with all its attributes. But the submission was unwilling and as late as October 1930, aborigines, several thousand strong, burnt the police stations in the district of Musha, seized arms, and occupied the town. In order to suppress this rebellion the Japanese were compelled to use a considerable military force. (1) The suppression cost the Japanese

1. 'October 1930' is given by the Japan Year Book, 1939-40; in the 1933 edition it is said that the revolt took place 'in the summer of 1929.' Which is the truth we do not know, for the affair was not made public until long after it took place. Since 1929 a sum of ¥ 60,000 has been spent annually on special guards in Musha district.

160 lives and the incident shows that if the aborigines [38] should see a favorable opportunity, further trouble may follow. Now a force of 5,000 guards 90,000 aborigines, of which probably not more than 20,000 are mature men, disarmed and separated into their various tribal units by government lines."

16: Müller--235-236 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 671, 673, 681

The concept of crime is not unknown among the natives. They judge misdemeanors according to ancient traditions; action is considered a moral offense if it is not in accordance with the principles held by the community as a whole. There is no written law; the punishment for each crime is [236] considered individually. No form of punishment, however, may exceed a certain degree of severity. Sometimes the offender may pay a fine to take the place of the punishment designated.

18: Kakyo--70 [5] E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 671

In general, the criterion for the crime concept among Formosan savages is the following:

a) They treat as crimes all actions that must be looked on as such according to tradition and custom.

b) But to constitute a crime, the action nevertheless must conflict with the moral notions shared by everyone among them.

The principles adopted with regard to a crime are as follows:

1. The crime must be punished.
2. In some circumstances, the punishment can be transformed into retribution.

18: Kakyo--71 E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 671

The following may be said about the methods of punishment:

1. There is no fixed penal code. The punishment is determined according to the circumstances of the case.

2. The degree of punishment is fixed by tradition and custom, and the punishment should not exceed these limits.

22: Wiedfeldt--40 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 183, 626, 671 Atayal

There is no Atayal system of laws, in the modern sense of the word, for the fall of man in the development of laws, as Savigny calls the codification of legal usages, has not yet made its appearance in these tribes which can not write. For all that, they do not act with complete freedom of the will in their legal paradise, but move in the fixed grooves of traditional and generally observed rules which govern their relations with each other, not merely in the case of infractions of the legal usage, but in their community life as a whole.

22: Wiedfeldt--42 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 671, 851 Atayal

The Atayals also possess the most important institutions of civil law. ... The mere fact of birth is a matter of indifference before the law. Only when the child receives a name, that is, when it is about three years old, does it begin to enjoy some consideration before the law. On the other hand, the capacity to carry on business is indicated by the outward sign of tattooing, instead of by age.

22: Wiedfeldt--44-45 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 643, 671, 692 Atayal

Finally, some traces of formal legal procedure may also be detected, although there is no training in the law nor even a special legal profession as such. In cases of civil law, the chief of the tribe is not really the authority who has the deciding word on the legal aspect of the case. He merely collects the evidence, and from the results of this, the decision is clear to everyone, and the deductions to be made are self-evident, for everyone is well acquainted with the legal usages. In criminal law, the chief of the tribe has considerably more power, because the community has a real interest in not permitting a crime, for example, adultery, to go unpunished through the complaisance of the husband. Nor do they wish the murder of a child to go unavenged by the head of a family, because the murderer was a more powerful neighbor, and they are anxious to prevent the irascible victim of a thief from taking the law into his own hands and thus committing a new and unjustifiable crime. As representatives of the community in such cases the two most highly respected [45] men are naturally called to serve. At the same time, if it is necessary, they pass on the possibility of carrying out the sentence. Their jurisdiction is simply and clearly limited according to whether members of the same clan, or members of different clans are involved in the case. Where there is no such spokesman, there is no course of law, so that among the Atayals all of their legal activity has continued to be limited to the individual tribe.

22: Wiedfeldt--45 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 671, 681, 696 Atayal

The execution of the decision arrived at [MC: in criminal cases] is simple. The clan always bows to the decision in the presence of the chief of the tribe; an individual family, or a single individual almost always does so. If necessary, the clan uses force, or debars a disobedient member from the clan. The injured clan always receives the fine which is due it, even though the clan which is obligated to pay can not always get it from the guilty member, which after all does not mean very much in view of the solidarity of the members of the clan. Thus, the Atayals have a well developed system of criminal law, they possess the most important basic institutions of civil law, and they have orderly legal procedure.

It may be shown that the Atayals recognize the existence of such a thing as a corporation from the fact that the clan has property, buys and sells land, that it has definite representation, and that action may be brought against it, as it may bring action against someone else. In spite of this, I do not think that the Atayals see the clan as a special repository of their legal rights. It is more probable that they merely regard the head of the clan as the member who has to take care of the joint liabilities of the families in the clan together with them and as their authorized agent. Taking the law into one's own hands is not limited to cases of self-defence. For example, if an adopted child runs away, and the adoption money is not returned, the head of the family can take another child from this family or clan without further ado. [43] Other legal principles, such as fixing a term, or full power of attorney, are also known.

16: Müller--235-236 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 671, 673, 681

The concept of crime is not unknown among the natives. They judge misdemeanors according to ancient traditions; action is considered a moral offense if it is not in accordance with the principles held by the community as a whole. There is no written law; the punishment for each crime is [236] considered individually. No form of punishment, however, may exceed a certain degree of severity. Sometimes the offender may pay a fine to take the place of the punishment designated.

7: Joest--62 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
674 Chin-hoan

During my entire stay with the Chinwans, however, they never stole anything from me, although I had to pay a high price for everything I bought from them.

22: Wiedfeldt--41-42 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 674, 681 Atayal

Recognized legal customs are seldom violated by the Atayals. In the course of two years there were said to have been in one tribe one case of adultery, three thefts, and four murders. These three types of offenses against the law are recognized by them, and so they protect the most important social principles: life, family, and property. They punish adultery more severely than is customary in modern times, because of the high esteem in which the family is held...and because of their solidarity with the injured member of the clan. The Atayals, like ourselves, distinguish three kinds of offenses: a delict--to use our expression--for example, killing a person in the hunt; a misdemeanour, for example, the killing of a member of the tribe; a crime, for example, the killing of a member of the clan. They have three corresponding degrees of punishment: a fine, compensation derived from the offender's property by means of a fine or burning his hut, and the death penalty, from which there is no appeal. It is less surprising that they do not know anything about depriving a person of freedom as a means of punishment, --which would be difficult to do, anyway, --than that they have not adopted the practice of corporal punishment in spite of the fact that they have long been neighbors of the Chinese. If the fine is not paid, the death penalty is applied. After all, that failure to pay the fine is a sign that the members of the clan reject the criminal. The punishments may be accumulated, for example, in the case of adultery. Since the punishment is an attempt to settle and avenge the offense, it almost always includes a fine paid to the injured party or to his clan. [42] It is not a fixed sum, but is adjusted

according to the demands of the clan, the seriousness of the offense, and the capacity of the offender to pay. Finer legal distinctions of other kinds are not unknown to the Atayals, for example, premeditation, mitigating circumstances, or the distinction between adultery on the part of the woman and adultery on the part of the man, a distinction which has been obliterated in modern times...

25: Haut--41 [5] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 627, 674, 685

Theft is unknown among some of the tribes. Among others it is very rare, and it is usually handled in such a way that the thief is required to restore the stolen property, or its equivalent, and to pay an additional fine.

34: Del Re--16 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 181, 609, 674, 829 Yami

"According to the reports published by scientific expeditions, the Yami live in a kind of idyllic natural state which might, indeed, have served as model for some of the 'naturist' utopias beloved of XVIIIth century philosophers, the essential features of which may be seen practised on Botel-Tobago. To give one instance. As far back as the oldest inhabitant is able to recollect, or at least since forty years ago when the Japanese first stationed a couple of policemen on the island, there has been no record of a single case of theft or violence among the natives. The wholesale execution of the crew of an American vessel wrecked there a few years previously of whom only two managed to escape, can hardly be considered as an exception since it appears to have been due to ritual reasons. Apart from the naturally peaceful temper of the Yami, the absence of crime is attributable less to the fact that these and other misdemeanours such as adultery are considered as crimes in themselves or as immoral actions, than to the fact that the tribe looks upon them as undesirable."

16: Müller--236 [3] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 675

Various formalities are employed for contracts among the Taiwan aborigines. One custom which is common among all tribes is to bury a stone in a secret place; both parties bury it together and neither may touch it during the time the contract is in effect. Sometimes one of the parties cuts a branch from a tree and throws it to the other, who at that moment cuts the grass with his sword. *

* A chieftain once offered me a pledge of security by biting a bullet out of a cartridge and giving it to me as a hypothec.

Contracts are held sacred among the aborigines, and it rarely occurs that one of the parties breaks the contract.

22: Wiedfeldt--43 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 675 Atayal

From the legal principle of indebtedness, the Atayals derive the basic concept of the bilateral agreement, or contract, which applies to purchase as a matter of give and take, both to the purchase of a wife or a child, and to the purchase of land between clans, and, more recently, also to the purchase of cattle. If a person who has been bought leaves the purchaser, he must be given back, or the sum paid must be returned. All other kinds of contracts, such as rent, lease, borrowing, loans, and contracts for service and labor are unheard of... The reimbursement of the hamengoppu [MC: old women] for tattooing is more in the nature of a gift than of a money-payment according to contract.

16: Müller--235-236 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 671, 673, 681

The concept of crime is not unknown among the natives. They judge misdemeanors according to ancient traditions; action is considered a moral offense if it is not in accordance with the principles held by the community as a whole. There is no written law; the punishment for each crime is [236] considered individually. No form of punishment, however, may exceed a certain degree of severity. Sometimes the offender may pay a fine to take the place of the punishment designated.

16: Müller--236 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 681, 628 Tayal

Among the Ataiyal aborigines the following are the chief forms of punishment:

1. A small fine, for offenses such as trespassing in the fields.
2. Beating, used chiefly for personal insults. This may be administered symbolically, by striking the offender's arm very gently, or actually, with sticks.
3. Capital punishment, chiefly applied if the offender has murdered a relative or committed adultery, etc.
4. Confiscation of property and plundering of houses, applied against an entire tribe.

21: Asai--8 [2] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 681

"Enforcing of the laws. Penalties for breaking the laws are fixed. The injured person gets the amount of the penalty. If the crime was committed against the whole group, they all share in the penalty."

22: Wiedfeldt--28 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 681 Atayal

Penal usage is for the most part highly developed among the Atayals, just as it forms the part of the law which was codified long ago among the Chinese.

22: Wiedfeldt--28 [7] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 681, 574, 692 Atayal

The fine is considered something not good, and is therefore spent by the clan or the family that receives it for a clan feast, the schukun [MC: the ornamented clothing with which the fine was paid.] being exchanged for a pig or for sake. In many tribes, the clan chief keeps the fine and adds it to a fund out of which he occasionally pays fines.

22: Wiedfeldt--41 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 609, 681, 721 Atayal

Their penal law is based on the principle that every infraction of a legal usage must be punished. Conscious striving after justice is foreign to the Atayals, as far as I can determine. They want to restore conditions which have been upset by the offense to their proper place by means of expiation. They recognize infractions of the law only within the tribe. Adultery with a woman who does not belong to the tribe does not trouble any member of the tribe. To kill a man who belongs to another tribe or even to another people, confers prestige as a head-hunter. I myself have heard an Atayal boast in the presence of the Japanese police commissioner, who had been in office for 13 years in the border territory, that he had stolen a pig from a Chinese the night before. Neither do they consider it objectionable to pick bananas from a neighbor's field as they pass by.

22: Wiedfeldt--41-42 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 674, 681 Atayal

Recognized legal customs are seldom violated by the Atayals. In the course of two years there were said to have been in one tribe one case of adultery, three thefts, and four murders. These three types of offenses against the law are recognized by them, and so they protect the most important social principles: life, family, and property. They punish adultery more severely than is customary in modern times, because of the high esteem in which the family is held...and because of their solidarity with the injured member of the clan. The Atayals, like ourselves, distinguish three kinds of offenses: a delict--to use our expression--for example, killing a person in the hunt; a misdemeanour, for example, the killing of a member of the tribe; a crime, for example, the killing of a member of the clan. They have three corresponding degrees of punishment: a fine, compensation derived from the offender's property by means of a fine or burning his hut, and the death penalty, from which there is no appeal. It is less surprising that they do not know anything about depriving a person of freedom as a means of punishment, --which would be difficult to do, anyway, --than that they have not adopted the practice of corporal punishment in spite of the fact that they have long been neighbors of the Chinese. If the fine is not paid, the death penalty is applied. After all, that failure to pay the fine is a sign that the members of the clan reject the criminal. The punishments may be accumulated, for example, in the case of adultery. Since the punishment is an attempt to settle and avenge the offense, it almost always includes a fine paid to the injured party or to his clan. [42] It is not a fixed sum, but is adjusted

according to the demands of the clan, the seriousness of the offense, and the capacity of the offender to pay. Finer legal distinctions of other kinds are not unknown to the Atayals, for example, premeditation, mitigating circumstances, or the distinction between adultery on the part of the woman and adultery on the part of the man, a distinction which has been obliterated in modern times.

22: Wiedfeldt--45 [2] 116, 614, 671, 681, 696 | F-5 | (1913) 1914 | Formosan Aborigines Atayal

The execution of the decision arrived at [MC: in criminal cases] is simple. The clan always bows to the decision in the presence of the chief of the tribe; an individual family, or a single individual almost always does so. If necessary, the clan uses force, or debars a disobedient member from the clan. The injured clan always receives the fine which is due it, even though the clan which is obligated to pay can not always get it from the guilty member, which after all does not mean very much in view of the solidarity of the members of the clan. Thus, the Atayals have a well developed system of criminal law, they possess the most important basic institutions of civil law, and they have orderly legal procedure.

25: Plaut--39 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 421, 681

Administration of justice among the natives.

When peoples live as simply as the mountain natives of Formosa, they obtain practically everything that they need from nature, and so there is no necessity or even a desire to possess more than they need for the present day. Accordingly, there are no quarrels such as those which arise about property and possessions when people live close together and have to struggle to meet their daily needs. If a private disagreement arises about a piece of property, the whole native community is not disturbed, but leaves it to the wronged individual to take care of the matter. Some of the Formosan tribes, such as the Vonum in the central part of the island, say that there is no theft whatsoever, and that it is not a question of stealing to take fruits and vegetables which others have gathered. Other tribes, however, which engage in tilling the soil as well as hunting, have domestic animals and many valuable objects. There are rich and poor citizens, and they know the meaning of property infringements. In all of the tribes, however, there are certain actions which are regarded as an insult against their conception of law and as a disturbance of public order, and so these cannot be tolerated. In conformity with these ideas, some form of controlling and punishing these illegal actions has been devised. According to the prevailing views, the same deed may be judged a light or a severe offence by the different tribes, and the punishment will be a mild or a stringent one.

Administration of justice is always in the hands of the chief.

The chief examines the question, listens to the parties and some witnesses, and gives a verdict. Sometimes he puts his sentence into effect at once, or he may let the victim or his family attend to it. In doubtful cases, when there is no other way to reach a decision, the natives invoke the gods. In other words, the deceased ancestors of the contending parties are invoked to make the decision. There are two ways of obtaining this decision--they are head-hunting and single combat. Head-hunting is organized in this manner: the two opponents, who are frequently accompanied by their friends, go out separately and attack Chinese peasants who are working alone in the field, or they attack unprotected settlements, and then they behead those people whom they can overpower. The group which comes back with one, or several, or with the largest number of heads has won the suit. [40] The duel is fought by the two opponents, or, if one of them is accused of murder, it is between the accused and the accuser, who is usually a relative of the murdered man. They fight until one of them kills the other and cuts off his head. This indicates that the ancestors have given the victor strength to vanquish his opponent, and this demonstrates the innocence or justice of his accusation--the guilty man has received his punishment.

The affair is more serious when the opponents belong to different tribes. The chiefs generally try to reach a peaceful settlement, but they do not always succeed, and then there is no other recourse but to settle the quarrel by battle between the two tribes.

25: Plaut--40 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 681, 692

The chief's decision is invoked when there is a murder, in cases of adultery and seduction, theft, calumny, and quarrels. Nearly all of the tribes believe that each act has its price, and that if the guilty man pays this price, he can be exonerated from all blame. In many tribes it is left to the victim to decide whether he will accept the money, or whether he prefers the revenge.

19: Guérin and Bernard--564 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 682, 692

He [VMM: i.e. the magistrate in a savage community] is a justice of the peace, and he always tries to conciliate the parties. There is no murder among these savage tribes, but theft is rather frequent and only in exceptional cases does the victim render justice himself. The parties appear before the magistrate, and he tries to appease the feeling of hatred between them and to make the delinquent restore the goods or at least pay compensation for them.

22: Wiedfeldt--28 [5] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 682 Atayal

If anyone deliberately kills a member of a clan, he is killed in turn by the family of the victim, with the help of the clan, if this is needed. A fine of from 15 to 20 rokosch-kaha [MC: clothing used as money] is imposed by the tribal chief for the deliberate killing of a member of the tribe. If it is not paid within the appointed time as a ransom for the murderer, he is killed. If someone is accidentally killed, which is not infrequent in the hunt, where many hunters crowd around the wounded animal and make blind thrusts with their spears, the tribal chief sets a fine of from two to six bintoan [MC: clothing of less value than rokosch-kaha], according to the circumstances and to the means of the criminal.

22: Wiedfeldt--28 [6] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 682, 851, 847 Atayal

As long as children do not have a name, there is no punishment for killing them. A child that is capable of running around alone at a distance from the hut always has a name.

25: Plaut--40 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
682 Puyuma

Among the Amis and the Puyuma the murderer has to surrender all of his goods and chattels to the family of his victim. Revenge is not permitted and it is treated like ordinary homicide.

25: Plaut --40 [2] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 571, 682, 721

Murder and homicide. Among the natives of the Palisha district, the punishment for murder is exile. But life outside the clan society is a miserable existence, and the banished man's most ardent desire is to be allowed to return home. Head-hunting offers him an opportunity to win this permission. If he succeeds in capturing a Chinese head, he sends it to the tribe as a sign of victory, and then some time later he may return home without being in danger.

25: Plaut--40 [3] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 682 Tsou

The Tsoo natives give the murderer to the family of the victim, and then they exact vengeance or take money compensation as they see fit. If the murderer is an opponent with whom the members of the family do not dare to deal, the men of the tribe are summoned to support them. At the close of the expiatory proceedings there is a general feast in the honor of the victim.

25: Plaut--40 [4] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 682, 692 Paiwan

The chief of the Paiwan convokes a tribunal of selected members of the tribe for the abjudication of capital crimes; the murderer is always permitted to pay a ransom, and its amount varies according to whether the perpetrator can show a "just cause" for his deed or not.

25: Plaut--40 [5] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 682 Amis

Among the Amis and the Puyuma the murderer has to surrender all of his goods and chattels to the family of his victim. Revenge is not permitted and it is treated like ordinary homicide.

25: Plaut--40-41 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 682

All of the tribes believe that homicide caused by negligence is the act of destiny, that the murderer has simply served as a blind tool [41] and, accordingly, that it would be unjust to punish him or to pursue him with hate.

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

565 291 [301] are only allowed to be worn by chiefs; and embroidered *lionpao* (long clothe), *koŋ na kinimaʔaŋ* (long skirt) and *kasuja tsino at sovanaŋ* (trousers) by chiefess.

Ornaments, especially *lailai* (feather ornaments), *patal na paŋaŋiliŋ* (hat-ornament made of leopard's teeth), *taʔata* (shoulder ornament made of a kind of shell), *tsalaral* (silver shoulder ornament), *aliatpula* (glass bead necklace) are only allowed to be used by nobles.

E. Right to perform ceremonies

565 554 a) Felicitation on having an elder offspring is only performed by the nobles. A gun and some iron ware must be sent to the maternal relatives on this occasion. This is called *lɔmiɕi*.

565 583 b) A bride price is called *ɕiniliɕi*. According to the social status, it is divided into three classes: *mamatsaŋiraŋ*, *maluvtsivtsik* and *talaʔalalak*. *mamatsaŋiran* consists of a piece of cultivated land (*atunaŋaŋ*) a household of serf (*wadis*), five kinds of iron articles; *maluvtsivtsik* only two or three kinds of iron article; and *talaʔalalak* only two or three iron articles. The marriage ceremony also differs between nobles and commoners.

764 565 c) Funeral rites: At the death of a chief, the whole village wears mourning dresses for five days, *maluvtsivtsik* and *utsiputsipoŋ* a month. At the death of a *matuvtsivtsik*, his relatives and *utsiputsipoŋ* wear mourning dresses for a month, and his *umutel* five days. At the death of a commoner, his relatives wear weeds for a month.

F. Privilege from criminal trial

565 [687] a) A commoner will be fined a penalty of a pig, a bottle of wine, several iron articles by his lese-majesty (*napanuŋatsɔ*) to a chief. A noble commits no lese-majesty.

[554] b) If a commoner's house is carved, his body tattooed, and his clothes decorated, he is regarded as having committes a crime of arrogation (*napatsɔra*). He will be fined a penalty of the same as that of a lese-majesty.

[685] c) The nobles commit no crime of robbery (*tsɔmav*).

[682] d) A murderer must pay the equivalence of the price of the murdered which differs according to one's social status. If a commoner murdered a noble, all properties of his own as well as his brothers will be confiscated, and he himself will be exiled from the village.

[684] e) The nobles commit no crime of adultery, but a noble may ask penalty from one who commits adultery with his or her spouse. A commoner who ravishes a chiefess will be heavily punished and exiled from the village.

14: Tamai--96 [3] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 562, 684 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwan woman is the slave of her husband, and it is considered below the husband's dignity to listen to the advice of his wife. If the Tschinwan woman has an affair with another man, both are supposed to be beheaded.

22: Wiedfeldt--22-23 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 837, 684, 597 Atayal

If a married woman commits adultery, she is killed by her husband or his clan, and the hut of the adulterer is burned. In addition to this, the guilty man, or his clan, has to pay the injured husband compensation as a substitute for the murdered woman. The amount of the payment is fixed by the head of the clan according to the adulterer between 25 and 30 rokosch-kaha. [MC: ornamented clothing used as money] If the adulterer is unmarried, he has no hut that can be burned, and he only has to pay half the compensation. If the guilty party or his clan does not pay [23] the injured party steals children out of the clan andsells them for adoption until the sum has been made up. No one knows what happens when a married man commits adultery with a single girl. To the Atayals, the real crime is adultery on the part of a wife.

22: Wiedfeldt--28 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 684 Atayal

Clan and tribe cooperate in the punishment of adultery.

22: Wiedfeldt--40 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 183, 627, 684 Atayal

An Atayal, unlike a modern cuckold, can not disregard this offence, but the clan, with its strict conception of marriage, will demand that the offence be punished, and if need be, will intervene in his place. Their simple and consistent legal principles are part of the flesh and blood of every Atayal, and are apparently more closely observed and less frequently violated than the individual regulations which are turned out by our parliamentary paragraph factories, which are a matter of concern to virtually only the parties interested for the moment. The penal law, civil law, and legal procedure of the Atayals, if I may be permitted to use these terms for the sake of brevity, could be put into the form of laws, if it were worth the trouble, and if, in so doing, their most characteristic features would not be lost. For this entire legal system consists of nothing but basic principles, from which one may safely deduce the necessary procedure for every individual case.

25: Plaut--41 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formósan Aborigines
116, 684, 837 Amis

Adultery and seduction. Adultery and seduction are judged in as many different ways as murder. Among the Amis and the Puyuma the usual punishment for adultery is execution; but the adulterer can ransom himself by paying a sum to the offended husband, provided the latter agrees to this.

25: Plaut--41 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
684 Puyuma

Adultery and seduction are judged in as many different ways as murder. Among the Amis and the Puyuma the usual punishment for adultery is execution; but the adulterer can ransom himself by paying a sum to the offended husband, provided the latter agrees to this.

25: Plaut--41 [2] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 436, 684, 837 Atayal

The Atayal in the central part of Formosa punish the guilty wife and her lover by killing them at once. The seducer of a girl is also slain unless the girl's parents agree to accept ransom. The Atayal, who live farther north, make the adulterer give the injured husband between five and ten shell strings (the current money) or a weapon or other objects as compensation.

25: Plaut--41 [3] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 684, 837 Tsou

The Tsoo require that the culprit give all of his personal property to the husband. If the adulterer is so poor that his possessions cannot be regarded as sufficient to constitute a ransom, the chief occasionally makes the payment for him, takes him as his servant and lets him work out the remainder. The wife's punishment is more severe. As her shame affects not only her husband, but her parents and brothers as well in an even greater degree, all take part in punishing her. After she has been bound and laid on the floor, each one comes up and whips the pubic region with rods. Then a vessel full of red pepper juice is brought, and each one in turn pours some of the biting sap into her vagina and spits in her face. After all of this they advise her to live a better life in the future, and finally she is given back to her husband.

25: Plaut--41 [4] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 684, 837 Paiwan

Among the Paiwan all of the goods and chattels of the adulterer are given to the insulted husband; the woman is repudiated, and sent back to her parents or to her brothers. The seducer is seized by the members of the girl's family, taken to her house and forced to pay a fine which is commensurate with the position of the family in the tribe, and then he has to marry the girl.

31: Hofmann--624 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 562, 684, 836 Tsou

In their marital relations they show a great respect for the women. The bachelors are not admitted to the houses and are therefore forced to practice continence. For that reason they inflict severe punishment on any member of the tribe who has violated a woman within the tribe, and in the case of a stranger, this offense is a casus belli.

In 1908 a Japanese forester violated the wife of a native in Rantaisan, in the region of the Hosha, an aggressive tribe; this led to a long headhunting expedition. The aborigines, even the women, were curious about the conquerors and therefore often went near their dwellings. The Japanese foreman was especially attracted by one woman and abducted her. She remained with him, probably because she was afraid of the severe punishment which the chieftain would administer. Her husband did not take the offense as seriously as her father-in-law, who forced his son to take revenge. Four Japanese workers who had had nothing to do with the affair were attacked by a group of natives and decapitated. The man who had abducted the woman was not one of the victims.

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

565 291 [301] are only allowed to be worn by chiefs; and embroidered *liompao* (long clothe), *hoŋ na kinimaʔaŋ* (long skirt) and *kasuja tsino at sovanaŋ* (trousers) by chiefess.

Ornaments, especially *lailai* (feather ornaments), *patal na paŋaŋiliŋ* (hat-ornament made of leopard's teeth), *taʔata* (shoulder ornament made of a kind of shell), *tsalaral* (silver shoulder ornament), *aliatpula* (glass bead necklace) are only allowed to be used by nobles.

E. Right to perform ceremonies

565 554 a) Felicitation on having an elder offspring is only performed by the nobles. A gun and some iron ware must be sent to the maternal relatives on this occasion. This is called *ləmiɕi*.

565 583 b) A bride price is called *ɕiniliɕi*. According to the social status, it is divided into three classes: *mamatsaŋiraŋ*, *maluvtsivtsik* and *talaʔalalak*. *mamatsaŋiran* consists of a piece of cultivated land (*atunaŋaŋ*) a household of serf (*wadis*), five kinds of iron articles; *maluvtsivtsik* only two or three kinds of iron article; and *talaʔalalak* only two or three iron articles. The marriage ceremony also differs between nobles and commoners.

764 565 c) Funeral rites: At the death of a chief, the whole village wears mourning dresses for five days, *maluvtsivtsik* and *utsiputsipoŋ* a month. At the death of a *matuvtsivtsik*, his relatives and *utsiputsipoŋ* wear mourning dresses for a month, and his *umutel* five days. At the death of a commoner, his relatives wear weeds for a month.

F. Privilege from criminal trial

565 [687] a) A commoner will be fined a penalty of a pig, a bottle of wine, several iron articles by his lese-majesty (*napanuŋatsə*) to a chief. A noble commits no lese-majesty.

[554] b) If a commoner's house is carved, his body tattooed, and his clothes decorated, he is regarded as having committes a crime of arrogation (*napatsəra*). He will be fined a penalty of the same as that of a lese-majesty.

[685] c) The nobles commit no crime of robbery (*tsəmav*).

[682] d) A murderer must pay the equivalence of the price of the murdered which differs according to one's social status. If a commoner murdered a noble, all properties of his own as well as his brothers will be confiscated, and he himself will be exiled from the village.

[684] e) The nobles commit no crime of adultery, but a noble may ask penalty from one who commits adultery with his or her spouse. A commoner who ravishes a chiefess will be heavily punished and exiled from the village.

22: Wiedfeldt--28-29 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 685, 691, 421 Atayal

Civil cases among the Atayals [29] really amount to nothing more than contests about property and possession, the former between clans and the latter between families. ... Since there is no surveying and no fences, disputes about property lines are frequent and are difficult to decide. The Atayals have no written records. They do not know how to deal with the conflicting statements of different people, no matter how greatly they rely upon the testimony of eye-witnesses because of their great love of the truth... They do not consider it feasible to take the short additional step of determining a contested boundary line according to the testimony of the oldest people. They think this is too difficult and too uncertain in view of the importance of the matter.

22: Wiedfeldt—29 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 685, 721, 695 Atayal

If two clan heads have a dispute concerning a piece of land, the tribal chief first discusses the matter, and then fixes a period of a few days, after which they are to appear again, bringing with them all the skulls that the members of their clans have been able to capture in the meantime. The clan chief who presents the most skulls gets the land. If a gun is stolen and the thief can not be found, the clans which are under suspicion, but never more than ten at the most, are ordered by the tribal chief to go out on a head-hunt. The clan that does not bring back any skulls, or the one that brings back the smallest number, is considered the thief. If a supposed murderer denies his deed, he has to present a certain number of skulls within a fixed time. The number of skulls rises according to how well founded the suspicions are. If he brings the skulls, he is not guilty.

22: Wiedfeldt--31 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 685, 554, 802, 614 Atayal

On the basis of this kind of evidence [MC: i. e. skull trophies], disputed land is awarded to a clan, or a penalty is imposed on a clan. The head of the clan then assigns the land to the family concerned, or demands that they comply with the penalty. In business which concerns only the clan, the procedure is the same. All payments are made by the clan heads, with the occasional assistance of a wise man, that is, one who can surely count up to 30. The payment of the price for a bride, and the adoption settlements, etc., are also mostly made with the help of the head of the clan, for the ordinary Atayal can count up to 5 at the most. In decisions of this sort, where there are two steps, one of which is carried out between clans and the other within the clan, there is no difficulty in putting them into effect, as the tangible nature of what is generally recognized as evidence is a help.

25: Plaut--39 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
685 Bunun

Some of the Formosan tribes, such as the Vonum in the central part of the island, say that there is no theft whatsoever, and that it is not a question of stealing to take fruits and vegetables which others have gathered.

25: Plaut--41 [5] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 627, 674, 685

Theft is unknown among some of the tribes. Among others it is very rare, and it is usually handled in such a way that the thief is required to restore the stolen property, or its equivalent, and to pay an additional fine.

25: Plaut--42 [2] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 426, 685, 696 Paiwan

Since the Paiwan till the soil, they occasionally have quarrels about the ownership of a piece of property. The matter is usually arranged in this way. A wants to borrow a sum of money from B and he lets him work a field as security and as a return for his kindness. After one or two years he wants to pay back the loan, but B prefers to keep the field and claims that the business about the loan was purely an oral agreement, and that A owes him a much larger amount, or else he says that he has sold the field and that the alleged loan was the purchase price which he paid. The affair is taken to the chief. He summons both parties, examines the case, realizes that A's claim is a just one, and commands B to restore the field. In case B refuses, the chief takes the sum of money from A, goes to B's house with two men, hands him the money, and forces him to surrender the field. Then B also has to replace all the gifts which A has given to the chief and his companions for their trouble, or else he has to defray the expenses for the feast which A has as a thank offering. If the chief is unable to decide which man is right, he confiscates the field and declares that it is the common property of the tribe. This procedure is called Kuikon, a word which is probably borrowed from the vocabulary of the Chinese settlers, and which is derived from Kwi-kung, meaning "to fall back to the public", that is to the state.

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

565 291 [301] are only allowed to be worn by chiefs; and embroidered *lionpao* (long clothe), *hoŋ na kinimaʔaŋ* (long skirt) and *kasuja tsino at səvanaŋ* (trousers) by chiefess.

Ornaments, especially *lailai* (feather ornaments), *patal na paŋaŋiliŋ* (hat-ornament made of leopard's teeth), *taʔata* (shoulder ornament made of a kind of shell), *tsalaral* (silver shoulder ornament), *aliatpula* (glass bead necklace) are only allowed to be used by nobles.

E. Right to perform ceremonies

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F. Privilege from criminal trial

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[684] e) The nobles commit no crime of adultery, but a noble may ask penalty from one who commits adultery with his or her spouse. A commoner who ravishes a chiefess will be heavily punished and exiled from the village.

22: Wiedfeldt--31 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 686, 622, 626 Atayal

It is unheard of for the head of a clan not to submit to the decision of the tribe, for example, not to pay a fine at once. If a family or an individual does not submit to the judgment of the clan, which very rarely happens, the clan can suspend the family or the individual from the clan. If the suspended member is old, he is not taken in anywhere, and he perishes in misery. If he is young, as a rule he finds employment in a clan which lives at some distance and belongs to another tribe, for all additional labor is very welcome. To be sure, he and his family are a favorite objective of skull hunts on the part of his former comrades in the clan.

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

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18: Kakyo--70 E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
689 Ami

Age is respected and the young are loved, particularly among the Amis tribe, where disrespect towards the old is looked on as a crime.

22: Wiedfeldt--28-29 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 685, 691, 421 Atayal

Civil cases among the Atayals [29] really amount to nothing more than contests about property and possession, the former between clans and the latter between families. ... Since there is no surveying and no fences, disputes about property lines are frequent and are difficult to decide. The Atayals have no written records. They do not know how to deal with the conflicting statements of different people, no matter how greatly they rely upon the testimony of eye-witnesses because of their great love of the truth... They do not consider it feasible to take the short additional step of determining a contested boundary line according to the testimony of the oldest people. They think this is too difficult and too uncertain in view of the importance of the matter.

16: Müller--236 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 692, 695, 721, 787

The aboriginal chiefs administer justice either independently or together with the tribal elders. If a case is doubtful a trial by ordeal is held. This is preceded by certain formalities. The chieftain first of all asks the soothsayers and the men who interpret dreams whether a trial by ordeal should be held. If he has their consent he orders the accused to go on a headhunting expedition. The latter then makes the necessary preparations. He puts his weapons in a sacred place and lives in seclusion in a hut. If a day arrives which from the flight of birds he judges to be favorable he starts on the expedition together with several friends. If he is successful he is declared free from guilt, but if he returns home without a head he is punished.

18: Kakyo--70 [6] E-2 No date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 692

Justice is enforced by the chief among Formosan aborigines.

19: Guérin and Bernard--564 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 682, 692

He [VMM: i.e. the magistrate in a savage community] is a justice of the peace, and he always tries to conciliate the parties. There is no murder among these savage tribes, but theft is rather frequent and only in exceptional cases does the victim render justice himself. The parties appear before the magistrate, and he tries to appease the feeling of hatred between them and to make the delinquent restore the goods or at least pay compensation for them.

The person who is the political representative and the military leader also has sufficient prestige to handle legal business. If it is a question of matters which concern individuals of the same clan, the clan chief is capable of dealing with them, but if members of different clans are involved, the tribal chief handles them. There is no difference between them, except the one that has just been mentioned, as to the type of matters that they handle. The procedure is the same also. If members of different tribes are involved, there is no legal procedure, if this expression is permissible, for there is no institution in their society which is superior to the tribe, and which could decide which one was right. The matter either is left unsettled, or force of arms determines who is in the right.

22: Wiedfeldt--28 [7] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 681, 574, 692 Atayal

The fine is considered something not good, and is therefore spent by the clan or the family that receives it for a clan feast, the schukun [MC: the ornamented clothing with which the fine was paid.] being exchanged for a pig or for sake. In many tribes, the clan chief keeps the fine and adds it to a fund out of which he occasionally pays fines.

22: Wiedfeldt--42 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 692, 614 Atayal

Whereas nowadays the corporate body of the state has pushed the injured party to one side, and only in exceptional cases allows him to appear as co-plaintiff, while it acts independently of him through the medium of its experts, an injured party among the Atayals takes the law in his own hands. He kills the adulterer or murderer, and he takes back by force what has been stolen from him. If he can not obtain his rights alone, he calls upon his clan for help, and he alone, or strengthened by his solidarity with his clan, appears as the only plaintiff and demands compensation. The chief of the tribe does not interfere except in the case of an unreasonable demand, or to help determine the identity of the criminal. The fines never flow into the community coffers, that is, those of the tribe, but always into those of the clan, or they go direct to the injured party, who is under obligation to use them for the benefit of the clan.

22: Wiedfeldt--42-43 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 421, 614, 672, 692 Atayal

It may be shown that the Atayals recognize the existence of such a thing as a corporation from the fact that the clan has property, buys and sells land, that it has definite representation, and that action may be brought against it, as it may bring action against someone else. In spite of this, I do not think that the Atayals see the clan as a special repository of their legal rights. It is more probable that they merely regard the head of the clan as the member who has to take care of the joint liabilities of the families in the clan together with them and as their authorized agent. Taking the law into one's own hands is not limited to cases of self-defence. For example, if an adopted child runs away, and the adoption money is not returned, the head of the family can take another child from this family or clan without further ado. [43] Other legal principles, such as fixing a term, or full power of attorney, are also known.

Finally, some traces of formal legal procedure may also be detected, although there is no training in the law nor even a special legal profession as such. In cases of civil law, the chief of the tribe is not really the authority who has the deciding word on the legal aspect of the case. He merely collects the evidence, and from the results of this, the decision is clear to everyone, and the deductions to be made are self-evident, for everyone is well acquainted with the legal usages. In criminal law, the chief of the tribe has considerably more power, because the community has a real interest in not permitting a crime, for example, adultery, to go unpunished through the complaisance of the husband. Nor do they wish the murder of a child to go unavenged by the head of a family, because the murderer was a more powerful neighbor, and they are anxious to prevent the irascible victim of a thief from taking the law into his own hands and thus committing a new and unjustifiable crime. As representatives of the community in such cases the two most highly respected [45] men are naturally called to serve. At the same time, if it is necessary, they pass on the possibility of carrying out the sentence. Their jurisdiction is simply and clearly limited according to whether members of the same clan, or members of different clans are involved in the case. Where there is no such spokesman, there is no course of law, so that among the Atayals all of their legal activity has continued to be limited to the individual tribe.

22: Wiedfeldt--45 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 692, 695 Atayal

In the Atayal tribes, each of the two legal authorities decides his cases definitely, with no possibility of appeal. There are no lay assessors or boards. The two chiefs act independently, although they themselves are laymen, and live on equal terms with the other members of their tribe. The action is taken by the injured party, or civil plaintiff, and in some cases by his clan. The community only helps him to obtain his legal due, or intervenes, if he refuses to act. Naturally, the proceedings are conducted orally, and are brief. The testimony of eye-witnesses or the skull-hunt serve as evidence.

Administration of justice is always in the hands of the chief.

The chief examines the question, listens to the parties and some witnesses, and gives a verdict. Sometimes he puts his sentence into effect at once, or he may let the victim or his family attend to it. In doubtful cases, when there is no other way to reach a decision, the natives invoke the gods. In other words, the deceased ancestors of the contending parties are invoked to make the decision. There are two ways of obtaining this decision--they are head-hunting and single combat. Head-hunting is organized in this manner: the two opponents, who are frequently accompanied by their friends, go out separately and attack Chinese peasants who are working alone in the field, or they attack unprotected settlements, and then they behead those people whom they can overpower. The group which comes back with one, or several, or with the largest number of heads has won the suit. [40] The duel is fought by the two opponents, or, if one of them is accused of murder, it is between the accused and the accuser, who is usually a relative of the murdered man. They fight until one of them kills the other and cuts off his head. This indicates that the ancestors have given the victor strength to vanquish his opponent, and this demonstrates the innocence or justice of his accusation--the guilty man has received his punishment.

The affair is more serious when the opponents belong to different tribes. The chiefs generally try to reach a peaceful settlement, but they do not always succeed, and then there is no other recourse but to settle the quarrel by battle between the two tribes.

25: Plaut--40 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 681, 692

The chief's decision is invoked when there is a murder, in cases of adultery and seduction, theft, calumny, and quarrels. Nearly all of the tribes believe that each act has its price, and that if the guilty man pays this price, he can be exonerated from all blame. In many tribes it is left to the victim to decide whether he will accept the money, or whether he prefers the revenge.

25: Plaut--40 [4] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 682, 692 Paiwan

The chief of the Paiwan convokes a tribunal of selected members of the tribe for the abjudication of capital crimes; the murderer is always permitted to pay a ransom, and its amount varies according to whether the perpetrator can show a "just cause" for his deed or not.

31: Hofmann--625 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 692 Tsou

As far as we know, the office of chieftain today is passed on through inheritance; the chieftain is also the only judge in the tribe. Each tribal village also has its local chief, chosen by the people themselves; these subordinate chiefs, however, exercise very little power.

11: Haguenauer--40 [2] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 695, 721, 769 Atayal

Head hunting was such a sacred practice that it could only be carried on under certain circumstances:

1. to please the spirits of the departed ancestors, and to ensure their protection;
2. to be able to enter the abode of the souls after death;
3. so that the community would have a good harvest;
4. to determine the innocence of an accused man, or to decide which one of two adversaries was right; the spirits will permit the innocent man to get a head while the guilty person will not succeed.

16: Müller--236 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 692, 695, 721, 787

The aboriginal chiefs administer justice either independently or together with the tribal elders. If a case is doubtful a trial by ordeal is held. This is preceded by certain formalities. The chieftain first of all asks the soothsayers and the men who interpret dreams whether a trial by ordeal should be held. If he has their consent he orders the accused to go on a headhunting expedition. The latter then makes the necessary preparations. He puts his weapons in a sacred place and lives in seclusion in a hut. If a day arrives which from the flight of birds he judges to be favorable he starts on the expedition together with several friends. If he is successful he is declared free from guilt, but if he returns home without a head he is punished.

22: Wiedfeldt--29 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 685, 721, 695 Atayal

If two clan heads have a dispute concerning a piece of land, the tribal chief first discusses the matter, and then fixes a period of a few days, after which they are to appear again, bringing with them all the skulls that the members of their clans have been able to capture in the meantime. The clan chief who presents the most skulls gets the land. If a gun is stolen and the thief can not be found, the clans which are under suspicion, but never more than ten at the most, are ordered by the tribal chief to go out on a head-hunt. The clan that does not bring back any skulls, or the one that brings back the smallest number, is considered the thief. If a supposed murderer denies his deed, he has to present a certain number of skulls within a fixed time. The number of skulls rises according to how well founded the suspicions are. If he brings the skulls, he is not guilty.

22: Wiedfeldt--29-30 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 721, 114, 881, 695 Atayal

Although Bullock and many others after him write that "the wild savages of Formosa seem to carry on the practice of man hunting out of mere devilry," a somewhat more thorough investigation shows that the hunting of skulls has a very definite legal significance, and hence springs from other grounds than mere devilry. [30] Successful skull hunting is taken as a sign that one has come of age, and is accepted as evidence in penal and civil law.

22: Wiedfeldt--45 116, 692, 695 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines Atayal

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24: Anonymous--92 [5] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 212, 622, 695

The chiefs of one tribe are divided into the head chief and assistant chiefs. There are five or six of these in a community, depending upon the number of families. Trials in one tribe are held in the community house; minor feud are settled elsewhere. Among the clerks of court, there are some who know the Dutch writing; these are called chiao-ts'ê (registrars), and they count all those who go in or out. They dip a goose feather quill into the ink and they write across the page from left to right, instead of up and down. It is said that in recent times, the aborigines have adopted Chinese customs, and that private teachers are trying to teach the children Chinese literature, customs, and music.

The moral code of the natives demands that they take revenge on the enemy who robbed them of their fertile land and sent them to the barren mountains. This tradition is handed down from generation to generation, and it is believed that it is actually a good deed to obtain the head of one of the enemies of the country. (2) Their revenge

> 2. For that reason head hunting has increased during the first few years; the Japanese, without harming the natives themselves, have penetrated into their region and exploited it.

is therefore never personal. It is not a question of decapitating the man who has felled a certain camphor tree, for instance. Everyone who belongs to the enemy's party is liable for the common guilt with his head. Since it is also considered an act of courage to get the head of an enemy, this trophy is necessary to one who wants to marry. The bridegroom places the head, a bloody token of his ability to become a husband, at the feet of his bride. A second reason for this custom is a superstition which cannot be eradicated. Thus, in the north, the harvest festival in honor of the gods is celebrated by an offering consisting of several human heads.

On Formosa, headhunting takes the place of a procession held to implore the deity for rain or sun. Finally, headhunting also takes the place of a trial by ordeal. If a

case cannot be decided, [611] the chief of a tribe, the guardian of the law, proclaims that he who is the first to bring back the head of an enemy, is in the right.

22: Wiedfeldt--45 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 671, 681, 696 Atayal

The execution of the decision arrived at [MC: in criminal cases] is simple. The clan always bows to the decision in the presence of the chief of the tribe; an individual family, or a single individual almost always does so. If necessary, the clan uses force, or debars a disobedient member from the clan. The injured clan always receives the fine which is due it, even though the clan which is obligated to pay can not always get it from the guilty member, which after all does not mean very much in view of the solidarity of the members of the clan. Thus, the Atayals have a well developed system of criminal law, they possess the most important basic institutions of civil law, and they have orderly legal procedure.

25: Plaut--42 [2] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 426, 685, 696 Paiwan

Since the Paiwan till the soil, they occasionally have quarrels about the ownership of a piece of property. The matter is usually arranged in this way. A wants to borrow a sum of money from B and he lets him work a field as security and as a return for his kindness. After one or two years he wants to pay back the loan, but B prefers to keep the field and claims that the business about the loan was purely an oral agreement, and that A owes him a much larger amount, or else he says that he has sold the field and that the alleged loan was the purchase price which he paid. The affair is taken to the chief. He summons both parties, examines the case, realizes that A's claim is a just one, and commands B to restore the field. In case B refuses, the chief takes the sum of money from A, goes to B's house with two men, hands him the money, and forces him to surrender the field. Then B also has to replace all the gifts which A has given to the chief and his companions for their trouble, or else he has to defray the expenses for the feast which A has as a thank offering. If the chief is unable to decide which man is right, he confiscates the field and declares that it is the common property of the tribe. This procedure is called Kuikon, a word which is probably borrowed from the vocabulary of the Chinese settlers, and which is derived from Kwi-kung, meaning "to fall back to the public", that is to the state.

22: Wiedfeldt--27 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 643, 701 Atayal

If a man brings back a great many enemy skulls from a war, he is sometimes called a boku-maraho, an honorary chief, and he has the right to be the first to express his opinion in the tribal assembly, after the maraho. From this one might assume that the present family acquired the chieftaincy because of the special prowess of one of their ancestors in battle. Occasionally the tribal chief resigns his title in favor of a successor whom he has appointed, for example, if a war is imminent, or if major hostilities have broken out between several clans. Like the old German duke, the maraho is, as his name indicates, primarily a leader in battle. He prepares the ground for the fight, he chooses the positions, he arranges the units, and he is himself the leader in the fighting. As Clausewitz has said, war is only the continuation of politics, using other means, and thus the maraho is also the political leader of his tribe. He carries on negotiations with the Japanese and with the other "savage" peoples, and with other Atayal tribes. By means of his prestige, he protects their embassadors against over-zealous members of the tribe by keeping them always close to him. In making plans for the wars, and especially in political negotiations, he can not act independently, but his power is limited. If things take an unexpected turn in the negotiations, he must obtain new authority.

31: Hofmann--620 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 161, 231, 701 Tsou

They have domestic dogs of a small black breed which guard the houses and are used in hunting.

Another domestic animal which is found everywhere is a small black pig. There are also chickens in the village, but there are no cattle. The entire tribe comprises 1,500 members, including 400 men able to bear arms; all the men know how to shoot.

40: Kirk--13 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 701, 721, 712

"The camphor companies came to the aid of the puzzled soldiers with well-trained guards of their own, until in 1907 the guard line, which had measured only fifty miles under the Chinese administration and one hundred miles in 1896, extended for three hundred miles over hill and dale. Every half mile or so the line is fortified by guard-houses or pillboxes. Two or three guards live at each station, and there is one superintendent to every four or five guardhouses. A policeman and his family live at the superintendent's station. The sentinels, who patrol the path between the guardhouses, challenge all savages--even the peaceful ones must get special permission to travel and must approach the line only at certain designated places. The guards are ordered to use their rifles if the savages disregard the challenge. The superintendents communicate with one another by means of a system of alarms which will bring immediate aid to any station in trouble. These guardhouses, for the most part, are located far up on the mountain slopes in the midst of dense forests."

31: Hofmann--607-608 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 131, 437, 712

The border between the cultivated land and that belonging to the aborigines is protected by a method protected by a method which had been perfected by the Chinese settlers and which the Japanese have taken over and modernized. The pioneers had set up a wall, like a small wall of China, along the extreme boundary of the conquered territory; guards were stationed at regular intervals to resist all attempts of the aborigines to break through the wall. The Chinese had trained some troops especially for this purpose. The Japanese restored these Ayu Lines; they stationed guards at intervals of 300 meters and set up fortresses at longer intervals. Thus the boundary is protected by an organized military police who must live in this dangerous region with their families throughout the entire year. There is a permanent state of war. The soldiers shoot all Malayans at sight, while the Japanese and Chinese in this region are never safe. I walked along this line for several kilometers. The Japanese have taken [608] advantage of all the natural fortifications; the wall is set up along the crest of the hills. In the section I visited the line had been moved further up the mountains recently to include the newly conquered territory. The innovation consists in the barbed wire which is strung along the entire line, 170 kilometers long in all; this serves to conduct an electric current with high voltage. To touch the wire would therefore be fatal. The guards make use of the electric current only in times of great danger, especially at night. By thus isolating the aborigines entirely, and preventing the greedy Chinese from smuggling, an occupation in which they are always engaged in spite of the hazards which attend it, the Japanese

hope eventually to wear down the resistance of the Seiban. It is through the smugglers that the aborigines obtain their powder and ammunition as well as salt; without these they cannot wage the battle for their existence for very long. They are still able to obtain these necessities, however, and it is characteristic of the greed of the Chinese that more of them are killed by the electric wire than by the aborigines themselves; I learned this fact from the district officer in Banshoryo, the main locality of that district. So far, eleven Chinese and only two natives had been killed by the electric wire. For barter between the aborigines and the Chinese, the antlers of deer killed by the latter are an important article of exchange. The Chinese pulverize these and use them for medicinal purposes; they pay a high price for them. The natives avoid the dangerous electrical wire by passing through the raging torrents in the valleys; the Japanese call the river which cuts through the boundary at the point where we passed it Kubitorigawa, that is, the river of headhunting.

40: Kirk--12 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 712, 725, 563, 177.71 Japanese

"As one result of this aggressive policy, the Japanese have built a 'guard line' by cutting a wide path along the crest of mountains and thus surrounding the districts in which the 'wild men' dwell. Beyond this picket line near the districts most thickly populated with savage tribes, the jungle is cleared for a distance of one hundred to three hundred feet. This open space makes it possible to detect the approach of hostile bands and gives the Japanese soldiers a good firing range. Guardhouses of wood, bamboo, earth, or stone are built at strategic points with loopholes in the walls. These tiny fortifications are further protected by wooden barricades and entrenchments. Wire fences and entanglements, charged with electricity, have encircled some districts. Mines have sometimes been sunk, grenades have been thrown during a battle, and three-inch guns have been used with telling effect. One gun, carried up steep slopes and mounted at a commanding point, will hold back many savage warriors. (1)"

1. Report on the Control of the Aborigines, Bureau of Aboriginal Affairs, Taihoku, 1911.

40: Kirk--13 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 701, 721, 712

"The camphor companies came to the aid of the puzzled soldiers with well-trained guards of their own, until in 1907 the guard line, which had measured only fifty miles under the Chinese administration and one hundred miles in 1896, extended for three hundred miles over hill and dale. Every half mile or so the line is fortified by guard-houses or pillboxes. Two or three guards live at each station, and there is one superintendent to every four or five guardhouses. A policeman and his family live at the superintendent's station. The sentinels, who patrol the path between the guardhouses, challenge all savages--even the peaceful ones must get special permission to travel and must approach the line only at certain designated places. The guards are ordered to use their rifles if the savages disregard the challenge. The superintendents communicate with one another by means of a system of alarms which will bring immediate aid to any station in trouble. These guardhouses, for the most part, are located far up on the mountain slopes in the midst of dense forests."

40: Kirk --13 [2] S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 437, 486, 712, 177.43 Japanese

"According to Japanese reports, these outposts of the Empire are no longer sorely needed. (2) The wire fence is not electrified, and the guard line is no longer heavily

2. Yosaburo Takekoshi, Japanese Rule in Formosa (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1907).

patrolled. Certain Japanese traders who obtain special permits may go beyond the guard lines and barter with the natives, but they must not bring into the mountains either arms or ammunition. Consequently, the only way the primitive can get modern weapons is by smuggling them into the hills."

19: Guérin and Bernard--555 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 411, 714

The apparatus for fighting or hunting is more dignified; it consists of a bread knife, whose sheath is of wood which has been painted red, and this is slipped through the belt; there is a long gun with a fuse, and in front of it two or three powder-horns are suspended from strings of false pearls; in back the man carries a coat which is folded into the net, a bag for balls, a parchment case containing eight powder charges in eight bamboo holders; then around his wrist is a cord, a lighter with a fire-stone, and some banana marrow instead of a tinder; sometimes the hunter has a bow, and in that case he always uses it with consummate skill.

4:Grajdanzev--36-37 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 175, 721, 177.72 Japan
636.72

"The process of subjugation proved difficult because the terrain was mountainous and covered with tropical jungles. Many times the regular army detachments were sent into the territory of the savages and returned without achieving anything; they lost men in ambushes and from illness, and in some cases the imperial troops were actually defeated by the savages, who knew the terrain perfectly. It became clear to the authorities that the aborigines could not be conquered by a frontal assault, and so they began a constant siege. No weapon was left unused in the struggle. Barbed wire for hundreds of miles surrounded the savages and, in the regions of the most 'difficult' aborigines, electric current was used to make the barbed wire fatal. But the savages soon discovered ways of overcoming this difficulty. After the World War bombing from airplanes was used against them, but without apparent success. Their arms were confiscated, but by paying exorbitant prices they managed to buy new ones from Chinese smugglers. Hatred between tribes was exploited and Japanese policemen would return in company with triumphant tribesmen who were carrying the heads of defeated enemies. Nevertheless, this policy failed, (1) and the reason for its failure was simple; the [37] Japanese could not or

1. Owen Rutter, a British colonial administrator, who is opposed to the 'pampering of the native' and who is a partisan of 'justice and firmness' in dealings with

> the [371 natives. writes: 'I say that the Japanese have failed utterly, in their endeavors to solve the important question of bringing the natives under their influence.' Through Formosa, p. 233.

would not understand savages who were unwilling to give up their lands. Governor-General Sakuma, for example. starting his campaign in 1909 to make the savages a 'law-abiding people'—though they were quite law-abiding from their own point of view—compelled them to surrender their arms and had those who refused 'chastised'. "

4:Grajdanzev--37 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 721, 177.17 Japan
636.17

"But arms were necessary for the aborigines, not only to fight the Japanese, but also to hunt for food. The Japanese authorities may have been sincere in their desire 'to civilize' the savages, but civilization as they understood it meant the turning of hunters into cultivators of rice fields. From the warrior and hunter they were taking away his lands and his gun and were granting him a hen for egg production. Savage 'superstitions' were 'eradicated', but the savages were expected to believe in the Japanese goddess, Amaterasu Omikami, with her million deities and the Son of Heaven. The natural consequence of this 'civilizing' was war. This war with the savages cost 7,083 lives and more than 4,100 wounded. For the time being their resistance may be considered to have been overcome, but this has been due to overwhelming force, and not to the beneficent influence of rice fields and shinto shrines."

6: Kirchhoff--31 [4] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
116, 609, 721, 177.72 China
636.72

At times the Chinese do not fear, even today, to use open force, if it is a matter of forcing the Pepo-huan off better soil. This was done with the natives inhabiting the north of the island, who are called Kabaran. They finally withdrew to the other side of the mountains, to the fruitful plain of Komalan (more popularly, Kapsulan), which stretches out on the eastern coast of North Formosa as far as Su-aô; there 4,000 of them are said to live in flourishing settlements and to extend even farther south along the coast as far as Hua-lien. Unfortunately they are constantly at odds with each other, so that there can be no question of a united opposition against the Chinese. Nor can they take flight into the neighboring mountains on the west; for there they would be met by the free Tsche-huan, who hate them as renegades.

7: Joest--57 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 177, 721

The term Shekwan means half raw or half cooked. The Chinese apply this term to those aborigines who settled in the coastal regions or near the boundary. The Chinese trade with these people, among whom the custom of headhunting is practiced rarely or not at all.

The term Chinwan means raw. The Chinese apply this term to the aborigines who live in the forests and mountains of the interior.

7: Joest-- 58 [4] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 721, 881 Chin-hoan

Both Chinwan men and women are tattooed, the women more frequently than the men. They are tattooed when they reach puberty. Tattooing is done with a thorn; after the process is completed they rub soot in the wounds.

The men tattoo their entire forehead, from the hairline to the bridge of the nose, with 20 to 25 horizontal lines, each one centimeter long. After a man has been thus tattooed, he is expected to begin headhunting.

7: Joest--60 [2] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301, 554, 721 Chin-hoan

Boys are very proud if they can wear bracelets made of the pigtails of a Chinese whom they have decapitated.

7: Joest--60 [9] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 462, 721 Chin-hoan

There is a fair division of labor between Chinwan men and women. The men go hunting and fishing and make their own weapons; since feuds with other tribes are traditional among the natives, they also consider fighting as part of their work. The women cultivate the fields, fetch water, chop wood, and mash rice; they also spin and weave and do the cooking. They go with the men when they are hunting so that they can carry home the game after it has been dried out over a fire.

7: Joest--61 [8] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 554, 581, 721, 727 Chin-hoan

The natives' favorite way of killing an enemy is to lie in ambush... near one of the enemy's villages and wait for someone, man, woman, or child, to pass; then they shoot an arrow at the victim's back and cut off his head. Then they put the enemy's head in the bag and return home in triumph. A headhunter is received with great honors; a banquet and drinking bout is held and he is popular with the girls, who will not turn him down if he proposes marriage.

10: Schumacher--226 [5] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 266, 582, 609, 721 Chin-hoan

The Chinese who thus penetrated into the mountain regions [MC: in search of camphor] may have met the earlier inhabitants of these areas as enemies, and from the initial disputes, all kinds of other difficulties could develop. It is reported, for instance, that the inhabitants of the mountains, who are naturally shy, obtain courage by catching Chinese persons and eating their livers raw. Furthermore, it is said that under penalty of death, the aborigines are forbidden to marry before they have killed seven Chinese and have proof of their deaths.

10: Schumacher--226 [7] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 273, 721 Chin-hoan

Another man who had spent quite some time in the mountains of Formosa told me that he and two of the chiefs had drunk to one another. On that occasion he had to take off some of his clothes and his back was rubbed with mutton fat, while he and his co-drinkers, and the others present, drank some intoxicating beverage out of the crania of some Chinese. I myself can only repeat that the inhabitants of the mountains appeared to me as peaceful and almost shy people and that I had no occasion whatsoever to get a glance of anything which would have incited the most vivid imagination to present such confusing statements.

11: Haguenauer--32 [3] T-3 (no date) 1929
116, 721

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

The Tayal are considered the most warlike people of the island.

11: Haguenauer--36 [4] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 286, 301, 554, 721 Atayal

Custom decrees that a girl should wear a number of bracelets of brass wire which corresponds to the designs that she can weave. If a man wears these bracelets, they have a totally different meaning; if he has them on just one arm, they are simply ornaments, while if he wears them on both, it shows that he has taken part in a head hunting expedition.

A Tayal never went out alone in quest of a head; he was always accompanied. The little group did not start until it had consulted the omens; if one of the members of the expedition had had a bad dream, or if the augural bird, the silliok, had sung in the wrong way, the warriors did not leave the village. And even if all the signs were favorable, they did not venture very far. They built a little hut at the entrance to the forest, and arranged their weapons and food stuffs there. Then they purified their arms and provisions by sprinkling them with fresh water. When this was done, the head of the expedition purified himself, and then all of his companions in the same way. Then everyone went to bed. The next morning they examined the dreams and portents again, especially the bird songs. The hunt did not begin unless all of the signs were propitious. As you see, the change from ordinary life to the hunt was made progressively and in a prudent fashion. It was a matter of getting the support of the ancestors' spirits. In the village all taboos were enforced while the hunters were absent. The women did not weave, all useless activities were avoided, and the fires which were lighted in each house before the departures of the warriors were kept burning. The men walked until they found a good spot to lay a trap. The capture of a head was not an heroic combat, for the unfortunate victim was taken by surprise. One warrior shot, while the others rushed ahead to finish him off with lance thrusts. When the victim was prostrate, the warrior for whom the hunt had been arranged [38] drew his sabre and cut off the head of the dying

man at the base of the skull. The head was taken back in a special kind of net, or else it was fastened to a hook that was inserted into the scalp.

So we see that the capture of a head was not an act of savagery, nor was it purely a matter of individual glorification. It is true that the successful hunter had a right to be tattooed as a warrior, or if he already had this distinction, he might give his head to a younger man so that the latter might have this signal honor. But head hunting was essentially an enterprise which was imbued with a very special kind of religious meaning. It was done with the approbation of the souls of the ancestors, and it was an affair which concerned the whole community.

11: Haguenauer--40 [2] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 695, 721, 769 Atayal

Head hunting was such a sacred practice that it could only be carried on under certain circumstances:

1. to please the spirits of the departed ancestors, and to ensure their protection;
2. to be able to enter the abode of the souls after death;
3. so that the community would have a good harvest;
4. to determine the innocence of an accused man, or to decide which one of two adversaries was right; the spirits will permit the innocent man to get a head while the guilty person will not succeed.

11: Haguenauer--40-41 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 721, 773 Atayal

The Tayal have several legends which explain the origin of this custom. [MC: of head-hunting] Although they vary, they are all fundamentally the same: it seems that two clans were created by the original ancestor, and that on one occasion one of them was numerically inferior to the other. Accordingly it demanded the right of killing as many members of the other clan as would be required in order to reestablish the [41] original parity. The head of the clan which had the numerical superiority recognized the justice of this demand.

This legend is the best possible illustration of the social importance of head hunting. The native considers that it is a sacred command, and he believes that he must conquer as many spirits as possible in order to assure numerical superiority and the prosperity of his clan.

11: Haguenauer--42 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 602, 609, 721, 775 Atayal

The victim of a head hunt was always a stranger, and they cut off his head to liberate his soul. By apologizing to it and offering it wine and millet, the soul was enslaved so that it would serve the clan. And this conquered soul added one more unit to the community, which now had an additional voice in the kingdom of the spirits. This reasoning is also applied to animals. The savage collects the skulls of the beasts which he has slain; by doing this he believes that he increases his power over them, and that he ensures good hunting for the future.

31: Hofmann--621 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 178, 609, 721 Tsou

It is strange that, although the Tsou tribe supposedly has given up headhunting long ago, the natives preserve large numbers of human heads in nets; in Tappan I saw about 140 of these. Judging from their age and condition I would say that this tribe practiced headhunting until quite recently; I believe they have ceased to engage in this sport only from motives of self-preservation and from fear of the Chinese and Japanese. The respect with which they treat these trophies of war indicates that, if a war breaks out again, this old custom will be revived. The Tsou are the enemies of the neighboring tribe, the Hosha (cf. Fig. 6) these are a more savage people and I was not able for that reason to observe their villages as much as those of the Tsou. The presence of the Chinese and Japanese, and the guards posted along the boundaries of the latter, prevents warfare between these two tribes. I learned that the reason for the feud is that both claim the same hunting grounds.

14: Tamai--95 [6] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 175, 609, 721 Chin-hoan

Between 1886 and 1889 when Rinchoko [MC: son of Chinese Governor General of Formosa] was in Maraisha, the Tschinwans, the Formosans and the Chinese, were in constant contact with each other, but since 1890 their friendly relations have ceased. In 1893 all the guard houses built by Rinchoko in Maraisha were burned down. During the night of May 20, 1895, about 150 Tshinwans made a sudden attack on the Formosans in Kushaku; 17 Formosans and 5 Tschinwans were killed. Four days later the Tschinwans renewed their attack and burned 37 houses. From that time on communication between the two groups ceased altogether and was not renewed until the arrival of the Japanese.

14: Tamai--96 [14] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 554, 721 Chin-hoan

Tattooing is a mark of distinction. A man who has not killed anyone may not be tattooed, and if he is not tattooed he may not marry. The women, on the other hand, are not allowed to be tattooed until after they are married. Men who have many skulls in their possession are held in high esteem.

14: Tamai-- 97[6] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 609, 721 Chin-hoan

In former times the Tschinwans were the only inhabitants of Taiwan (Formosa), but later they were pushed back by the Chinese and their territory was limited. For that reason the Tschinwans hate the Chinese and it became the duty of their men to cut off as many heads of the Chinese as possible.

14: Tamai--96 [16] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 301, 554, 721 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwans pierce the lobes of their ears; the men put a bamboo stick about an inch in length through the opening, the women use a stick three or four times as long.

Both men and women wear bracelets. The men, however, may wear a bracelet only after they have killed at least one Chinese or Formosan; for each man they kill after that they add another bracelet. Thus bracelets, like tattooing, are a mark of distinction.

14: Tamai-- 97[7] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 353, 721, 773, 554 Chin-hoan

In every house there is a rack to hold these heads [MC: secured in headhunting expeditions against the Chinese], which are considered ornaments. There are among the Tschinwans six famous heroes. They are called Raushuu, Watsushinai, Maraiakao, Yuakanajo, Ocki, and Juwantschümoi. All of these have more than 70 heads on their racks. In three houses the Japanese found heads on these racks that had just been cut off and were still bloody.

14: Tamai-- 97[9] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 352, 721, 411, 574 Chin-hoan

Mr. Kurosaki writes in the Osaka-Asaki-Shinbun as follows: "When we arrived in Togasha we were completely drenched. The Tschinwans, according to their custom, built a fire in two places in their houses. The house in which we lived was very large. There was one bed in each of the four corners. In this house we also saw two baskets made of bamboo and filled with sugar cane, a wooden mortar, a pot which was placed on the floor, and several plates on a rack. Many braids of Chinese which had been killed hung from the walls. On one of the beds we saw three spears, three swords, and two rifles. A number of heads, bones, rifles, and hide of stags were suspended from the timber of the roof. Our host had two blankets which he very kindly offered to us.

16: Müller--231 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 881, 882, 721

A solemn ceremony is held when the child comes of age. Among the Ataiyal tribes this may take place only after he has undertaken his first successful headhunting expedition. Among the Pyuma and Amis tribes boys and young men must first pass through a period of preparation; they are separated from their parents and live in a special hut under strict supervision. Women may not approach the house of these bachelors. Before the boys are considered of age they partake in a ceremony which may be likened to the practice of knighting. The chieftain gently hits the seat of the boy with a bamboo pole.

16: Müller--233 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 721, 554, 881

"Among the Ataiyal, Tsarisen, Paiwan, and Pyuma aborigines tattooing is a universal custom. Among the men the design consists of one or several vertical lines on the chin and forehead. The first line is usually made after their first successful headhunting expedition, but the children of prominent men sometimes receive theirs before that. The design for the women consists of a network of lines around the mouth extending as far as the ears. Among the Tsarisen tribes, the head of the family is tattooed on the back and on both elbows; the design consists of straight and curved lines. Among some of the Paiwan and Pyuma tribes the women tattoo the back of their hands.

Among the Ataiyal, Vonum, and Tso'o aborigines it is customary to remove the left and right canines of the upper jaw.

16: Müller--236 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 692, 695, 721, 787

The aboriginal chiefs administer justice either independently or together with the tribal elders. If a case is doubtful a trial by ordeal is held. This is preceded by certain formalities. The chieftain first of all asks the soothsayers and the men who interpret dreams whether a trial by ordeal should be held. If he has their consent he orders the accused to go on a headhunting expedition. The latter then makes the necessary preparations. He puts his weapons in a sacred place and lives in seclusion in a hut. If a day arrives which from the flight of birds he judges to be favorable he starts on the expedition together with several friends. If he is successful he is declared free from guilt, but if he returns home without a head he is punished.

16: Müller--237-238 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 751, 789, 824, 721

Even when there is no immediate cause for anxiety, preventive measures are used. Thus every household uses measures to drive the evil spirits from its house several times a year. For this purpose they strew grains of rice, mixed perhaps with pieces of pork [238] or small pieces of Calamus [MC: the sweet flag (Acorus Calamus) or its aromatic root] on the floor and speak magic formulas. Calamus plays an important part in all the religious ceremonies of the aborigines. If there is a smallpox epidemic, they try to appease the evil spirits by going on a headhunting expedition and presenting the head as an offering. [MC: Millet and calamus form an important part of the periodic propitiation ceremonies. For details see category 796.]

16: Müller--240 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
609, 773, 721

In the mythology of the natives, a huge stone under a tree is connected with the origin of headhunting. They say that this stone once split in half and a woman arose from it. The children of this woman had a feud which was arbitrated by an ordeal. He was to be the victor who would kill the greatest number of bears on a bear-hunting expedition. Later, when the Chinese came to this island and their strength and knowledge was compared to that of bears, the Chinese became the objects of the hunt.

16: Müller--240-241 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 554, 721, 881, 582

Among the natives of Formosa, as on all the Malayan Islands, the practice of headhunting is widespread and forms one of the most important traditions. The Ataiyal aborigines practice it to a greater extent than any other group. Those of the Paiwan and Vonum group also practice it a great deal. In former times, according to the Chinese sources, headhunting was practiced throughout Formosa. There are various reasons for this custom. It is considered, first of all, a test of courage. This may be seen from the fact that the tribe which has the largest number of heads in its possession is considered the most courageous. Where there are many skulls there is also great power, according to the text of one song. Every young man [241] who wants to be considered an adult must pass this test. If two men are rival suitors, the girl chooses the one who is the first to return home with a head.

16: Müller--241 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 721, 727

The method used for headhunting is the following:

As a rule the hunter hides near a road and there waits for a victim; often he must wait for days and has little food with him. He knows from experience that whoever approaches this region will scent danger at the slightest sound and take precautions, and therefore uses the following ruse: he steps on a twig and shoots his victim at the moment when the latter stops to find out where the noise came from. If the victim is hit, the hunter rushes out of his hiding place and cuts off the head.

The natives either keep the heads on racks which are made for that purpose, or they suspend them from the roof of the huts. Some tribes preserve the skulls of animals which they have killed in the same way.

17: Norbeck--23-24
773, 721

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

[MC: For myth concerning division of forefathers into two groups, and the origin of head-hunting, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--40-42 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
773, 721 Atayal

[MC: For the Atayal story of the origin of tattooing, and its relation to head-hunting, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--24-27 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
773, 721 Atayal

[MC: For the myth concerning conflict between the Skhamayun and Buta, chief of the Atayal, see category 539.]

19: Guérin and Bernard--555-556 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 304, 721

Two things are axiomatic among the savages: 1. every tribe which fights the Chinese practices tattooing; 2. the tattoo marks on the forehead and the chin are the only ones that have any fundamental meaning. In the middle of the forehead there is a rectangle two centimeters long and 1 centimeter wide; it is filled with parallel lines which are spaced a millimeter apart. The same median design is found on the chin, save that it is a little shorter.

The Chinese, who is either too naive or ill-informed, [556] states that the formula inscribed on the face of the savage corresponds to two periods of his life: puberty and marriage. Unfortunately for the son of Sem, the savage has a different interpretation for these signs.

When a boy is betweeen twelve and fourteen years old, his father, brother or some relative takes him on a Chinese-hunting expedition. If the hunt is successful, the child receives his first chevron, in this case a tattoo mark, when he brings the heads back to the village. But his chin is not decorated until he has slain a Chinese with his own hand. There is often a very brief lapse of time between the two.

The aborigines of the Morrisonien group [VMM: the authors seem to have confused Mt. Sylvia with Mt. Morrison] only use these two signs. We have seen other clans, which added a transversal bar both on the face and the chest.

It is unfortunate that women should be tattooed too since they have no share in the

hunt; but a blue mark defaces the forehead of the marriageable girl. In many cases, this is the extent of the work, but occasionally, as among the greater number of the Tayal tribes, the bride is covered with marks until her cheeks and lips disappear beneath the linear streaks of the design. Naturally this may cause severe inflammation, whereas the plain tattooing on the forehead and the chin is of no significance.

19: Guérin and Bernard--566 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 721

The aborigines have a system of defence which is very similar to their plan of attack. Hunters scour the frontiers in small groups, they lie in ambuscade in strategic spots, do not appear until there is no danger, and are very rarely surprised. The bordering tribes would be unable to protect their territory unless the clans in the interior helped them perform this task.

The aborigines who are protecting the Chinese do not attempt to flee from what every savage considers as his chief duty, so they kill their enemies, but at a safe distance, where they are no longer responsible for them.

20: Alvarez--257 [4] (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 181, 884, 583, 721

"All the savages are extremely warlike, bold and fanatic of unbounded freedom. They were always disposed to take up arms in defence of their liberty. The bride price is a head of an enemy (head hunters), which at the same time is a proof that the youth has become man. When he has brought home the head of his first slain enemy, the young man thereafter is regarded as adult."

21: Asai--8 [3] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 578, 619, 721

"The territory of each tribe is well fixed, also the hunting area. If one group enters into another's area, war will usually break out. The number of heads taken by each side decides who won the war. Sometimes there are quarrels between gaga in the same village."

21: Asai--4 [4] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 721, 761, 775, 778

"The cult of headhunting was very general in Formosa, but at present it is engaged in very rarely. They believe in two kinds of death, natural and accidental. In natural death, the soul goes to the land of death where it lives peacefully. In the case of accidental death, the soul does not go to the land of death but must wander around the spot where the person was killed. If the heads of the enemy are taken and brought back to the house, then the soul of the person killed will stay in that place peacefully. Such heads have mana and aid in growth of crops. Therefore, it is good to have as many heads as possible. They are offered food and wine on various occasions."

22: Wiedfeldt-- 13[2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 582, 881, 721 Atayal

The young man who brings home a skull that he has captured is permitted to have himself tattooed, and is thus declared capable of marrying, as well as of being admitted to the councils of the tribe. A young girl receives this sign when she has reached sexual maturity and has woven a piece of fabric. In many tribes, a new stripe of tattooing is added for every skull that is captured, just as in modern states diamonds are added to a decoration for special reasons. Among the Atayals this mark differs according to tribe and clan, so that an Atayal Elsa would not have to ask the fatal question, but could distinguish from the place and the density of the strip of tattooing what the family and the nature of her rescuer was.

22: Wiedfeldt--14-15 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 177, 224, 721 Atayal

Each Atayal makes his bows [15] out of the flexible wood of the Katsura. He makes his arrows out of bamboo reed. Nowadays most of them have metal tips, which he gets from the Chinese, but formerly they had nothing but wooden tips which had been hardened by fire. He still uses arrows with three wooden tips for shooting birds and as fire-bolts, the destructive effects of which on Japanese houses were demonstrated by the last Schimptonoff war. He also makes himself a spear two meters long, with a tip of wood, antelope horn, or recently of metal forged for this purpose by the Chinese in Amoy. Shields and helmets are unknown. Instead of them, one always carries a net which he has woven himself of ramie, for the purpose of carrying home the game which he has captured or the skulls he has taken.

22: Wiedfeldt--20 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
554, 533, 721 Atayal

The young man tries to win the favor of his girl by distinguishing himself in the skull hunt, as is shown by the Atayal love songs translated by Florenz.

22: Wiedfeldt--29 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 685, 721, 695 Atayal

If two clan heads have a dispute concerning a piece of land, the tribal chief first discusses the matter, and then fixes a period of a few days, after which they are to appear again, bringing with them all the skulls that the members of their clans have been able to capture in the meantime. The clan chief who presents the most skulls gets the land. If a gun is stolen and the thief can not be found, the clans which are under suspicion, but never more than ten at the most, are ordered by the tribal chief to go out on a head-hunt. The clan that does not bring back any skulls, or the one that brings back the smallest number, is considered the thief. If a supposed murderer denies his deed, he has to present a certain number of skulls within a fixed time. The number of skulls rises according to how well founded the suspicions are. If he brings the skulls, he is not guilty.

22: Wiedfeldt--29-30 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 721, 114, 881, 695 Atayal

Although Bullock and many others after him write that "the wild savages of Formosa seem to carry on the practice of man hunting out of mere devilry," a somewhat more thorough investigation shows that the hunting of skulls has a very definite legal significance, and hence springs from other grounds than mere devilry. [30] Successful skull hunting is taken as a sign that one has come of age, and is accepted as evidence in penal and civil law.

22: Wiedfeldt--30-31 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 721, 609, 177.72 Japanese
636.72

In the Atayal concept, the members of the tribe are the only ones who should be protected. They are permitted to hunt only savages of other tribes, Japanese, and Chinese, and quite understandably, Europeans, but the number of these is very small. The first group retaliates by conducting their own skull hunts, or by special punitive and plundering forays. The second group is protected by a strong military and police force, which punish such excesses as severely as possible. The third group is victimized comparatively more often but even in this case the Japanese occasionally take harsh measures against a tribe that has a particularly large amount of skull hunting chalked up against it, and force it to withdraw behind the Aiyu line. Inasmuch as unrestrained head hunting on the part of the members of the tribe has seriously endangered the tribe formerly and now in particular, when this practice endangers its independence and its very existence, head hunting is only permitted in the border tribes and supposedly in most of the tribes of the interior when it is ordered by the tribal chief. In many of the tribes of the interior the clan chief also has this privilege. In many tribes, it takes place only in the fall, after the tribal assembly, so that apparently all legal contests are postponed until that time. Everywhere a young man who wants to acquire the skull which will show that he has come of age must control himself until a skull hunt has been declared open for his clan. This regulation does not make the skull hunt any the less dangerous for strangers who approach the territory of the tribe, for they never know whether or not a skull hunt

has been ordered for precisely that time. At any rate, the time before the millet harvest is the safest, and the time after it is the most dangerous. This unpleasant custom is the only thing that gives the slightest justification to the application of the otherwise unjustified designation of savages to the Atayals. It makes no difference whether a skull is that of a man, woman, or child, provided only that the child is over two years old, for the skulls are not captured in battle, but are taken by tricking and surprising the victim. [31] According to the statistics, which are surely incomplete, about 300 Chinese and 40 Japanese are killed annually in the skull hunts. Some 300 Chinese and 20 Japanese are wounded. There is no clue to the number of savages who are captured, but it must be almost as large as the number of Chinese, in the border districts alone. In spite of all the punitive expeditions and all the efforts on the part of the Japanese border patrol, almost no progress has been made in suppressing this unpleasant custom up to now, because it is closely connected with the legal aspect of the life of the Atayals. The most success seems to have been obtained in cases where the Atayals have been told: "Skulls are skulls. Hunt monkey skulls, or antelope skulls".

22: Wiedfeldt--32 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 643, 646, 721 Atayal

The negotiations [MC: carried on in an Atayal tribal assembly called koto-kumai-roh] concern political and military affairs. The koto-kumai-roh makes the decisions and confers upon the tribal chief the necessary powers, according to which he acts. The assembly has nothing to do with his judicial powers. Nevertheless, the assembly takes this opportunity to question the clan heads concerned in any infraction of the law that has taken place, and on their confession, a penalty is imposed or a skull hunt is ordered. Decisions are for the most part made unanimously. Otherwise, voting is by rising from the squatting position. A simple majority decides, and the vote of the tribal chief is used to break a tie. In general, a minority is bound by the decision. In the tribes of the interior, which have not yet had any fights with the Japanese, only those clans are said to take part in a fight whose heads have voted for it, while the other clans remain at home, but are not permitted to give aid to the enemy.

22: Wiedfeldt--32 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 619, 609, 648, 721 Atayal

Just as the struggles with the Japanese have had the effect of producing greater solidarity within the tribes, so in recent years, under the same sort of pressure, there have arisen temporary alliances of several tribes, but never of a majority of tribes, for the purpose of a joint military expedition. In spite of the enthusiastic support given these joint expeditions by many of the tribal chiefs, the Atayals have no confidence in these products of extreme necessity. My question as to whether tribes of different savage peoples had ever united for the purpose of a joint military venture, aroused only laughter and amazed headshakings among the Atayals present.

22: Wiedfeldt--41 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 609, 681, 721 Atayal

Their penal law is based on the principle that every infraction of a legal usage must be punished. Conscious striving after justice is foreign to the Atayals, as far as I can determine. They want to restore conditions which have been upset by the offense to their proper place by means of expiation. They recognize infractions of the law only within the tribe. Adultery with a woman who does not belong to the tribe does not trouble any member of the tribe. To kill a man who belongs to another tribe or even to another people, confers prestige as a head-hunter. I myself have heard an Atayal boast in the presence of the Japanese police commissioner, who had been in office for 13 years in the border territory, that he had stolen a pig from a Chinese the night before. Neither do they consider it objectionable to pick bananas from a neighbor's field as they pass by.

22: Wiedfeldt--47-48 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 177, 182, 619, 648, 721 Atayal

Every tribe is independent of the other tribes, or is even hostile to them. This attitude was adequate, as long as they did not have any dealings with opponents who were superior to them in strength, as is now the case with the Japanese, and it has naturally given the individual tribe and the chief of the tribe a greater measure of freedom and independence than if a portion of his rights and duties had been transferred to a superior institution. To create social organizations without subjection and on a footing of equal rights seems uncommonly difficult in political life as well as in cooperative labor; even for [48]primitive individuals it seems almost impossible, especially if one considers how much scientific effort and practical work has now been directed at this goal. Even under the pressure of the need to defend themselves against Japanese penetration, the Atayal tribes have not been able to unite. Only individual tribes have been able to unite for minor undertakings, and that not particularly satisfactorily. Nevertheless, some of the chiefs have not spared any effort to bring this about. In the tribes in the interior, the union of the clans in the tribe is so slight, that it is not sufficient to enable them to wage war as a joint effort. In their case, it might even be doubtful whether the social bond between the families by means of their clans in the tribe is so strong that they feel themselves to be members of the same tribe, or whether the tribe is only a union of the clan heads. The tribal feasts which are celebrated in common, the uniform and simple legal procedure of tribal decisions, and the fact that they actually seldom take the liberty to absent themselves from tribal wars, make the first assumption seem more probable,

especially since there is no doubt that this is the situation which prevails among the border tribes.

22: Wiedfeldt--51 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 262, 721 Atayal

If several of the men of a tribe are working together in the assembly, or in the hunt, or in a war, they are absent from their huts for days. In the first case, they are fed on the results of the community fishing expedition, and in the second, on the results of the hunt. In the third case, each man brings with him a supply of millet for several days. This is prepared by the women who live nearby. When the millet was consumed, the war was also at an end, as long as they were dealing with other "savages". In the long drawn-out campaigns waged by the Japanese, they had to suspend operations after a few days, in order to procure new food.

24: Anonymous--92 [3] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 554, 721

There is another people on this island; they live in caves and thus resemble the ancestors of the Chinese. They love to kill people and they hand to their enemies' skulls, after they have skinned them and adorned them with ornaments of gold, in their dwellings as a sign of their courage.

25: Plaut--32-33 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines-1-3
116, 647, 654, 721, 177.65 China
636.65

We should give particular attention to the viceroy's [EJ: i.e., the Chinese Viceroy Liu-Ming-Chuan, appointed in 1884] efforts to enclose the natives' territory. During the course of time the natives who lived in the western plain, the P'ing-pu-fan, Formosan Pe-po-huan "plain savages" and the Shou-fan, Formosan Sek-huan "ripe savages" or half-tamed ones, had been conquered or else they had retired into the inaccessible mountains of the eastern portion of the island, where the Sheng-fan, Formosan Tseng-huan, the most uncivilized tribes have lived in a state of complete independence for a long time. There was a continual battle between the settlers and the mountain savages; the settlers were eager to push their boundaries farther into the native domain, while the natives used every opportunity to attack isolated settlers or unprotected villages, and in this way they got their revenge and secured some more Chinese heads. Prior to the time of Liu-Ming-Chuan, the Governors had not followed any definite plan with regard to the savages, and in general they allowed the settlers to defend themselves as well as they could; the viceroy undertook to find a means of overcoming this handicap and he resolved to civilize the natives. For this purpose he established the "Training and Development Bureau", Fu-k'en-chu, (Japanese Bu-kon-kyoku). He had set himself the enormous task of educating the savages and of making the land arable.

To fulfill this plan, he established three principal bureaus in Ta-ku-kuan, Tung-shi-chiao and Pei-nan [33] and then had twelve branch offices, one in each of the Hsien

cities, I-lan, Yün-lin, Pu-li-she and Lien-hua-chiang, while the twelve others were in Su-ao, A-li, San-chiao-yung, Wu-chi-shan, Shuang-hsi, T'ien-wei, Hsien-ts'ai-weng, Ta-hu, Fang-liao, Nan-hu, Shui-chang-jung, and Hsiu-ku-luan. To attract settlers from the mainland, he set up settler recruiting bureaus in Amoi, Swatow and Hongkong.

The personnel of the bureaus consisted of 1 commisioner, 3 clerks, 5 policemen, 2 interpreters, 1 cook and 1 native maid. Then there was also 1 doctor and 1 barber. All of these employees were well paid: the commissioner, who was the superintendent of the branch office, received 30-80 taels a month, each clerk had 14-[illegible], a policeman had 6-7, the first interpreter 20, the second 14-15, the maid 7, the cook 4-5 taels, and they all received free board. The interpreters had the hardest task, for they had to work with the savages and make them in favor of the Government's projects. The yearly expenditures of a branch office averaged about 6000 taels, and then in addition to that there was the food and equipment for the protecting troops. All of these expenses were defrayed by the revenue from the camphor monopoly.

As the savages are on a low cultural plane, it was necessary to be sparing with proofs of their good intentions, for it would have been an easy matter to have spoiled them. Accordingly interpreters went to them with gifts, and tried to persuade them to surrender; then at the same time the natives saw the protecting troops at frequent intervals, so any idea of insubordination was nipped in the bud. Those who showed their readiness

to collaborate were given rice, grain, meat, salt and vegetables; every month the barber paid them a visit, and at the end of the year they received clothing, oxen, and sows. Many of the natives entered the Chinese service as fire watchers and interpreters, in return for a monthly compensation, and then fathers sent their children to the school which was established for them in front of the south gate of T'ai-pei; there they received instruction in the dialect of the natives as well as in Classical Chinese.

As the viceroy realized that one of the chief means of civilizing wild peoples is to bring them into contact with educated people, he had the troops build an 80 kilometer road from Chang-hua diagonally across the mountain to Shui-wei on the east coast; the result was that many of the inhabitants of the interior and the eastern part of the island surrendered, they adopted the Manchu queue, and began to till the soil.

25: Plaut--39-40 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 681, 692, 721

Administration of justice is always in the hands of the chief.

The chief examines the question, listens to the parties and some witnesses, and gives a verdict. Sometimes he puts his sentence into effect at once, or he may let the victim or his family attend to it. In doubtful cases, when there is no other way to reach a decision, the natives invoke the gods. In other words, the deceased ancestors of the contending parties are invoked to make the decision. There are two ways of obtaining this decision--they are head-hunting and single combat. Head-hunting is organized in this manner: the two opponents, who are frequently accompanied by their friends, go out separately and attack Chinese peasants who are working alone in the field, or they attack unprotected settlements, and then they behead those people whom they can overpower. The group which comes back with one, or several, or with the largest number of heads has won the suit. [40] The duel is fought by the two opponents, or, if one of them is accused of murder, it is between the accused and the accuser, who is usually a relative of the murdered man. They fight until one of them kills the other and cuts off his head. This indicates that the ancestors have given the victor strength to vanquish his opponent, and this demonstrates the innocence or justice of his accusation--the guilty man has received his punishment.

The affair is more serious when the opponents belong to different tribes. The chiefs generally try to reach a peaceful settlement, but they do not always succeed, and then there is no other recourse but to settle the quarrel by battle between the two tribes.

25: Plaut --40 [2] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 571, 682, 721

Murder and homicide. Among the natives of the Palisha district, the punishment for murder is exile. But life outside the clan society is a miserable existence, and the banished man's most ardent desire is to be allowed to return home. Head-hunting offers him an opportunity to win this permission. If he succeeds in capturing a Chinese head, he sends it to the tribe as a sign of victory, and then some time later he may return home without being in danger.

25: Plaut--60-61 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 273, 585, 721 Atayal

There are a good many different marriage customs. The Atayal celebrate the wedding in the bride's house, and then the guests accompany the couple to the husband's home. The western Atayal have no ceremony other than the drinking feast; the eastern Atayal, on the other hand, have the curious custom of erecting in the open a scaffolding about twenty feet high; [61] the newly weds have to sleep on this platform the first five nights after the marriage.

Occasionally two young men woo the same girl. Then there is a race between them; they go out on a head hunting expedition, and the first one who returns home with his booty gets the bride.

31; Hofmann--606-607 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 131, 554, 721 Atayal

Beyond Taikokan, to the east, the mountains ascend steeply. During the bloody battles in 1907, the foothills were wrested from the Malayans. The tribe which lives here, the Atayal, belongs to the Seiban group (the "red savages"); this is a tribe of headhunters which is feared greatly. The practice of headhunting is or was characteristic of most of the Malayan tribes. [607] The natives decapitate their enemies, among whom they include neighboring tribes as well as Chinese, Japanese, and Europeans. The headhunters are not, however, a courageous people. They lie in ambush and take the enemy by surprise, usually while he is at work; then they cut off his head which they preserve as a trophy at home. If a native has taken the head of an enemy, this is his badge of courage. This cruel custom is so deeply rooted in the beliefs and traditions of the Malayans that all attempts to combat it so far have proved unsuccessful.

31: Hofmann--609-610 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 554, 721

I tried, by asking the most reliable informants, to find out the reasons why the aborigines were headhunters; I did not limit [610] this inquiry to the natives in the north, the region I visited, but included those in the south as well. I made this attempt especially because, according to many sources, the aborigines are also cannibals; none of these sources, however, has advanced proof of this fact. Thus Fischer (1) tells the

1. Fischer: Streifzüge durch die Insel Formosa. Berlin, 1899.

story of a chieftain who offered his own child as food to a neighboring chieftain. These horror tales are hard to believe about a people which is not, comparatively speaking, on a very low level of development. The natives are not a nomadic group; they are a settled group living by agriculture, although it is true that their agriculture is very primitive. The motive for headhunting is simply that the head of an enemy forms a tangible proof of courage. The natives keep these trophies in the same way that they keep the antlers of stags or the tusks and heads of boar which they have hunted down.

The moral code of the natives demands that they take revenge on the enemy who robbed them of their fertile land and sent them to the barren mountains. This tradition is handed down from generation to generation, and it is believed that it is actually a good deed to obtain the head of one of the enemies of the country. (2) Their revenge

> 2. For that reason head hunting has increased during the first few years; the Japanese, without harming the natives themselves, have penetrated into their region and exploited it.

is therefore never personal. It is not a question of decapitating the man who has felled a certain camphor tree, for instance. Everyone who belongs to the enemy's party is liable for the common guilt with his head. Since it is also considered an act of courage to get the head of an enemy, this trophy is necessary to one who wants to marry. The bridegroom places the head, a bloody token of his ability to become a husband, at the feet of his bride. A second reason for this custom is a superstition which cannot be eradicated. Thus, in the north, the harvest festival in honor of the gods is celebrated by an offering consisting of several human heads.

On Formosa, headhunting takes the place of a procession held to implore the deity for rain or sun. Finally, headhunting also takes the place of a trial by ordeal. If a

case cannot be decided, [611] the chief of a tribe, the guardian of the law, proclaims that he who is the first to bring back the head of an enemy, is in the right.

31: Hofmann--618-619 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 177, 291, 721 Tsou

During our expedition through the forests we occasionally saw some of the natives who had come here to hunt or merely from curiosity. [619] They are a shy people, short, with beautiful bright eyes; they are clothed in deerskins, leaving their arms and legs bare. These are members of the Tsou tribe. The word tsou is equivalent to human being, but they do not apply this term to any other people, neither the Malayans nor the Chinese and Japanese. They are, comparatively speaking, quite civilized; I was told that they had given up headhunting several centuries ago, but this is probably due to the influence of a foreign culture more than moral conviction. There has been no perceptible progress in their culture. Since they are numerically inferior to the other tribes and since they are constantly at war with the neighboring tribe, the Hosha, they are probably forced to accept the rule of the Japanese.

31: Hofmann--619-620 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 281, 554, 721, 764 Tsou

There were several large stone plaques on the floor; [EJ: of the dwelling] these cover the tombs of deceased relatives. The most interesting feature was the large number of trophies obtained through hunting; these are the pride of the chieftain and of the entire tribe. In the house I visited there were more than 500 skulls of boars [620] and more than a hundred antlers, all of them with six branches, some of them quite thick. The natives hang in their huts the skins of animals that have just been killed in order to let them dry out.

31: Hofmann--623 [2] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 721

On the whole the Malayans on this island do not possess a high degree of courage. The practice of headhunting is to be regarded not as a display of primitive aggressiveness but as the result of a constant desire for revenge. I believe that it corresponds to the blood vengeance found among other primitive peoples.

35: Collingwood--140 [2] D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 721 Sek-hoan

"Seeing a revolver, they were very anxious to see it shot off, and stuck up a leaf upon a door to be shot at, which was done twice, upon which there immediately appeared two or three men armed with matchlocks, who had evidently turned out at the sound of the pistol to protect the community in case of need. This little incident seemed to prove that they were always on the alert, and gave colour to the general report that they, like the Chinese, are subject to the raids of the raw mountain savages, against whom they are always more or less prepared to defend themselves. This was also corroborated by the fact, that in the midst of the village a building was in course of construction, which was evidently of a defensive character."

37: Steere--305 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 131, 162, 578, 721 Sek-hoan

"The Lek-whan, a large division of the Pepo-whan, living near the center of the island, seem to have originally come from near Chang-wha. A few miles to the north of this city there are still toward two thousand living in the towns of Loisia and Toasia, though, like the Pepo-whan near Taiwanfu, badly in debt to the Chinese. There is a large settlement of them in a mountain valley, two days' journey to the east of Changwha, called Posia or Polisia, to which, according to their own account, they began migrating forty or fifty years ago, and they are still going, there now being some four or five thousand there. This valley is entirely surrounded by mountains and forests inhabited by savages. They are nominally at peace with these, and pay them a yearly tribute of rice and cattle, but in spite of this they are continually losing their lives from attacks by the savages, some twelve or fourteen persons from the valley being killed annually, while at work in their fields or fishing or hunting. The only news of the manner or cause of the loss the friends and relatives receive, being often the headless trunk lying where it fell."

37: Steere--308 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 293, 411, 554, 721, 266 Chin-hoan

"The arms of these savages consist of a few fire-locks procured of the Chinese, and used principally in hunting, and lances and large knives used in hunting Chinese heads. They decorate these weapons with tresses of Chinese hair, and when upon the hunt for Chinese, carry highly ornamented red bags for carrying home the captured heads. They make regular expeditions every year down to the border land, where they lie in wait for the Chinese who come into the forest after rattan, bamboo shoots, etc. Human heads have a recognized value among them, and a man's importance depends upon the number of heads he has taken. The base of the skull is cut off, and the brain extracted, and the head then thoroughly dried, the teeth being generally knocked out--to make necklaces. We saw twenty-four of these skulls upon one small platform, and apparently the property of one man. I could find no proof that they are cannibals, though this charge is frequently laid to them. They may drink the blood of their enemies, as I saw the Lek-whan drinking warm deer's blood, but the bodies of the Chinese killed by them are generally left lying where they fell."

37: Steere--312 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 721, 861, 622 Chin-hoan

"From the fact that they have become so dependent upon their trade with the Pepo-whans, the practice of head hunting seems to have nearly gone into disuse. There were several skulls in niches in their houses, and I was shown a grass hut, with seven or eight skulls heaped in a corner. There were a number of small seats upon the ground, and as nearly as I could ascertain, this hut was used as a dormitory for the small boys, that they might get accustomed to the sight of the skulls of their enemies, and learn to prize them. The villages are upon steep hill-sides. The houses are built solidly, but rudely, of slabs of slate stone. Places are excavated in the hill-side, and the walls built up and covered with slate, the roofs slanting in but one direction, and that with the direction of the hill, so that the houses are hardly seen at a little distance. The roofs are supported by heavy cross walls inside, and by timbers, some of which have been rudely ornamented with carving. The doors, which also serve for windows, are so low that we had to creep on our hands and knees to enter. They are secured by slabs of slate set upright."

37: Steere--314-315 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines 1-2
116, 157, 177, 721

"The numbers of the savages of Formosa are hard to estimate. They are certainly more numerous than would be expected from the rough and mountainous character of the country they inhabit. They are weak and cowardly and badly armed, and their only safety is in [315] their woods and rocks, through and over which they make their way with almost the facility of wild beasts. Those who inhabit the sea coasts to the west are in the habit of plundering wrecked vessels and adding the heads of those of the crew who escape drowning to their treasures. They are said to be a fierce race and better armed than those of the mountains. The Chinese are slowly encroaching upon them where the soil and timber is worth possessing, but it will take centuries at the present rate for them to gain entire possession of the island, and it is probable that they never will conquer the whole island but will leave the most mountainous parts of the island in the hands of the savages, just as they have done in the interior of China itself, where there are many tribes of savages who do not recognize Chinese authority. There is probably no day of the year that passes without bloodshed along the savage border in Formosa. The savages are continually coming out and lying in wait for the Chinese, and the Chinese are in no way particular how they get the savages in their power and revenge themselves, but the Chinese government seems to have no concern in it. Those who live along the border understand that they do it at their peril, and that their death will not be noticed. The only means for defense or warning that we saw upon the border were undertaken by private individuals, and we saw one man,

whose lands and property were exposed, who was offering ten dollars per head for savages."

40: Kirk--11 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 609, 721

"It is only natural, say the Japanese, that the savages have developed an intense hatred for all foreigners and look upon Japanese, as well as Chinese, as deadly foes. So many Japanese, in the decade following 1895, lost their lives in a vain effort to subjugate the savages that some officials looked upon the campaign as hopeless and were in favor of giving the savages up as untamable wild men. Others held to the opinion that the aborigines would become civilized if they could be exposed to Japanese culture."

40: Kirk--13 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 701, 721, 712

"The camphor companies came to the aid of the puzzled soldiers with well-trained guards of their own, until in 1907 the guard line, which had measured only fifty miles under the Chinese administration and one hundred miles in 1896, extended for three hundred miles over hill and dale. Every half mile or so the line is fortified by guard-houses or pillboxes. Two or three guards live at each station, and there is one superintendent to every four or five guardhouses. A policeman and his family live at the superintendent's station. The sentinels, who patrol the path between the guardhouses, challenge all savages--even the peaceful ones must get special permission to travel and must approach the line only at certain designated places. The guards are ordered to use their rifles if the savages disregard the challenge. The superintendents communicate with one another by means of a system of alarms which will bring immediate aid to any station in trouble. These guardhouses, for the most part, are located far up on the mountain slopes in the midst of dense forests."

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Atayal

descendants of the sixth generation counting from him. It is said that about 80 years ago, *ufi* lived originally in Shih-t'an Hsiang. It was his son *layao-ufi* that moved to Hu-shan. *layao-ufi* had a daughter *qojo-layao* and a son *βaitso-layao*. *qojo-layao* married *taimo-layao*, the grandfather of *joqex-etex*. *βaitso-layao*, the younger brother of *qojo-layao*, had entered *camil maililax* because he was brought up in his sister's husband's family which belonged to *camil məlilax*. This case indicates that a *camil* member may not be cansanguinity, A *camil* may include members from other *camil*. Thus *tapilas* is a local social group which is interwoven by the above mentioned k groups.

III. HEAD-HUNTING

Though the Atayal has been famous for their old custom of headhunting, the *Tseo²le²* Tribe which inhabits the regions closer to the plains occupied by the Han people, abandoned the custom earlier than other tribes. In *tapilas* and *paqali*, only a few persons have had experience of head-hunting. The *ʃiaqalo* Atayal kept the custom until more recent time because they had lived formerly in a more remote regions known as *jaβayan* and *loxqax*. They were coerced by the Japanese to move into this region. The following accounts were given by *joqex-etex* and *taqun-nomin* (70 years of age, he had moved from *loxqax* of *ʃiaqalo*). In the following descriptions when the custom of these two villages do not accord with each other, (m) indicates that of the former, and (s) that of the latter.

1. Reasons for undertaking a head-hunting expedition

Head-hunting in Atayal is called *mə-qaqa*. It means "to observe the old tradition". According to the motive of the expedition, it may be divided into the following three kinds: (1) for blood vengeance; (2) for military achievement; and (3) for settling dispute. The former two are called *məqetsβo*(m) or *məʃiβo*(s), which means "hunting"; the last one is called *məqulaqam*(m) or *²əmolas no qoaq*(s), which means "settling dispute". The former two kinds are employed to venge oneself against the member of another tribe or sometimes one's own tribe; the latter kind undertaken to settle a quarrel between kinsmen. The result of the headhunting expedition, whether it has succeeded or failed, is regarded as the judgement on the case shown by the wishes of their ancestral spirits; therefore the quarrel could be thus settled. It is for this reason that they must carry with them a *tsineto*(s) or *tenato*(m) or a guardian bag.

2. The organization of a hunting expedition

To organize a head-hunting expedition permission must be securred from the Chief. An expedition may consist of two or three or as many as seventy persons. In *tapilas*, participants, as a rule, are enlisted from the same *camil*, though sometimes members of a friendly *camil* may also join them. The participants elect their own *paqa-lain* or leader. The leader is to hold ceremonies and to command attacks.

3. Oath and New fire

After the expedition has been organized, all participants assemble in a certain

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
Atayal AD4

721 place to take an oath for starting their hunting trip. *joqex-etex* said that on this
796 occasion, the leader stood in front of all participants, with a wooden-spoon [*sasowai*] in his right hand and with a torch made of palm-fibre in his left hand, he prayed to their ancestor-spirits: "I hold this ceremony according to the old tradition of our tribe. This spoon and torch have been transmitted to us from our ancestors because they represent good fortune. Drinking this water in the spoon and lighted by this torch, we shall have good luck." After this, each participant moistened his right hand in the spoon and sucked it with his lips. Then, the torch was lighted. The ignition was by flint and steel. This fire had to be divided among the participants to light a new fire in their own houses. *taqun-nomin* said that the condition of the ignition revealed omens of the expedition.

4. Taboo after the new fire

721 After the new fire had been lighted, many kinds of taboo had to be observed.
784 The more important ones were: (1) prohibition from extinguishing the kitchen fire; (2)
796 prohibition from weaving (this taboo must be observed by all families of the same *qotox litan*(s) or hunting group. Other hunting groups though may be released from this taboo, but the warp beam must be filled up with cloth fragments to prevent its making a sound when weaving.); (3) prohibition from intercourse and exchange of gift with the family which is quarrelling with the other family; (4) prohibition for holding a ceremony; (5) prohibition to make a noise; (6) prohibition to steal; (7) prohibition to commit adultery (this is applied to families of the same hunting group).

5. Costumes and foods

721 The leader and other participants of the expedition dressed according to their
[26] regulation, and brought weapons, bags for transporting the hunted heads, and ear-
721 ornaments to be used in time of returning in triumph with them. Foods prepared to be consumed for the expedition were salt, millet-cakes, ginger, etc.

6. Dream divination

787 In the evening before the expedition is to start, they seek for dream omens which are called *mital sapijil*(n) or *mata spi*(s). If most of the participants have bad dream, the expedition will be postponed or cancelled.

7. Bird divination

If a good omen is gotten from the dream, two or three members of the expedition will be sent out early in the morning to hear the chirping of a kind of bird called *siljeq*. If an evil omen is gotten, the expedition must stay over night at the place where the bird divination had taken place, and will have another divination the following morning. If again an evil omen is gotten, they will cancel the trip.

8. Calling the souls of the enemy

721 If a good omen is revealed by the bird divination, the expedition will start on its
788 way. The first thing they must do after they have reached the destination is to hold a ceremony for calling the souls of their enemies to come, which is called *somilai*. In the ceremony the leader has camphor leaves in his hands, he points these in the direction

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 ADI Formosa
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of their enemies and says: "I have camphor leaves in my hands. One who has these leaves in his hands will acquire his enemies' heads." After this spell has been recited, all members in the expedition will come forward to touch the leaves with their hands. It is said that camphor leaves are used in this ceremony because the Han people often come to the mountain region to collect camphor leaves to make camphor, and therefore they think that the camphor leaves might have the power to attract the Han people to come for them to hunt. 721 788

9. Attacking

The object of attack may be travellers, or may be a whole homestead which is near to their living section. They will attack the homestead when it does not guard against them. 721

10. Triumph

If the head have been gotten, they will put it in the bag [*taoqan*] and hurry back to their village. When they come to a place which their enemies can not reach, they will take out the head from the bag, and cut down its hair. This hair will be divided into two parts: a part of it will be kept in the headhunting guardian bag, and another part of it will be equally divided among those who have aided in securing this head. After the hair has been divided up, the whole troop will proceed on their way toward their home village again. When they come near the village, they will sing *qoas palis* or the triumphal songs. Then they will proceed again. As they reach the place where their village can be seen, they will stop and fire guns according to the number of heads they have gotten to be *xamaʔao palis* or triumphal signals. They will shout "wao-si……" after each firing. When hearing these signals the villagers will come out in full dress to welcome the triumphant returners.

11. Celebration

After the expedition troop has come back to their village, the victim's head will be hung on the *laoŋ* or the wooden hook in the hunter's house. All members of the troop will be fully dressed and assembled there. When the celebration is begun, the head is removed from the hook and is put on a wooden mortar which is put up side down. Wine is poured into the mouth of the victim's head. Every two members will go forward in pairs to drink of this blood-wine which flows out from the victim's neck. This is called *palamo*(s). When they are exhilarated from drinking, they will start to dance and sing. The dancers hand in hand will circle the head. Flutes will be played to accompany the dance and singing. The dance and singing will continue the whole night until the dawn of the next day. This celebration is called *məs-liβu*(s).

12. Sacrificial rites for the head

On the next day, the head will be removed from the mortar and put into the middle of the *sasaquliatsan*(m) or *paca*(s) or a skull rack in front of the chief's house. A twig with some leaves on its end and with many carved grooves in its stem will be stuck on the center of the rack to be *lajan*(s) or "signal for calling souls." A bamboo stick tied with four bundles of grasses (miscanthus tinctorious) is stuck to each end of

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
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721 the rack, which is called *ui*(s). Another signal which is made of a kind of plant (aralia papyrifera) will be hung high on the tree to boast to the other villages, which is called *wawaja*(m) or *peila*(s). In *tapilas*, the sacrificial rite is directed by the chief. The chief will put sediment and stick a tobacco pipe into the mouth of the victim's head and pray to it" You have enjoyed our offerings of wine and tobacco. To let your campanions have the same kind of enjoyment, please ask them to join you." The villagers will do the same thing one by one. Women who have young sons will take out a small amount of the sediment from the mouth of the head to feed their sons. They believe that by eating this the young boys will become brave.

13. Ritual hunting and rattan pulling

The next day, all participants of the expedition will go out again to hunt beasts on the mountain. After they have returned, they first offer the game to the head, and then divide it in the feast among their relatives and friends. That day, the *tapilas* also hold a *piʃiax-coani* or rattan pulling game. Each end of a piece of rattan about nine meters in length is tied to a piece of wood about four meters in length; this makes the whole thing I-shaped. The villagers divide themselves into two groups. Each group holds one end or one piece of wood of this I-shaped thing. When the game is started, they begin to sing, dance and jump. And then, they pull the rattan until it is broken. The group which has the longer piece of broken rattan will be considered as the winners. They believe that by doing this they will have good fortunes.

14. Defeated

721 If they got no head in the expedition, or if somebody of the expedition was killed
766 or injured, the expedition will be regarded as a failure. It is believed that members who are killed in the expedition will be transferred into evil spirits. Their corpses will be deserted in woods or caves and cannot be brought back to the village. On this occasion, the head they have gotten will be deserted too. No sacrificial ritual will be held though sometimes the head has been brought into the village. The members must leave all their clothes and personal effects outside the village and return back to their own homes with naked bodies at night. Evils must be removed from those thing left outside the village by their shamans. The *ʃiaqalo*, in this case, always demolish the house of the dead and build a new one for the family of the deseased because they are afraid of the evil spirits.

IV. FOOD

[224] Most of the Atayal are agriculturists, though sometimes Atayal men chase game. The most important crop in their former days was millet, but today they depend
262 mostly on sweet potatoes and rice.
241 1. The following kinds of plants and animals are used for food by the villagers:

Cereals—rice, millet, maize, etc.

Rhizomes—sweet potato, taro, radish, etc.

11: Haguenauer--37 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
722 Atayal

In the village all taboos were enforced while the hunters were absent. The women did not weave, all useless activities were avoided, and the fires which were lighted in each house before the departures of the warriors were kept burning.

39: Wiedfeldt--12-13 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 625, 723, 177.62 Atayal
636.62 Japanese

They succeeded over and over again in taking Japanese troups by surprise through their stratagems in battle, so that the Japanese army, which is admitted to be good, [13] proved to be of little use in these battles, and has been replaced by numerous policemen, who live there for long periods and are not so easily outwitted.

40: Kirk--12 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 712, 725, 563, 177.71 Japanese

"As one result of this aggressive policy, the Japanese have built a 'guard line' by cutting a wide path along the crest of mountains and thus surrounding the districts in which the 'wild men' dwell. Beyond this picket line near the districts most thickly populated with savage tribes, the jungle is cleared for a distance of one hundred to three hundred feet. This open space makes it possible to detect the approach of hostile bands and gives the Japanese soldiers a good firing range. Guardhouses of wood, bamboo, earth, or stone are built at strategic points with loopholes in the walls. These tiny fortifications are further protected by wooden barricades and entrenchments. Wire fences and entanglements, charged with electricity, have encircled some districts. Mines have sometimes been sunk, grenades have been thrown during a battle, and three-inch guns have been used with telling effect. One gun, carried up steep slopes and mounted at a commanding point, will hold back many savage warriors. (1)"

1. Report on the Control of the Aborigines, Bureau of Aboriginal Affairs, Taihoku, 1911.

A Tayal never went out alone in quest of a head; he was always accompanied. The little group did not start until it had consulted the omens; if one of the members of the expedition had had a bad dream, or if the augural bird, the silliok, had sung in the wrong way, the warriors did not leave the village. And even if all the signs were favorable, they did not venture very far. They built a little hut at the entrance to the forest, and arranged their weapons and food stuffs there. Then they purified their arms and provisions by sprinkling them with fresh water. When this was done, the head of the expedition purified himself, and then all of his companions in the same way. Then everyone went to bed. The next morning they examined the dreams and portents again, especially the bird songs. The hunt did not begin unless all of the signs were propitious. As you see, the change from ordinary life to the hunt was made progressively and in a prudent fashion. It was a matter of getting the support of the ancestors' spirits. In the village all taboos were enforced while the hunters were absent. The women did not weave, all useless activities were avoided, and the fires which were lighted in each house before the departures of the warriors were kept burning. The men walked until they found a good spot to lay a trap. The capture of a head was not an heroic combat, for the unfortunate victim was taken by surprise. One warrior shot, while the others rushed ahead to finish him off with lance thrusts. When the victim was prostrate, the warrior for whom the hunt had been arranged [38] drew his sabre and cut off the head of the dying

man at the base of the skull. The head was taken back in a special kind of net, or else it was fastened to a hook that was inserted into the scalp.

22: Wiedfeldt--25-26 F-6 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 726 Atayal

The members of the clan go into battle together. If one of them falls, the clan is defeated, and the others go back home with the consciousness of having performed their duty. [26] The Japanese take advantage of this custom in fighting with the Atayals. They attempt to kill one member of as many clans as possible.

40: Kirk-- 12-13 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborogines
116, 726, 177.72 Japanese

"The repeated campaigns to subdue the savages by force of arms in the years following 1895 met with slight success. The Japanese soldiers knew so little about the geography of the country and were so poorly equipped to deal with the guerilla warfare of the savages that they not only were defeated again and again but were often forced to beat a disorderly retreat and leave their weapons behind to fall into the hands of the enemy. The Japanese had to [13] grope through creeping vines and underbrush because they did not know the trails, while the savages could run like deer and climb like monkeys.

The Japanese gradually learned through costly experience how to stretch out and defend the guard line successfully."

4:Grajdanzev--35-36 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 563, 657, 727, 177.56 Japan
636.56

"After their occupation of the island the Japanese took over the Chinese 'reservation' system for the aborigines and the territory inhabited by the 'uncivilized' tribes was surrounded by military outposts, (1) which kept constant watch over the [36] natives.

> 1. The fact that these outposts were manned by Japanese policemen and not by soldiers makes little difference, because at their stage of cultural development the aborigines could hardly appreciate the difference.

The latter understood only that the Chinese system would continue a system of incessant warfare in which finally they were the losers and their best lands were taken away."

7: Joest--61 [8] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 554, 581, 721, 727 Chin-hoan

The natives' favorite way of killing an enemy is to lie in ambush... near one of the enemy's villages and wait for someone, man, woman, or child, to pass; then they shoot an arrow at the victim's back and cut off his head. Then they put the enemy's head in the bag and return home in triumph. A headhunter is received with great honors; a banquet and drinking bout is held and he is popular with the girls, who will not turn him down if he proposes marriage.

11: Haguenauer--38 T-3 (no date) 1929 **Formosan Aborigines**
116, 727 **Atayal**

The return[MC: of a headhunting party] to the village was accomplished as progressively as the departure. The warriors stopped at a certain distance from the houses and signaled their arrival by shouts and gunshots; the shouts betokened the number of captured heads, and there were as many gunshots as they had taken guns. But this ritual was only observed if the expedition had been crowned with success. If it failed, the warriors avoided any kind of noise, and they did not return to the village until nightfall; when they got back, they laid their weapons and clothing at the doors of their houses for they were not supposed to cross the threshold until they had disrobed completely. This precaution was taken to keep bad luck from entering. The arms were purified with water the next day.

11: Haguenauer--38 [2] T-3 (no date) 1929 **Formosan Aborigines**
116, 727, 766 **Atayal**

One important thing to note is that if a member of the [MC: headhunting] expedition was killed during the hunt, the head was not brought back to the village. It was abandoned with the victim's body in the forest. The reason for this was that the aborigines believed that the head had been taken against the wish of the spirits, and that consequently, it could not be offered to them.

11: Haguenauer--38-39 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 727, 769 Atayal

Cries of joy welcomed the return of the fortunate warriors. The villagers went out to greet them, and accompanied them to the house of the murderer, who was the hero of the day. The village chief and the members of the expedition made a circle around the head. They apologized to it, and offered it wine. The head was placed above a receptacle, the jaws were opened, and it was given millet wine. When this fell into the receptacle, it was passed [39] around in a circle, and all the heroes drank it. But it was not drunk in any ordinary way; the warriors took it two by two, and from the same cup, so this rite was really like a vow, in which they pledged to fight together like brothers. Meanwhile, the inhabitants were almost delirious. The women had brought millet wine and food; a large feast was held, and the spirit of the dead was invited to share in it. They begged it to drink, feast, and to invite the spirits of its relatives to the party. This banquet was followed by a dance, in which the women participated as well as the men. Everyone joined hands, and made a big circle, then the dance consisted of turning around and singing. They circled three times from left to right, then three times from right to left, etc. The festival lasted until the supply of food was exhausted.

11: Haguenauer--39 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 281, 411, 531, 727 Atayal

Meanwhile, [MC: during the ceremonies following a successful headhunting expedition] the head had been boiled, and the skin of the scalp and hair were removed. These were not discarded, for they became the property of the successful hunter, and he decorated his weapons with them.

11: Haguenauer--39-40 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 349, 727, 769 Atayal

The clean skull was placed in the midst of a collection of them which the Tayal kept on a special set of shelves that was erected a little outside each village. The new addition was covered with a little roof of leaves, and offerings of millet and millet wine were placed in front of it. The village chief and the members of the expedition gathered in front of the shelves and summoned the spirit of the victim. They asked it to descend by a "spirit ladder" which was placed at one of the ends of the shelves; it consisted of a short bamboo stem to which skeins of hemp had been fastened at various intervals to serve as rungs. When the spirit had come down, they invited it to eat and drink with them. And then they requested it to be kind to them, and to invite [40] the spirits of the members of its family to come and join it. In this way the warriors ensured the success of the next expedition.

16: Müller--234 [3] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 534, 535, 727

The musical instruments of the aborigines are the following:

1. Jew's harp; boys and girls play this instrument and dance at the same time. They either dance alone, with rhythmic motions and jumping up and down now and then, or they dance in groups. The latter takes place chiefly after headhunting expeditions; the young people form a circle and dance around the head.

2. A flute made of bamboo, played by men. This is also played chiefly after headhunting expeditions.

16: Müller--241 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 721, 727

The method used for headhunting is the following:

As a rule the hunter hides near a road and there waits for a victim; often he must wait for days and has little food with him. He knows from experience that whoever approaches this region will scent danger at the slightest sound and take precautions, and therefore uses the following ruse: he steps on a twig and shoots his victim at the moment when the latter stops to find out where the noise came from. If the victim is hit, the hunter rushes out of his hiding place and cuts off the head.

The natives either keep the heads on racks which are made for that purpose, or they suspend them from the roof of the huts. Some tribes preserve the skulls of animals which they have killed in the same way.

19: Guérin and Bernard-- 558 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 311, 727

Around the savage house are several fields of sweet potatoes, hemp and Aralia papyfera (rice paper plant). At the end of these cultivated lands there is an area with some high grasses, but the passer by avoids it. If you go into this region, you will understand the reason for this repugnance for the green conceals a set of crude wooden shelves which have rows of Chinese heads; they are arranged as if they were in an anatomical museum, and there are always some new ones.

4:Grajdanzev--36 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 166, 563, 657, 728, 177.56 Japan
636.56

"It is difficult to say whether they understood, at the beginning, even the change of the sovereignty. In any case the war continued. During the first years of occupation the Japanese, preoccupied with the suppression of Chinese rebellions, tried only to keep them within the reservation, but later a complete program of subjugation was worked out. Its essential feature was the removal of aborigines to low lands in order that the mountainous areas which they had occupied might be exploited. These areas were rich (or at least were thought to be) in timber, minerals and agricultural potentialities, for a certain part of the area could be sown with tropical plants."

4: Grajdanzev--37-38 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 659, 728, 177.72 Japan
636.72

"Twenty thousand men with primitive tribal organization and primitive weapons could not resist indefinitely the machinery of a modern state with all its attributes. But the submission was unwilling and as late as October 1930, aborigines, several thousand strong, burnt the police stations in the district of Musha, seized arms, and occupied the town. In order to suppress this rebellion the Japanese were compelled to use a considerable military force. (1) The suppression cost the Japanese

1. 'October 1930' is given by the Japan Year Book, 1939-40; in the 1933 edition it is said that the revolt took place 'in the summer of 1929.' Which is the truth we do not know, for the affair was not made public until long after it took place. Since 1929 a sum of ¥ 60,000 has been spent annually on special guards in Musha district.

160 lives and the incident shows that if the aborigines [38] should see a favorable opportunity, further trouble may follow. Now a force of 5,000 guards 90,000 aborigines, of which probably not more than 20,000 are mature men, disarmed and separated into their various tribal units by government lines."

11: Haguenauer--29 [2]T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 628, 657, 728

The pacification [MC: of the tribes living in the mountains] came to an end in 1915, for most of the villages had surrendered at that time. Since then the savage zone has been tranquil, and head hunting will soon be just a memory. The electric current no longer runs through the wire barrier which was set up to keep the aborigines from entering civilized territory. And you can cross the island in two places at least. However, it is wise not to go too far from the lookouts elsewhere, for there are still quarrels between some of the tribes at rather frequent intervals.

14: Tamai--98 [3] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 577, 728, 628 Chin-hoan

One [MC: Japanese] official addressed the Tschinwans as follows: "We are very happy to see you. We feel like brothers toward you. For that reason we have wanted to see you for a long time but so far we did not have an opportunity to come to you. Fortunately, through our war with China we have acquired the land of our brothers, Taiwan, and we are exceedingly happy at this. We have been told that until now you have killed many Chinese. That is not right. From now on you must not kill us, who are your brothers; you must love us like brothers and live with us in peace. You must come to visit us often and we shall visit you, too. Today we have prepared a large banquet of food and Sake for you; eat and drink as much as you like." One of the chieftains answered him: "We did not really want to kill the Chinese, but we were forced to do it for they killed our men. But since the Japanese are our brothers we shall not kill them."

Then all the Tschinwans present dug out a hole in the ground and placed a stone in it. Then they threw clods of earth at each other with loud shouts and covered the stone with earth.

This custom is equivalent to an oath with them. The thought behind it is "just as the stone does not rot in the earth so our word (oath or vow) does not change."

35: Collingwood--142-143 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 142, 161, 165, 732 Sek-hoan

"With regard to their diseases, we had no means of learning anything of the mortality of the village. One young woman appeared to be recovering from small-pox, and one old woman [143] was covered with a skin disease, which gave her a leprous appearance, but the people in general were healthy-looking and physically strong, hardy, and well made. We observed no deformities among them, with the exception of one child of three or four years old, which crawled nimbly about on its hands and knees, and appeared to be physically unable to stand or walk. The village may have contained, at a rough estimate, two hundred and fifty inhabitants. There were plenty of children, but old grey-headed persons were not numerous."

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
Atayal AD4

263 trading with the Han people. The ginger they raise by themselves. Most of the cooking oils they use are derived from animal fat.

5. Drinks and stimulants.

271 They drink water when thirsty. Their favourite drink is made by mixing ginger
272 juice with water. This may be used as a medicine. They sometimes drink animal
[262] blood while they hunt on the high mountain where no water can be gotten.
[733]
273 They like wine very much. When one gets drunk, he will not be punished even if he commits a crime. In time of a festival, they will drink up all the wine which the host has provided. A man with a good capacity can drink five or six catties of wine. Two persons drink from one cup of wine at the same moment to show their friendship. No taboo need be observed in time of drinking.

Wine is mostly made of glutinous millet, though today glutinous rice may be used too. *qaocao-seto* reported that she brews wine with millet and rice mixed together. After the material is washed and steamed, it is put on a bamboo tray to be cooled [*maβasao*]. Then, it is transferred to another tray which is laid with taro leaves. It is then sprinkled with some water, and some *tamolo* or yeast is added. After two (in summar) or three (in winter) days it is transferred again to a *matapa* or wine-pot. Some water is added. After another seven days this will become wine.

In the former days, they produced their own yeast. Yeast made of glutinous millet is called *pinixeloŋ*, and of glutinous rice *patinani saixo*. It is made by putting steamed millet or rice into a tray which is laid with taro leaves and also covered by taro leaves for two or three days and then drying.

Another kind of stimulant used is tobacco. T[redacted]cco is smoked with a bamboo pipe [*totox*]. In the fomer days, everybody had [redacted] keeping the pipe and tobacco, but today, most of the young people smoke cigarettes. They plant tobacco. Tobacco leaves are dried under the sun in the day time and pressed under a stone at night for two or three days. The tobacco will be consumed when it is not too dry. They are not fond of the completely dried leaves because they are easilly broken and the taste is bad.

6. Consumption of food

264 They consume food as a necessity to maintain their lives, therefore vegetables, meats, and eggs are of very little importance, because their staples are rice, millet, sweet potato and taro. They always eat only these kinds of staples without anything to take with, not even salt. No refreshment is taken besides their meals.

Formerly, they ate twice a day, now, they eat three times. Breakfast [*qumunama*] is taken in the early morning, lunch [*qumuliax*] at noon, and supper [*qumucaβiaŋ*] after dark. A family of twelve persons (the family of the Chief: four adults, eight children) consume four pints of rice each meal. Men and woman, old or young, eat together. Food is contained in a dish [*supiax*] which is put on the floor. The family members squat around it and eat with their hands. Soup, if any, is eaten with a wooden or bamboo spoon. Today, most of them use tables, chairs, and chopsticks,

16: Müller--230 [10] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 736, 768

The family always takes care, in the most generous way possible, of the widows and orphans of its sib.

19: Guérin and Bernard--561 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 581, 736

You see few men who are crippled; they could never hope to marry.

22: Wiedfeldt--23 [5] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 593, 861, 736 Atayal

The relationship between parents and children is apparently good, and is based on obedience, but a child is never disciplined in the presence of others. Children remain in their parents' house until they are married, and work for them. After marriage there is no further economic bond between them. The children neither receive help from the parents, nor would they think of helping them. In cases of need, the clan intervenes, but there is no family sentiment, nor activities on the part of the relatives.

22: Wiedfeldt--24 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 768, 736 Atayal

Until the widow remarries, she is, so to speak, the guardian of the children. If she is unable to act in this capacity because of illness or any other reason, a neighboring member of the clan, if possible, one of her husband's relatives, or the head of the clan, assumes the duty of caring for the children. The children then have to work for the household of their guardian. During an illness, the nearest neighbors, both men and women, help to keep the household going.

22: Wiedfeldt--26 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 476, 614, 736 Atayal

In the hunts, the heads of the clans who take part act as directors and leaders for the members of their clans, for the dekane [MC: hunting association] has no head. If a family belonging to the clan is in distress because of wounds received in war, illness, or death, the neighbors help out, for the clan is a solid unit in aiding each of its members. Poverty or even begging is unknown.

25: Plaut--59 [3] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 582, 602, 736, 765

Blood relationship operates as follows:

1. Members of the three classes are not allowed to marry one another;
2. needy members of the three classes, that is widows and orphans, must be fed by the other members;
3. among the Tsarisen, Spayowan and Puyuma, the members of the three classes have to mourn the death of any one of their group."

16: Müller--237-238 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 751, 789, 824, 721

Even when there is no immediate cause for anxiety, preventive measures are used. Thus every household uses measures to drive the evil spirits from its house several times a year. For this purpose they strew grains of rice, mixed perhaps with pieces of pork [238] or small pieces of Calamus [MC: the sweet flag (Acorus Calamus) or its aromatic root] on the floor and speak magic formulas. Calamus plays an important part in all the religious ceremonies of the aborigines. If there is a smallpox epidemic, they try to appease the evil spirits by going on a headhunting expedition and presenting the head as an offering. [MC: Millet and calamus form an important part of the periodic propitiation ceremonies. For details see category 796.]

21: Asai--7-8 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 462, 752, 756

"Medicine men and women do different things. The medicine women are usually very sensitive and sometimes a little insane. They cure diseases, put hexes on individual's enemies. In Bunun they are very careful not to leave hair, etc. around so that they won't have a curse put on them. In the case of serious illness, they believe the person has the soul of the [8] father or mother in them. The medicine woman gives offering to the ancestors and asks that the spirits go away. If a person has pains in distinct places, the pain is caused by an enemy, and the medicine woman must make a counter-charm to make the pain go away."

7: Joest--62-63 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 164, 753 Chin-hoan

Added to this [MC: the Chinwan custom of abortion] is the high rate of infant mortality. The climate of the island is characterized by sudden changes from oppressive heat and humidity to cold weather. [63] The Chinese immigrants spread smallpox among the natives, and the Chinwans are even more afraid of this disease than the Chinese; a victim of smallpox is compelled to leave the village and live in the forest until he dies or recovers. Considering all these factors, as well as the harmful effect of brandy, we may say that it is hardly likely that the native population will increase.

16: Müller--237 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 753, 791, 775, 787

The belief in the evil power of spirits is deeply rooted in native imagination. Sickness and other misfortunes are all believed to be the work of evil spirits. If one is careful, however, one may recognize the signs of his approach. The flight of birds or their call, even sneezing or gas in the stomach are thought to be signs of the presence of spirits. With the aid of soothsayers and dream specialists it is possible sometimes to escape their evil designs. Once they have taken hold of their victim, however, it is difficult to elude their grasp.

19: Guérin and Bernard--561 [7] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 753, 755

The remedies for disease among the savages, are rest and a few prayers. If the patient does not have a family or a dwelling, his charitable neighbors build a hut for him where he can get well or perish in peace. If it is a case of small-pox, the whole hamlet flees as quickly as possible, and takes refuge in temporary shelters at some distance from the village; a line is drawn around the spot where the infection is raging, and only people who have already had small-pox are authorized to approach it. We asked one guard if the same person did not get the malady again, and she replied that once was quite enough.

20: Alvarez--257 (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 164, 753

"There is a strange tendency for crop, principally among the females of the Bunum and their neighbours the Tayal of the south. That 'bunch' is called toa-am-kui viz., great womb, by the Chinese. It is found particularly in the district of Taulak, or Toro-ku (Japanese name), in the central region; in several Cantonese Khe-lang villages, and among the Bunum and Tayal, who live in the mountains, not very far from each other. It is generally observed in female adults. Its origin used to be attributed to the influence of the environment. The Chinese believe it to be due to the meat of an animal named pong-hond, viz., 'full of wind', which is an article of the diet of the tribes mentioned above."

34: Del Re--62 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 753, 772, 173, 582, 776 Yami

"Unnatural death, failure of crops, death of livestock are considered punishments meted out by them. (31) [MLB: i.e., the inferior gods] Like the gods of the upper

31. AYL, p. 80, n.

plane, they are endowed with the power to will the creation of anything. Their life, food and dress are, in all respects, similar to those of the Yami save that their houses are built entirely of gold, and are found in the seven heavenly villages, corresponding to the seven villages of the island, each of which is under the protection of the god of its respective heavenly village. The gods must always reside in their own village and may not take to wife a goddess from another village. This suggests that, in earlier days, intermarriage between the different communities on the island was taboo. At present, however, such a prescription appears no longer to be enforced. During the annual festivals the islanders call upon and make offerings to these gods of yams, taro, millet and other fruits of the earth to ensure a good harvest and a plentiful catch of flying-fish. There are also anitos on this plane, but they are harmless."

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

the other gods; both he and other informants failed to indicate any practice of sun-worship[3]. The second type of *kawas* are ancestral gods, called *tatakusan*. The Tavarong Ami worship their ancestors, especially the first ancestors *lotšɨ* and *rarakan*; these latter live among the Ami, although they are invisible. *šikawasai* (shamans) have their special gods[4]. It is clear, therefore, that the Ami have a well-developed theogony, a trait not found among the other aboriginal tribes of Formosa[5].

One who dies an unnatural death will become a *karia* or evil spirit. A person can contract an illness on encountering a *karia*.

Each individual possesses a soul, called *dogɛ*.[6] If one's *dogɛ* weakens, one will become sick; and if one's *dogɛ* should escape from the body, one will die. In this connection, Furuno (1942: 19-23) reported that among the Ami, each human being has two souls, one on the left and one on the right shoulder. The one on the right shoulder is the good soul, and the one on the left the bad. The *karia*, or evil spirits, are the souls on the left shoulders of those who died an unnatural death.[7]

Shamanism

Religious activities are carried out by *šikawasai*, or shamans, and *kakita:n*, or priests. The functions of both are well-defined. A *šikawasai* is consulted mainly to strengthen or call back the *dogɛ* of a sick person. In this sense, the *šikawasai* may be defined as medicine-men. The *kakita:n* manage the Ami religious ceremonies, most of which are agricultural in nature. A *šikawasai* is believed to have been chosen by a dead *šikawasai* or by the *šikawasai* gods. When a young boy or girl contracts a chronic illness, he (or she) is regarded as having been chosen, and it is believed that that individual be cured by becoming a *šikawasai*. This child will then be taught the techniques by an older *šikawasai*. In the first year of his apprenticeship, until the next *irisiŋ* (the Ami New Year), a taboo on the eating of fish and vegetables must be observed. He is also required to pursue hard labor and to abstain from washing the body. A primary qualification for a *šikawasai* is the ability to achieve a state of delirium.

There are today approximately ten *šikawasai* in Tavarong, seven men and three women. Oikawa's contention that there are more female than male *šikawasai*

3. Furuno [1945:20] recorded the following belief from the Hsiu-ku-luan Ami: "*tšidar*" the sun, gave life to human beings, animals, and plants. We think that she is a *kawas*, too. Rituals cannot be carried on without *tšidar*. The *kakita:n* call on *tšidar* in the *irisiŋ*. At harvest time, we gave thanks to this goddess."
4. Sayama [1914] listed the names of two *šikawasai* gods, *saoripa* and *sararazol*.
5. Mabuchi [1934-35] discusses this theogony.
6. Furuno [1940:19-21] and Mabuchi [1934-35] recorded the *dogɛ* as a goddess.
7. This belief is found among other Formosan tribes. For a Bunun example, see Mabuchi [1951:55].

16: Müller--237 [3] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 755, 791

If a member of the household is taken seriously ill, the desire of the spirits must be learned first of all. In one tribe of the Ataiyal group it is customary to call a female soothsayer to the bedside of the sick man; there she consults the fates. She holds a small bamboo cane between her knees and balances a round stone on it. If she is able to keep it from falling from the cane by moving her right hand, the evil spirit will not be able to harm the sick man. If the stone falls off, however, the sick man's fate is sealed.

19: Guérin and Bernard--561 [7] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 753, 755

The remedies for disease among the savages, are rest and a few prayers. If the patient does not have a family or a dwelling, his charitable neighbors build a hut for him where he can get well or perish in peace. If it is a case of small-pox, the whole hamlet flees as quickly as possible, and takes refuge in temporary shelters at some distance from the village; a line is drawn around the spot where the infection is raging, and only people who have already had small-pox are authorized to approach it. We asked one guard if the same person did not get the malady again, and she replied that once was quite enough.

22: Wiedfeldt--23-24 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 755, 887 Atayal

They do not lack medical aid entirely. [24] Old women, called hamangoppu, of whom there are about 30 among the Schimptonoff, or one to every two clans, do not limit their activities to tattooing and prophesying with the aid of a bamboo wand whether the patient will die, or whether the young woman will have a child, etc., but they also dispense medicines compounded from herbs which they have gathered themselves. In return for them, they receive gifts valued at from one to two binto-an. [MC: ornamented clothing used as money]

39: Wiedfeldt--16 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 755, 776, 787, 791 Atayal

Superstitions, fear of spirits, or similar things...are unknown to them. The old woman of the clan, the hamangoppu, tattooes, administers medicines in case of illness, and foretells whether the patient will recover, or whether the woman will have a child. She does this by dropping pieces of elder pith on a bamboo board which she holds on her knees and counting the number of pieces that fall. A raven that lights on a hut is considered an evil omen. This belief does not exist among the Chinese or Japanese. Their imagination has produced no other superstitions or spells.

51: Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

due to the fact that men have more difficulty in attaining a state of delirium (Oikawa 1935) obviously does not apply in Tavarong.

When a *šikawasai* is at his devotions, he wears special clothing and dances and prays. Sometimes wine, pigs, and rice-cakes are offered to the gods. The *šikawasai* often uses banana and ginger leaves to rub over the affected part of the patient. The patient fasts while under treatment, and his family observes a taboo on eating fish and vegetables and on sexual intercourse.

There are seven kinds of rituals used by the *šikawasai* to cure disease. The prefix *pa* in the following ritual names means "to do anything connected with a ritual".

1) *miriwai*. This is a five-day ritual in which the *šikawasai* prays to *maratau*.
2) *pamaratau*. This ritual is shorter than *miriwai* and, according to the informants, "less serious". The *šikawasai* dances and prays to the *tatakusan*, the ancestors.
3) *pasaer*. A simpler ritual than the above two and which lasts for one or two hours. It is used to cure sickness brought on by the god of millet (formerly the staple crop) as a punishment for wrongdoing.
4) *pakawas*. On the death of a *šikawasai*, the *šikawasai* god may tell a man with a chronically-ill offspring that that child should be shaman. This ritual is held to determine whether that course is correct. In it, the *šikawasai* consulted by the father prays to the *šikawasai* god.
5) *pasasidoi*. A simple spell to drive away the *karia* and to bring back and strengthen a person's *dogɛ*.
6) *padogɛ*. A prayer to one's *dogɛ*.
7) *mian?an*. The *dogɛ* of small children are not stable and are often lost. This ritual is performed to stabilize them.

The choice of the [illegible] to be used for curing a disease is determined by the result of *mi?ao* divination. Utsurikawa provides a detailed description of the Ami *mi?ao* (Utsurikawa 1938), translated as follows:

> The divinatory instrument is called *mi?ao* and consists of two parts. One is termed *ao*. A *ao* is a strip of bamboo, about 35cm in length, with a bamboo-joint at one end and the inside face whittled with a knife. The whittling starts from the end with the bamboo-joint, so that mane-like whittled fibres remain attached to the other end. The remaining unwhittled part of the bamboo strip thus becomes thin and string-like. The process for making a *ao* is rather complex. The bamboo must be cut at a definite period of the year. With rice, wine, and betel nuts as offerings, they pray to their ancestral gods. The bamboo is then smeared with cow's blood and must be kept away from women. During the next few nights, the maker must seek for dream-omens. The bamboo, the material for making a *ao*, is called *agas* in Tavarong and Kiwit. About five or six bamboos are bound into a bundle and hung above the fireplace for drying. The method of preparing a *ao* differs in other villages.

21: Asai--4 [2] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 756

"In almost all the tribes there are medicine men or women. Shamanism is also found in the Siroiya tribe. The Siroiya have become almost completely acculturated with the Chinese and speak Fukien Chinese. Their own culture has practically disappeared. Shamanism is not borrowed from the Chinese. Very detailed descriptions of Shamanism are found in early Dutch accounts."

21: Asai--7-8 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 462, 752, 756

"Medicine men and women do different things. The medicine women are usually very sensitive and sometimes a little insane. They cure diseases, put hexes on individual's enemies. In Bunun they are very careful not to leave hair, etc. around so that they won't have a curse put on them. In the case of serious illness, they believe the person has the soul of the [8] father or mother in them. The medicine woman gives offering to the ancestors and asks that the spirits go away. If a person has pains in distinct places, the pain is caused by an enemy, and the medicine woman must make a counter-charm to make the pain go away."

22: Wiedfeldt--35 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 463, 304, 756 Atayal

Division of labor among the Atayals has not yet progressed to the point of vocational training, for every family produces all that it needs itself. There are no artisans. The only exception to this rule is that of the prophetess and medicine-woman, who receives payment for her poisonous drinks, her prophecies, and especially for her tattooing, in the formof gifts which are scaled according to the means of the client, a method of calculation which is current among modern doctors also. The only profession which has been able to develop because it finds a field for its accomplishments in the custom of tattooing, is therefore one of the activities of the women, and, if one considers tattooing treatment of the body, and hence an activity which falls in the sphere of the doctor, it is a profession which in our day women have had to struggle to wring from the monopolistic control of men, while among the Atayals it is handed down from mother to daughter.

34: Del Re--33 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 796, 805, 622, 756, 226 Yami

"The ceremony of 'calling' the flying-fish opens the year which begins, according to the Yami system, in April corresponding, in the solar calendar, to October. It is accompanied by most elaborate ritual observances the purpose of which is to secure a good season and to celebrate the arrival of the fish. On this occasion the tribe annually chooses the man whom it considered best fitted to exercise the role of high priest and to represent it. It may be noted in passing that, contrary to what occurs in other tribes, the Yami have no medicine-women, all ritual observances being restricted to men alone."

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

the other gods; both he and other informants failed to indicate any practice of sun-worship[3]. The second type of *kawas* are ancestral gods, called *tatakusan*. The Tavarong Ami worship their ancestors, especially the first ancestors *lotšɛ* and *rarakan*; these latter live among the Ami, although they are invisible. *šikawasai* (shamans) have their special gods[4]. It is clear, therefore, that the Ami have a well-developed theogony, a trait not found among the other aboriginal tribes of Formosa[5].

One who dies an unnatural death will become a *karia* or evil spirit. A person can contract an illness on encountering a *karia*.

Each individual possesses a soul, called *doŋɛ*.[6] If one's *doŋɛ* weakens, one will become sick; and if one's *doŋ* should escape from the body, one will die. In this connection, Furuno (1942: 19–23) reported that among the Ami, each human being has two souls, one on the left and one on the right shoulder. The one on the right shoulder is the good soul, and the one on the left the bad. The *karia*, or evil spirits, are the souls on the left shoulders of those who died an unnatural death.[7]

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There are today approximately ten *šikawasai* in Tavarong, seven men and three women. Oikawa's contention that there are more female than male *šikawasai*

3. Furuno [1945:20] recorded the following belief from the Hsiu-ku-luan Ami: "*tšidar*" the sun, gave life to human beings, animals, and plants. We think that she is a *kawas*, too. Rituals cannot be carried on without *tšidar*. The *kakita:n* call on *tšidar* in the *irisiŋ*. At harvest time, we gave thanks to this goddess."
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Formosan Aborigines AD4

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When a *šikawasai* is at his devotions, he wears special clothing and dances and prays. Sometimes wine, pigs, and rice-cakes are offered to the gods. The *šikawasai* often uses banana and ginger leaves to rub over the affected part of the patient. The patient fasts while under treatment, and his family observes a taboo on eating fish and vegetables and on sexual intercourse.

There are seven kinds of rituals used by the *šikawasai* to cure disease. The prefix *pa* in the following ritual names means "to do anything connected with a ritual".

1) *miriwai*. This is a five-day ritual in which the *šikawasai* prays to *maratau*.
2) *pamaratau*. This ritual is shorter than *miriwai* and, according to the informants, "less serious". The *šikawasai* dances and prays to the *tatakusan*, the ancestors.
3) *pasaer*. A simpler ritual than the above two and which lasts for one or two hours. It is used to cure sickness brought on by the god of millet (formerly the staple crop) as a punishment for wrongdoing.
4) *pakawas*. On the death of a *šikawasai*, the *šikawasai* god may tell a man with a chronically ill offspring that that child should be shaman. This ritual is held to determine whether that course is correct. In it, the *šikawasai* consulted by the father prays to the *šikawasai* god.
5) *pasasidoi*. A simple spell to drive away the *karia* and to bring back and strengthen a person's *doŋɛ*.
6) *padoŋɛ*. A prayer to one's *doŋɛ*.
7) *mian?an*. The *doŋɛ* of small children are not stable and are often lost. This ritual is performed to stabilize them.

The choice of the ritual to be used for curing a disease is determined by the result of *mi]?ao* divination. Utsurikawa provides a detailed description of the Ami *mi?ʃao* (Utsurikawa 1938), translated as follows:

> The divinatory instrument is called *mi?ʃao* and consists of two parts. One is termed *ʃao*. A *ʃao* is a strip of bamboo, about 35cm in length, with a bamboo-joint at one end and the inside face whittled with a knife. The whittling starts from the end with the bamboo-joint, so that mane-like whittled fibres remain attached to the other end. The remaining unwhittled part of the bamboo strip thus becomes thin and string-like. The process for making a *ʃao* is rather complex. The bamboo must be cut at a definite period of the year. With rice, wine, and betel nuts as offerings, they pray to their ancestral gods. The bamboo is then smeared with cow's blood and must be kept away from women. During the next few nights, the maker must seek for dream-omens. The bamboo, the material for making a *ʃao*, is called *ʃagas* in Tavarong and Kiwit. About five or six bamboos are bound into a bundle and hung above the fireplace for drying. The method of preparing a *ʃao* differs in other villages.

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

On the sixth day, all grade members gathered once more in front of the *kakita:n* house. At this time, all the *šikawasai* (shamans) of the town came to the house and performed rites to ward off disease from the attending celebrants. Then, the *šikawasai* danced together, while the others went out to their own fields to perform a ceremony of mimical cultivation to guarantee a good harvest in the year to come.

The final day of the *irisiŋ*, all the inhabitants of Tavarong went to fish in the streams and rivers. Each individual offered one fish to the gods to inform them that the New Year had commenced. After the celebrants returned to the town, the fish were offered to the *tatakusan*, the ancestral gods; the offering was then divided up among the populace and eaten, thus breaking the taboo on fish and vegetables. This concluded the *irisiŋ*.

Conclusions

In our examination of Ami religion, we found that at least in part Ami society can be considered as a theocracy. The *kakita:n*, the hereditary priests, combined in their persons both temporal and spiritual power. The priestly house served as the ceremonial and political center of the tribesmen and may bear some theoretical importance as a possible prototype of the village-temple.

Shamans and priests are clearly distinguished among the Ami. The former succeeded by reincarnation, and the latter through inheritance. Ami shamanism [this was still true in 1953] in typically Asiatic, in that its practitioners are emotionally unstable individuals who derive their power from direct contact with the spiritual world; this contact is made at times of the greatest physical strain [chronic illness]. Ami shamanism is also of a non-Arctic type, since the neophyte is indoctrinated with the shamanistic techniques, instead of receiving them through spiritual experiences of a personal, charismatic nature. The shamans practice a complex and typically Indonesian type of divination.

As with many other peoples of the Indonesian culture area, no sharp distinction is made by the Ami between gods, spirits, and souls, which are all designated by the generic term *kawas*. However, the Ami are atypical among the Formosan tribes in that they possess a relatively highly developed genealogical mythology or theogony. The possible relation between this theogony and Ami social structure is worthy of future study. It may be of significance, for instance, that in this matrilineal society the sun is a female goddess, and the moon male. This spiritual world provides the power and justification for all Ami religious activities, being beseeched with prayers and bribed with offerings.

The *irisiŋ*, the great New Year ceremony which was described in detail, is functionally a world renewal ritual, the renewal of the powers of the stream and soil and, in fact, a renewal of the whole society. In this, the population was

14: Tamai--97 J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 757, 761 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwans have neither doctors nor any knowledge of medicine. If they are ill, they look death calmly in the face.

19: Guérin and Bernard--558 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
273, 757

Fertilizer comes from the ashes of large tree trunks that lie flat on the ground and are burned every year. In the spaces between them you see turnips, a kind of dandelion which is a remedy for intoxication, and tobacco.

24: Anonymous--91 [6] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 757, 844

They wash the newborn children with cold water. They have neither doctors nor medicines, when they are sick, they bathe in the river for they believe that the Great Doctor has placed a healing power in the water. They believe that bathing is healthy at all times of the year.

14: Tamai--97 J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 757, 761 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwans have neither doctors nor any knowledge of medicine. If they are ill, they look death calmly in the face.

21: Asai--4 [4] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 721, 761, 775, 778

"The cult of headhunting was very general in Formosa, but at present it is engaged in very rarely. They believe in two kinds of death, natural and accidental. In natural death, the soul goes to the land of death where it lives peacefully. In the case of accidental death, the soul does not go to the land of death but must wander around the spot where the person was killed. If the heads of the enemy are taken and brought back to the house, then the soul of the person killed will stay in that place peacefully. Such heads have mana and aid in growth of crops. Therefore, it is good to have as many heads as possible. They are offered food and wine on various occasions."

39: Wiedfeldt--14-15 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 555, 761, 775 Atayal

According to their ideas, worthy [15] people live on after death. Such persons would include successful skull-hunters and women skilled at weaving. Hence, worth does not include merely the manly virtues... The dead cross the sea to the "great land" by way of the rainbow, and in the process, the unworthy, that is, those who are not tattooed, fall into the sea, or are cast down among the Taroku by the ancestors. The others continue to live together with their ancestors, just as they had lived before, and with the tools and weapons that were buried in the grave with them. This whole story is possibly an attempt to explain the incomprehensible manner in which a person is living and then is dead. In any event, the idea of reward or punishment after death for their actions during life is foreign to them, although their expression, "the wrath of the ancestors", which is applied to infractions of the law, seems to indicate the existence of such a concept.

22: Wiedfeldt--24 [5] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 762 Atayal

If the Atayal discovers that he is suffering from a persistent, incurable illness, or when he is suffering from the infirmities of old age, he commits suicide by taking the poison used for fishing, which is on hand in every hut. No one else has a right to kill a sick person, but every one has the ancient right to dispose of his own body, when he is only a burden and can no longer be useful.

14: Tamai--97 [3] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 764, 768 Chin-hoan

When someone dies, his body is wrapped in a loincloth and is buried in or near his house. All his possessions, such as his rifle, bow, sword, snuffbox, and pipe, are buried with him. If the deceased is buried in the house, the family leaves it and builds another house. After the funeral no one remembers the deceased or tends his grave.

16: Müller--231 [3] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 764

The family shows manifestations of sincere grief upon the death of one of its members. They bury the body either in the yard around the house or outside of their property. The grave goods consist of objects which the deceased has used during life.

20: Alvarez--253 (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
789, 764, 322

"The Tsalisen of the mountains in front of the Port of Takao are styled ka-lé-lang by the Chinese (4).

4. According to the highly authorized Chinese dictionary (Kang-hi), the two signs ... mean 'ugly wooden figures used to make dollies'. They are called Kalé-hi in Formosa. Such Kalé-hi are made for the purpose of exorcising the devils, when somebody suddenly dies. This name 'ugly figures' seems to have been applied by the first Chinese invaders to the savage tribes of Formosa."

22: Wiedfeldt--24 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 764 Atayal

If some one dies, the family mourns for a whole day, during which time no one sets foot in the hut. The body is buried in a deep hole in the burial place in the hut, and the personal property of the deceased is placed in the grave also. Thus, a bow, a knife, a gun, are buried with a man. With the woman are buried her loom, spindle, and rice pestle. Clothes and a pipe are buried with both men and women. It is believed that they will need all these things later. There are no funeral services, and mourning clothing is unheard of.

22: Wiedfeldt--37 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
764 Atayal

The objects used as money are the only possessions that do not follow their owner to the grave.

24: Anonymous--91[7] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 428, 764

When someone has died, they hang colored rags on the door of his house. All the belongings of the deceased; his tools, dishes, and garments are divided among the members of the family. They keep the body under the bed for three days, then all the neighbors assemble, carry the body outside, and sprinkle earth on it. They do not have coffins, but bury the body deep in the earth. If the family moves to another place they exhume the body and take it with them.

31: Hofmann--619-620 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 281, 554, 721, 764 Tsou

There were several large stone plaques on the floor: [EJ: of the dwelling] these cover the tombs of deceased relatives. The most interesting feature was the large number of trophies obtained through hunting: these are the pride of the chieftain and of the entire tribe. In the house I visited there were more than 500 skulls of boars [620] and more than a hundred antlers, all of them with six branches, some of them quite thick. The natives hang in their huts the skins of animals that have just been killed in order to let them dry out.

34: Del Re 764, 776, 778 | U-4 | (no date) No Date | Formosan Aborigines Yami

[MLB: The photograph on page 66 this source is of a perpendicular-shaped rock which the caption states is "The Place of Death" where the bodies of the dead are cast away. The natives visit it fully armed for fear of the Anitos (evil spirits) who are supposed to haunt it.]

37: Steere--309 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 771, 764, 534 Chin-hoan

"They do not appear to have any settled religious system, but to be terribly troubled with superstitions and fears of supernatural beings and causes. They are said to bury their dead with terrible fear, hastily covering the body with earth, and then all running away, and no more visiting the spot.

While hunting birds with some boys of the tribe, I strayed into a thick dark grove of bamboos near the village, and when I came out, the people motioned me away with their hands, and would not allow me to come near until the old Lek-whan guide who accompanied us, had baptized me upon the face, and hands, and breast, with water. I afterward understood that I had entered one of their burial places. When we got ready to return, they begged us not to drink of the springs on our way down the mountain, for fear that we should enchant them. They make curious little musical instruments by cutting a tongue in a piece of bamboo, which is put between the teeth, and the tongue made to vibrate by pulling a string tied to the end of the bamboo. The tone is modulated by the breath, as in a jews-harp, which it much resembles in sound."

565 are only allowed to be worn by chiefs; and embroidered ***lionpao*** (long clothe), ***koŋ na kinima²aŋ*** (long skirt) and ***kasuja tsino at səvanaŋ*** (trousers) by chiefess.

Ornaments, especially ***lailai*** (feather ornaments), ***patal na paŋaŋiliŋ*** (hat-ornament made of leopard's teeth), ***ta²ata*** (shoulder ornament made of a kind of shell), ***tsalaral*** (silver shoulder ornament), ***aliatpula*** (glass bead necklace) are only allowed to be used by nobles.

E. Right to perform ceremonies

565 554 a) Felicitation on having an elder offspring is only performed by the nobles. A gun and some iron ware must be sent to the maternal relatives on this occasion. This is called ***ləmiči***.

565 583 b) A bride price is called ***činiliči***. According to the social status, it is divided into three classes: ***mamatsaŋiraŋ***, ***maluntsivtsik*** and ***tala²alalak***. ***mamatsaŋiran*** consists of a piece of cultivated land (***atunaŋaŋ***) a household of serf (***wadis***), five kinds of iron articles; ***maluvtsivtsik*** only two or three kinds of iron article; and ***tala²alalak*** only two or three iron articles. The marriage ceremony also differs between nobles and commoners.

• 764 565 c) Funeral rites: At the death of a chief, the whole village wears mourning dresses for five days, ***maluvtsivtsik*** and ***utsiputsipoŋ*** a month. At the death of a ***matuvtsivtsik***, his relatives and ***utsiputsipoŋ*** wear mourning dresses for a month, and his ***umutel*** five days. At the death of a commoner, his relatives wear weeds for a month.

F. Privilege from criminal trial

565 [687] a) A commoner will be fined a penalty of a pig, a bottle of wine, several iron articles by his lese-majesty (***napanuŋatsə***) to a chief. A noble commits no lese-majesty.

[534] b) If a commoner's house is carved, his body tattooed, and his clothes decorated, he is regarded as having committes a crime of arrogation (***napatsəra***). He will be fined a penalty of the same as that of a lese-majesty.

[685] c) The nobles commit no crime of robbery (***tsəmav***).

[687] d) A murderer must pay the equivalence of the price of the murdered which differs according to one's social status. If a commoner murdered a noble, all properties of his own as well as his brothers will be confiscated, and he himself will be exiled from the village.

[684] e) The nobles commit no crime of adultery, but a noble may ask penalty from one who commits adultery with his or her spouse. A commoner who ravishes a chiefess will be heavily punished and exiled from the village.

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Atayal

304 grandfather's breast mark was different from what we described above. That is, beside the vertical line, each side of it had three horizontal short lines. It is said that each of these short lines represented five heads which had been hunted by him.

(5) Leg-tattoo—The leg-tattoo is confined to women only. No qualifictaion has been ordained. The leg-tattoo of *jajot-palie* is a straight line with barbs about two centimeters in width and three centimeters in length. That of the wife of *joqex-etex* is a square mark of about three centimeters on each side with a pair of diagonal lines inside of it.

The tattooer [*papatas*] has special training; all the tattooers are women. There is no tattooer in *tapilas* today. Tattoo operations are mostly performed in winter time to avoid suppuration. The instruments employed consisted of a small knife [*βuli*], a wooden hammer [*tatutfin*], needles [*lao*], an instrument for wiping blood [*qaquwar*] and soot from the bottom of a pot [*ilox*]. Tattooing was done under a shaded place. A mat was laid for the one who was going to recieve the operation to lie upon. After a prayer had been offered, the operator sat close to the head of one who lay on the mat. She used a small knife to draw lines on the face of the operatee, and then with needles in her left hand, and a wooden hammer in her right hand, she started the operation. Blood was wiped away with a bamboo instrument. After each section of the desigh had been done, she rubbed the soot on it. A man's forehead and chin tattooes needed about two hours, and a woman's cheek tattoo needed ten hours. The operator was rewarded with cloth and food.

VI. HOUSING

342 Atayal houses were originally of the semi-subteranean type, but these are not found in Chin-shui Ts'un. Houses, except granaries are all built on the ground level.

1. Processes of building a house

342 A house may be built in any season of the year. In former days, if anyone (who is more than three months old) of the family dies, he will be buried inside the house and the house will then be abandoned. The chief of the village related that the custom had been given up in 1929. From 1929 they buried their dead in the grave yards, so today they do not change their houses as frequently as before. But even today they do not build a new house on the old site, this custom may be regarded as the survival of the old tradition.

342 Their process of building a new house is as follows:

(1) Collecting materials—The materials for building a house are: wood, bamboo, and rattan. Tree trunks are used to be ridge pole, beams, rafters, and other kinds of posts. Bamboos are used to make the walls and roof. Rattan is used for tying together the posts or other parts of the house. Materials are collected one month before the house is to be built. They are transported to the site by both man and woman, though house-building is mainly the man's work.

7: Joest--62 [3] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 765 Chin-hoan

If one of the inhabitants of a Chinwan village has been killed, the entire village is in mourning; no one may make a loud noise and there is fasting throughout the village.

16: Müller--231 [4] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 765

After the funeral it is customary that the family does not go out for some time. They do not wear any ornaments. The Tsarisen, Paiwan, and Pyuma aborigines even wear mourning apparel.

18: Kakyo--70 [2] E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 593, 765

Within the family peace and harmony reign. Even when the parents live together with their children and other relatives, there is no friction. When one member of a Formosan aborigine family dies, he is lamented by the family and solemnly buried, and for a certain length of time no one leaves the house.

19: Guérin and Bernard--562 [3] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 765

Among the savages, mourning consists of weeping and fasting. These manifestations of sorrow are regulated according to a precise ritual, and they vary according to the status of the deceased and the relationship of the survivors.

25: Plaut--59 [3] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 582, 602, 736, 765

Blood relationship operates as follows:

1. Members of the three classes are not allowed to marry one another;
2. needy members of the three classes, that is widows and orphans, must be fed by the other members;
3. among the Tsarisen, Spayowan and Puyuma, the members of the three classes have to mourn the death of any one of their group."

11: Haguenauer--38 [2] T-3 (no date) 1929 **Formosan Aborigines**
116, 727, 766 Atayal

One important thing to note is that if a member of the [MC: headhunting] expedition was killed during the hunt, the head was not brought back to the village. It was abandoned with the victim's body in the forest. The reason for this was that the aborigines believed that the head had been taken against the wish of the spirits, and that consequently, it could not be offered to them.

16: Müller--231 [5] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 766

If someone has died an unnatural death or has been killed, he is regarded as someone afflicted with evil; he is buried either in the place where he died or in a concealed place as far from the community as possible.

16: Müller--231 [6] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 766 Pepo-hoan

In former times, some of the Pepo tribes wrapped their corpses in a shroud and threw them in the river. In one tribe the corpse was placed in front of a fire in the hut until it dried out; at the same time a gay banquet was held. The corpse was left in the house and the family moved to a new residence.

19: Guérin and Bernard--562 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 766

If a man is killed by some violent or accidental means when he is away from home, he is buried in the mountain.

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 ADI Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
Atayal AD4

721 the rack, which is called *ui*(s). Another signal which is made of a kind of plant (aralia papyrifera) will be hung high on the tree to boast to the other villages, which is called *waiwaja*(m) or *peila*(s). In *tapilas*, the sacrificial rite is directed by the chief. The chief will put sediment and stick a tobacco pipe into the mouth of the victim's head and pray to it" You have enjoyed our offerings of wine and tobacco. To let your companions have the same kind of enjoyment, please ask them to join you." The villagers will do the same thing one by one. Women who have young sons will take out a small amount of the sediment from the mouth of the head to feed their sons. They believe that by eating this the young boys will become brave.

13. Ritual hunting and rattan pulling

The next day, all participants of the expedition will go out again to hunt beasts on the mountain. After they have returned, they first offer the game to the head, and then divide it in the feast among their relatives and friends. That day, the *tapilas* also hold a *pisiax-coani* or rattan pulling game. Each end of a piece of rattan about nine meters in length is tied to a piece of wood about four meters in length; this makes the whole thing I-shaped. The villagers divide themselves into two groups. Each group holds one end or one piece of wood of this I-shaped thing. When the game is started, they begin to sing, dance and jump. And then, they pull the rattan until it is broken. The group which has the longer piece of broken rattan will be considered as the winners. They believe that by doing this they will have good fortunes.

721 14. Defeated

● 766 If they got no head in the expedition, or if somebody of the expedition was killed or injured, the expedition will be regarded as a failure. It is believed that members who are killed in the expedition will be transferred into evil spirits. Their corpses will be deserted in woods or caves and cannot be brought back to the village. On this occasion, the head they have gotten will be deserted too. No sacrificial ritual will be held though sometimes the head has been brought into the village. The members must leave all their clothes and personal effects outside the village and return back to their own homes with naked bodies at night. Evils must be removed from those thing left outside the village by their shamans. The *siaqalo*, in this case, always demolish the house of the dead and build a new one for the family of the deceased because they are afraid of the evil spirits.

IV. FOOD

[224] Most of the Atayal are agriculturists, though sometimes Atayal men chase game.
262 The most important crop in their former days was millet, but today they depend
241 mostly on sweet potatoes and rice.

1. The following kinds of plants and animals are used for food by the villagers:

Cereals—rice, millet, maize, etc.

Rhizomes—sweet potato, taro, radish, etc.

14: Tamai--97 [3] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 764, 768 Chin-hoan

When someone dies, his body is wrapped in a loincloth and is buried in or near his house. All his possessions, such as his rifle, bow, sword, snuffbox, and pipe, are buried with him. If the deceased is buried in the house, the family leaves it and builds another house. After the funeral no one remembers the deceased or tends his grave.

16: Müller--230 [10] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 736, 768

The family always takes care, in the most generous way possible, of the widows and orphans of its sib.

19: Guérin and Bernard--559-560 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 548, 768, 837

Although there is no prudery in the language of the savages, prostitution is unknown, and there is almost no adultery; moreover, the husband has rights of a Draconian severity to protect his honor, and he would avail himself of them if it were necessary. [560] In the south, custom authorizes widows to sell themselves, but this was doubtless a means devised to enable them to make a living and support their young children.

19: Guérin and Bernard--562 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 764

Among the savages there is a code governing funerals and mourning. The deceased is always buried in his clothing and decorations. He remains on a bed of state for twenty-four hours, so that his relatives and friends can bid him farewell, and then the immediate members of the family attend to the burial; they dig a deep hole under one of the beds, and lower the corpse in a sitting position; a pinch of rice and a bit of deer meat are laid on his knees; a pan (of the same shape as the one used as a household utensil) is placed on his head; this acts like a vault, and the soil is thrown on top of it; the knife, gun, powder flasks, in a word all the hunting and fighting equipment which the savage used during his lifetime, follow him into the tomb. The child who has never hunted or worked in the fields does not have the pinch of rice or the piece of deer; then, too, he does not have the right to the honors of the sauce pan. When the grave has been filled and the earth tramped down on top, the bed is set up again, and then the family goes to spend a month with some relatives.

22: Wiedfeldt--24 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 768, 587 Atayal

On the following day [MC: after a death and burial in an Atayal family], a man who has lost his wife or a child begins to build a new hut. After three months he moves into it and if he is a widower, he marries again. If the man dies, the widow also marries after three months, when her new husband had finished the hut. In this case, the widow brings the man into her clan. The old hut is regarded as a burial chamber. It is left untouched, and it soon falls apart.

22: Wiedfeldt--24 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 768, 736 Atayal

Until the widow remarries, she is, so to speak, the guardian of the children. If she is unable to act in this capacity because of illness or any other reason, a neighboring member of the clan, if possible, one of her husband's relatives, or the head of the clan, assumes the duty of caring for the children. The children then have to work for the household of their guardian. During an illness, the nearest neighbors, both men and women, help to keep the household going.

22: Wiedfeldt--36 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 586, 858, 597, 768 Atayal

They [MC: children]are offered for sale when marriages are dissolved, on the occasion of the death of one of the parents, when the remaining partner remarries, in which cases children are often a burden or become unnecessary, and thus are put up for sale. A brother or sister may also be sold when a son of the family is to be married, in order to raise the price of the bride for him. This does not suffice, however, to fill the demand for labor. I myself have seen an old Schimptonoff come to the Japanese police commissioner leading a Chinese boy by the hand, and ask for permission to buy him from his parents, which he was forbidden to do, according to Japanese regulations. The price for a ten-year old boy, --younger children are not bought as a rule, --amounts to from 10 to 13 rokosch-kaha. [MC: ornamented sleeveless jacket used as money] For a ten-year old girl, who can not weave yet, the price is 7 to 10. If the girl knows how to weave, she is worth the same amount as the boy.

22: Wiedfeldt--44 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 429, 614, 768 Atayal

The widow is the authorized guardian of the children, and can therefore sell them, or can demand the bride-price for a marriageable daughter. If she is not capable of performing this duty, a neighbor who is a member of the clan, or the head of the clan intervenes. At a glance, this recalls the modern system whereby many municipal authorities may exercise a general guardianship.

11: Haguenauer--38-39 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 727, 769 Atayal

Cries of joy welcomed the return of the fortunate warriors. The villagers went out to greet them, and accompanied them to the house of the murderer, who was the hero of the day. The village chief and the members of the expedition made a circle around the head. They apologized to it, and offered it wine. The head was placed above a receptacle, the jaws were opened, and it was given millet wine. When this fell into the receptacle, it was passed [39] around in a circle, and all the heroes drank it. But it was not drunk in any ordinary way; the warriors took it two by two, and from the same cup, so this rite was really like a vow, in which they pledged to fight together like brothers. Meanwhile, the inhabitants were almost delirious. The women had brought millet wine and food; a large feast was held, and the spirit of the dead was invited to share in it. They begged it to drink, feast, and to invite the spirits of its relatives to the party. This banquet was followed by a dance, in which the women participated as well as the men. Everyone joined hands, and made a big circle, then the dance consisted of turning around and singing. They circled three times from left to right, then three times from right to left, etc. The festival lasted until the supply of food was exhausted.

11: Haguenauer--39-40 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 349, 727, 769 Atayal

The clean skull was placed in the midst of a collection of them which the Tayal kept on a special set of shelves that was erected a little outside each village. The new addition was covered with a little roof of leaves, and offerings of millet and millet wine were placed in front of it. The village chief and the members of the expedition gathered in front of the shelves and summoned the spirit of the victim. They asked it to descend by a "spirit ladder" which was placed at one of the ends of the shelves; it consisted of a short bamboo stem to which skeins of hemp had been fastened at various intervals to serve as rungs. When the spirit had come down, they invited it to eat and drink with them. And then they requested it to be kind to them, and to invite [40] the spirits of the members of its family to come and join it. In this way the warriors ensured the success of the next expedition.

So we see that the capture of a head was not an act of savagery, nor was it purely a matter of individual glorification. It is true that the successful hunter had a right to be tattooed as a warrior, or if he already had this distinction, he might give his head to a younger man so that the latter might have this signal honor. But head hunting was essentially an enterprise which was imbued with a very special kind of religious meaning. It was done with the approbation of the souls of the ancestors, and it was an affair which concerned the whole community.

11: Haguenauer--40 [2] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 695, 721, 769 Atayal

Head hunting was such a sacred practice that it could only be carried on under certain circumstances:

1. to please the spirits of the departed ancestors, and to ensure their protection;
2. to be able to enter the abode of the souls after death;
3. so that the community would have a good harvest;
4. to determine the innocence of an accused man, or to decide which one of two adversaries was right; the spirits will permit the innocent man to get a head while the guilty person will not succeed.

16: Müller--238 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 769

Just as all possible means are used to prevent the mischief of evil spirits, so everything is done to obtain the favor and blessing of the beneficent spirits. The natives, therefore, devote special festivals to the spirits of their ancestors.

16: Müller--238-240 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 796, 769 Tsuo

Among the Tso'o aborigines there are three festivals to propitiate beneficent spirits every year. The most important of these at the same time marks the time when the harvest of millet begins; it is held under the sacred tree [239] which is the habitat of the spirits. To prepare for this festival the women brew the wine made from millet with many ceremonies, using millet which they have chewed beforehand to ferment it. On the day of the festival the unmarried young men ring a bell and all the heads of families start out for the sacred tree. They carry a bunch of Calamus reeds [MC: the sweet flag (Acorus Calamus)] tied together with fiber; the Calamus must be grown under the sacred tree. When they have arrived at the tree, the village elder sacrifices a bamboo cup filled with wine made of millet, murmuring incantations at the same time; during this time the others kneel down. After this everyone plants his Calamus under the sacred tree. On the following day [240] the young men again ring the bell and all the inhabitants, dressed in their holiday attire, assemble in the house of the chieftain. The oldest man in the village and the chieftain then sing a song in praise of the ancestral spirits. After this, all the participants form a solemn procession and march to the hut of the unmarried men where they dance around a fire. On the last day of the festival a banquet and a drinking bout are held.

In Polysia, the festival in honor of the ancestral spirits is somewhat different. On the first day there is a race for the boys, and the victor is given a red flat. On the second day the people assemble in the chieftain's house. There they knead viscous rice with their hands in a solemn fashion and give it the shape of a fish; the chieftain then cuts off the head and tail of the fish and distributes the body among those present. He puts the head and tail in a basket which he attaches to a bundle of Calamus. [MC: the sweet flag (Acorus Calamus)] After that he leads the people to the sacred tree; everyone carries a single Calamus reed. A huge stone lies under the tree.* Then the rites connected

* In the mythology of the natives, a huge stone under a tree is connected with the origin of headhunting. They say that this stone once split in half and a woman arose from it. The children of this woman had a feud which was arbitrated by an ordeal. He was to be the victor who would kill the greatest number of bears on a bear-hunting expedition. Later, when the Chinese came to this island and their strength and knowledge was compared to that of bears, the Chinese became the objects of the hunt.

with the offering begin. The young men present their Calamus to the chieftain and then turn around. The chieftain places his own offering of Calamus and rice and that of the others on the sacred stone, murmuring incantations at the same time. Then he pushes

his spear into the lower part of the tree trunk, and at the same time all the young men run home with loud shouts. On the third day of the festival, they hunt for stags. They make an offering of the stag, or, if they have not been successful, of a pig, to the spirits of their ancestors. The fourth and last day of the festival is a gay one: the people eat, drink, and dance as long as they can.

18: Kakyo--71 [3] E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 775, 769

The distress and the happiness, the fortune and misfortune of all men are attributed by the Formosan aborigines to the influence of these devilish forces. [MC: i. e., spirits of the dead.].

To attain happiness and ward off misfortune, they honor the spirits of their ancestors.

This enables us to recognize that the Formosa natives are already on the way to developing a cult of their ancestors.

21: Asai--4-5 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 241, 769, 796

"A special ceremony takes place just after the harvest. In such ceremonies, wine and foods are offered to the souls of the ancestors, who live in the land of the dead. The people chant [5] ceremonial songs to make the souls come to the village. The dances last sometimes 24 hours in one week successively in Saisiyat. This is called the period of pastaai. The people bring rice and cooking utensils. The festival usually takes place in November. Through Chinese influence, there are sometimes two festivals, spring and autumn."

21: Asai--6 [3] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 769

"There is a connection between the Formosan festival for the dead and the Urabon festival in Japan. When Buddhism was brought to Japan, the Japanese already had a festival honoring the dead, and they took up the Buddhistic form, though in India it was not very important. Much the same thing happened in Java until about the 10th century, when Islam was introduced."

24: Anonymous--91 U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 551, 601, 769, 805

The aborigines of Formosa are very different from the Chinese. They have no family names and no calandar or units of time like ours. The aborigines recognize no other degree of relationship except that of parents, they do not offer sacrifices to their ancestors, and they are not even able to tell their own age.

39: Wiedfeldt--15-16 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 769, 778 Atayal

There is a trace of ancestor worship in the tribal celebrations and also in the clan celebrations, which...are held for such members of the clan as can not attend the tribal celebration. Members of other tribes are not permitted to attend these celebrations, which unite all the members of the tribe, even if they were members before marriage. In the festival of the millet planting the chief of the tribe is said to thrust four bamboo stakes into the ground in a field that has been cleared of weeds early in the morning. Into the square thus formed he pours millet wine and millet mush, and standing in the middle, he says: "According to old customs and usages handed down to us we celebrate today, as our ancestors in this land have always celebrated. We thank our ancestors that we and our children are well. We wish that the millet which we are planting may bring us a rich harvest. We wish that our ancestors would protect us against illness. We thank our ancestors from the bottom of our hearts." Then he says to the assembled members of the tribe] "Everything is done", and they drink to gether the millet wine which they have brought with them. The harvest celebration is the same, except that the wish for a rich harvest is replaced by a prayer of thanks. In spite of my efforts, I have never been able to find out how they think their ancestors will protect them against illness or just how they procure them a rich harvest. I have also not been able to determine whether any special festivals or religious acts take place on Mt. Sylvia, which according to the Japanese is sacred to the Atayals. [16] The Atayals themselves say nothing about it, and foreigners have not yet penetrated that far into Atayal territory.

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

the other gods; both he and other informants failed to indicate any practice of sun-worship[3]. The second type of *kawas* are ancestral gods, called *tatakusan*. The Tavarong Ami worship their ancestors, especially the first ancestors *lotiʂ* and *rarakan*; these latter live among the Ami, although they are invisible. *ʂikawasai* (shamans) have their special gods[4]. It is clear, therefore, that the Ami have a well-developed theogony, a trait not found among the other aboriginal tribes of Formosa[5].

One who dies an unnatural death will become a *karia* or evil spirit. A person can contract an illness on encountering a *karia*.

Each individual possesses a soul, called *doŋɛ*.[6] If one's *doŋɛ* weakens, one will become sick; and if one's *doŋ* should escape from the body, one will die. In this connection, Furuno (1942: 19-23) reported that among the Ami, each human being has two souls, one on the left and one on the right shoulder. The one on the right shoulder is the good soul, and the one on the left the bad. The *karia*, or evil spirits, are the souls on the left shoulders of those who died an unnatural death.[7]

Shamanism

Religious activities are carried out by *ʂikawasai*, or shamans, and *kakita:n*, or priests. The functions of both are well-defined. A *ʂikawasai* is consulted mainly to strengthen or call back the *doŋɛ* of a sick person. In this sense, the *ʂikawasai* may be defined as medicine-men. The *kakita:n* manage the Ami religious ceremonies, most of which are agricultural in nature. A *ʂikawasai* is believed to have been chosen by a dead *ʂikawasai* or by the *ʂikawasai* gods. When a young boy or girl contracts a chronic illness, he (or she) is regarded as having been chosen, and it is believed that that individual be cured by becoming a *ʂikawasai*. This child will then be taught the techniques by an older *ʂikawasai*. In the first year of his apprenticeship, until the next *irisiŋ* (the Ami New Year), a taboo on the eating of fish and vegetables must be observed. He is also required to pursue hard labor and to abstain from washing the body. A primary qualification for a *ʂikawasai* is the ability to achieve a state of delirium.

There are today approximately ten *ʂikawasai* in Tavarong, seven men and three women. Oikawa's contention that there are more female than male *ʂikawasai*

3. Furuno [1945:20] recorded the following belief from the Hsiu-ku-luan Ami: "*tʃidar*" the sun, gave life to human beings, animals, and plants. We think that she is a *kawas*, too. Rituals cannot be carried on without *tʃidar*. The *kakita:n* call on *tʃidar* in the *irisiŋ*. At harvest time, we gave thanks to this goddess."
4. Sayama [1914] listed the names of two *ʂikawasai* gods, *saoripa* and *sororazol*.
5. Mabuchi [1934-35] discusses this theogony.
6. Furuno [1940:19-21] and Mabuchi [1934-35] recorded the *doŋɛ* as a goddess.
7. This belief is found among other Formosan tribes. For a Bunun example, see Mabuchi [1951:55].

51: Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

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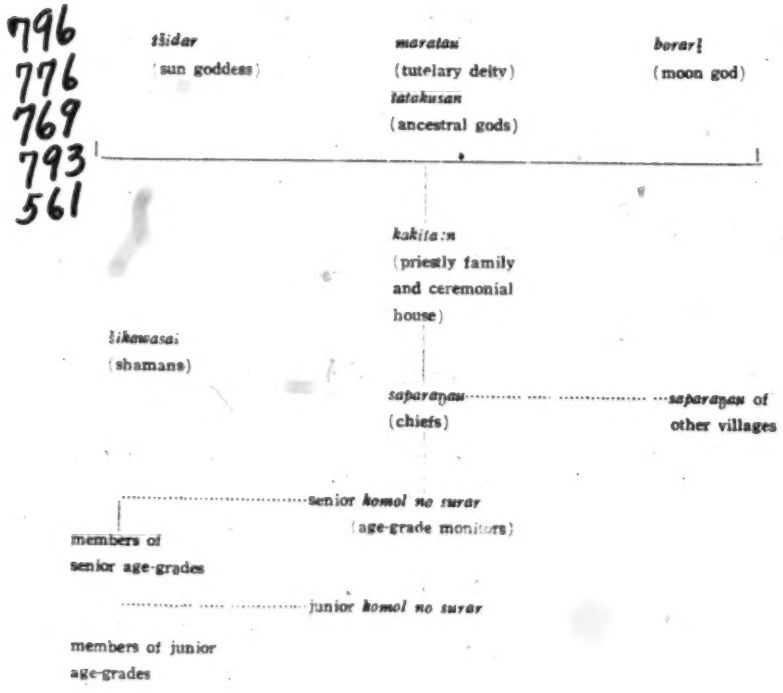

Figure 2: the Ami hierarchy at *irisiŋ*

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

purified through fasting, symbolical washing of hands, and shamanistic expulision of disease. The structure of the Ami universe is at this time stated as a hierarchy in which each rank of seniority hands down precepts to be obeyed by the next lower rank [see Figure 2]. At the top level, for among the Ami the spiritual world is continuous with the material, are the sun goddess, the moon god, and *maratau*, the tutelary deity who instructed men in the order of things on earth. With them are the *tatakusan*, the ancestral gods who are to be respected as elders and whose way of life is to be followed. Under these were the *kakita:n*, the priestly families who carried out the will of the gods in this world. The rest of the Ami were arranged by seniority into a system of age-grades, each with its chosen monitor, and each harkening to the instructions passed down from the next senior age-grade. Acting as intermediaries between the priests and the laity were the *saparaŋau*, leaders of proven ability selected from the ranks of the elder grades. This structure was annually affirmed symbolically in the *irisiŋ*, and it clear that it was basically gerontocratic in nature, in that the real power was in the hands of old men.

All this is of course now passing away, and element after element of the old Ami way of life is either disappearing or being reinterpreted to meet new conditions. In the realm of social organization, for instance, there is a definite drift in Tavarong and other Ami areas towards patrilineal descent and neolocality, a change fostered by Japanese and Chinese pressure. Ami religion is fast changing, and the *kakita:n* house itself is an unused, half-forgotten relic of interest primarily only to ethnographers. Shamanism for some as yet unexplaind reason has persisted; this is a field for further study.

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7: Joest--62 [4] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 771, 778 Chin-hoan

The religion of the Chinwan natives seems to be on a very primitive level. I did not see any idols or temples. Every Chinwan tribe or village, has a sacred animal which is believed to protect the people in that village. These animals, snakes, leopards, etc., are kept in cages and fed by the natives.

19: Guérin and Bernard--562 [4] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 771, 828

The aborigines do not have any external cult; there is no adoration of gods or fetishes, and no belief in a future existence. However, they invoke a kind of familiar genius who visits them in their dreams; he does not assume a divine shape, but comes in the guise of a father, a mother or close relative. There is never any doubt about the interpretation of a dream; the councillor limits himself to recommending or forbidding the action which the dreamer envisages.

35: Collingwood--142 [3] D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 771 Sek-hoan

"We looked in vain for any indication of their religious ideas. Over the door of the village, by which we entered, some one had stuck a joss paper, after the manner of the Chinese, and probably some Chinese had done it, but there were no joss-houses or temples in the hamlet, nor did we find any in the houses, though among the poorer Chinese almost every house has a little altar to the lares in the principal room. We inquired as well as we were able of the inhabitants on this point, but were able to elicit nothing from them."

37: Steere --304-305 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 511, 427, 779, 771, 166 Pepo-hoan

"The Pepo-whans are very poor, having mortgaged the poor lands they now occupy to the Chinese, so that they live principally upon sweet potatoes, the one rice crop that the land produces going to pay rent or the interest on their debts. They burn charcoal and the women carry it in baskets upon their heads to the Chinese villages for sale. They were visited about three years ago by Dr. Maxwell, a Scotch missionary, and they received Christianity readily, the Chinese worship of idols and ancestors having but little root among them, while the traditions they still possess of their ancient teachers probably influenced them to some extent. There are now several hundred christians among them at Kamana, Backsa, etc., with a number of schools and chapels established. The Pepo-whans of Baukimseng, differ from their brethren farther north in their ancient language, and the women, instead of a turban, wear a broad conical hat, like the Hak-kas near them, and this is highly ornamented with tinsel and bits of glass. They are crowded back upon the poor stony lands near the mountains, and they go to their fields armed with lances and fire-locks to protect themselves from attack. The Pepo-whans have nearly lost their love for hunting and fishing, and support themselves almost entirely from the produce of their fields. There seems to be but little hope of regaining a foot-hold on the [305] western side of the island, and they will probably be compelled to migrate, like their brethren who have gone before them, to the east coast."

37: Steere--306-307 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 157, 771, 533 Sek-hoan

"The ancient worship of the Lek-whan, like that of the Pepo-whan of the South, seems to have consisted of certain idolations, dances and songs, and the worshiping of a boar's or deer's skull. They differ materially from the Chinese in a natural love and taste for music. They have fitted several of their wild idolation tunes to Christian hymns, which they sing with great spirit. They learn European music readily, but seem to prefer their own. They are [307] naturally honest and hospitable, and we had great trouble in getting them to take pay for the articles of food we bought of them."

37: Steere--309 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 771, 764, 534 Chin-hoan

"They do not appear to have any settled religious system, but to be terribly troubled with superstitions and fears of supernatural beings and causes. They are said to bury their dead with terrible fear, hastily covering the body with earth, and then all running away, and no more visiting the spot.

While hunting birds with some boys of the tribe, I strayed into a thick dark grove of bamboos near the village, and when I came out, the people motioned me away with their hands, and would not allow me to come near until the old Lek-whan guide who accompanied us, had baptized me upon the face, and hands, and breast, with water. I afterward understood that I had entered one of their burial places. When we got ready to return, they begged us not to drink of the springs on our way down the mountain, for fear that we should enchant them. They make curious little musical instruments by cutting a tongue in a piece of bamboo, which is put between the teeth, and the tongue made to vibrate by pulling a string tied to the end of the bamboo. The tone is modulated by the breath, as in a jews-harp, which it much resembles in sound."

37: Steere--311 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 482, 771, 609, 787, 825 Chin-hoan

"They carry burdens upon a high wooden frame that is strapped to the back, instead of by the universal Chinese method of a pole across the shoulder. I could find but little traces of religion, but plenty of superstitions. I was one day astonished by the band with which I was traveling suddenly all dropping to the ground and beginning to groan as if they expected to die. Inquiring the cause of this, I found that a certain bird, to which ominous powers are attributed, had cried out on the left side of the path we were traveling, and this was considered a bad omen for us. After a few minutes the party got up and moved on, though all were still groaning and beating their gunstocks with their knives; and they did not regain their composure until the same bird was heard to call out on the right side of the path, when they moved on as usual. They seem to have little or no connection with the other savages, but to live in mortal fear of them. If they ever were in the habit of taking the heads of their enemies, it must have been long ago, as the proofs have disappeared."

39: Wiedfeldt--14 [3] F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 771 Atayal

Their imagination is not much more productive in religious matters... The Atayals have neither God nor devil; they worship neither heaven, nor sun, nor earth.

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 ADI Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

The other part of the *mi?ʃao* divinatory instrument is called *tsohak*. This is a piece of hardwood about 18cm in length. It is held under one foot of the diviner when in use. The end held under the foot is often somewhat thinner than the other end. The other end is about 4cm thick and has two or three grooves transversely carved on one side. These grooves are called *ŋakto*.

During divination, the *tsohak* is placed on the ground with the grooved side facing downward. The end without grooves is held under one foot of the diviner. The central portion of the inner face of the *ʃao* is breathed upon and smeared with ashes before it is used. Then, with the end with the mane-like fibres in his left hand, and with the end with the bamboo-joint in his right hand, the diviner saws the *ʃao* in the *ŋakto* of the *tsohak*. The *ʃao* will be severed by this heavy sawing, and the result of the divination can be read from the shape of the severed end of the part without the bamboo-joint, with the bamboo exterior facing the diviner.

By comparative study, Utsurikawa found that *mi?ʃao* divination has affinities in southeast Asia, particularly with the Kenyah and the Kayan of Borneo and with the Nagas of Assam. He therefore considered this technique as an Indonesian culture trait.

Priesthood

Among the Tavarong Ami, priests were called *kakita:n*. The office of *kakita:n* was hereditary: succession was by primogeniture through the female line. Formerly there were five or six *kakita:n* families in Tavarong, but only one, that of the late Saumah-Kuriu, remains in existence today, and will be described later. The cause of the decrease in *kikita:n* families was, according to one informant, due to the prohibition placed on native rituals by the Japanese authorities. The priestly families consequently declined because they had lost their function. The Saumah-Kuriu family retained its standing as it owned a ceremonial house with carved wooden posts; this house was designated an historical monument in 1935 by the Japanese colonial administration.

This same ceremonial house was reported by Utsurikawa (1936) and Tsijiiwa (1944). The present house keeps its original form today although it has been rebuilt in recent years and now is only one half the size of the original house described by the above two authors. Its present plan and a side-view are shown in the accompanying illustration (Figure 1). According to Utsurikawa, the original house was abandoned in May 1930 on the death of the family head Saumah-Kuriu, a decision reached at that time by the family members on account of frequent misfortune. The house itself is unique: it is the only one in the entire Ami area having carved wooden posts. The designs on these posts are human and animal figures, curved lines, and sawtooth patterns. The geometrical designs are always symmetrical in arrangement. In the changing culture of the Ami, a new type of house has been adopted by the tribesmen. This ceremonial house remains as the only surviving example of their original type of dwelling.

34: Del Re--53-58 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines-1-3
116, 772 Yami

"Unlike other Formosan tribes on the main island, the Yami have an elaborate and well-organized conception of their cosmos, as may be seen from the two drawings executed by natives for which I am indebted to Dr. Stewart, as well as for the accompanying descriptive notes collected by him directly from his informants. [MLB: see pp. 54-56, cat. 116] The ideas embodied in it have still to be studied critically and in relation to possible connections that may exist between this and similar traditions current among Indonesian tribes. Here it is offered merely [sic] illustrate the Yami conception of the universe.

The Yami cosmos consists of eight or, in some accounts, nine (figs. I & II), superimposed elliptic planes [pages 54-56 contain illustrations] [57] supported by five massive tree trunks on the lowest plane. It is known as the world of the 'anito gods' who are differentiated from 'anito demigods,' 'anito humans,' 'Yami anitos,' disembodied anitos and anito spirits which live in the bodies of snakes, rats, butterflies, etc. In addition to these it also contains 'earth-gods,' men, Yami and animals.

According to the Yami, their universe is the work of the goddess Nunurao. In the Dutch work already referred to however, the creator of human beings called Tamagisangah, lived in the South and made them beautiful or ugly according to whether or not they sacrificed to him. His wife was the goddess Teraychapada (or Takarupada) who lived in the East and loved humanity greatly. When it thunders in the East 'they

say that the Goddess speaks with her husband and scolds him because he does not let it rain. When her husband hears her voice he at once causes rain to fall. This Goddess is mostly worshipped by women. (There is another god) Sariasap who lives in the North and is always angry with mankind. Thus while Tamagisangah makes the men beautiful, he changes them to ugly and pock-marked, for which reason all men daily pray to this god not to do them harm and to the other to ask him to defend them from Sariasap and to punish him for doing them wrong. Besides these they have still other gods whom they invoke, two of whom--one called Tolasulo and the other Tapalisepe--look after their wars, as well as other gods and [58] goddesses to each one of whom they attribute special powers.' (26)

26. VF (Pt. I, p. 12).

The divinities of the first plane (fig. 1) live in a region above the firmament and seem to form a special category of their own. To them alone is entrusted the task of making rain, thunder and lightning. In the drawing just mentioned the first figure on the left is that of the highest god. The central figure represents the anito storm-god who has a son (extreme right) who is often lazy and disobedient. To punish him, his

his father places him in a box which he sends rolling across the heavens with a mighty clatter. This, say the Yami, is the cause of thunder. These gods have no direct relation with the Yami who neither invoke nor make sacrifices to them. Some believe, however, that should the tribe be guilty of some exceptional misdeed, the gods would afflict the island with some terrible natural disaster. Though not directly stated, the flood which wiped out life on Kô-tô-sho mentioned in the legend of Imulud may have been caused by something of this kind. Generally speaking, however, the conduct of the tribe does not concern them."

34:Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami

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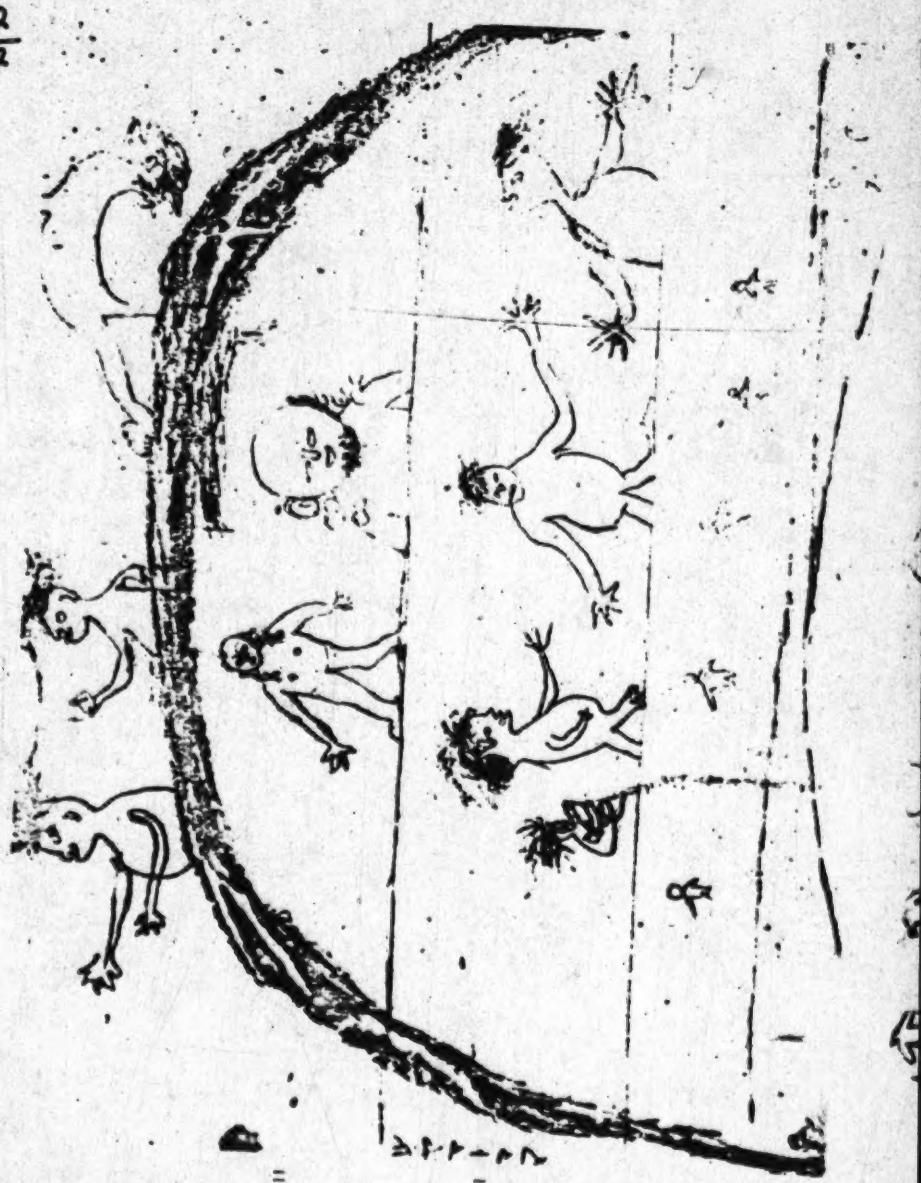

(The yami Cosmos -- See p. 55 for explanation -- analyst]

34: Del Re U-4 (no date) Notes on Formosan Aborigines
Yami

THE YAMI COSMOS FIG. 1 (*Native Drawing*)

I. The Figure on the right is that of the lazy son rolling across the heavens.
II. Tau-ro-to Gods: Shimo-ra-po and Shimo-mi-ma.
III. Anito Gods: Shivairai (C), Shiparitid (R). Note the wild hair and pot-bellies which characterize the Anitos in this and lower planes.
IV. Pi-na-lung-ao goddesses.
V. Yami Plane.
VI. Yami-Anitos.
VII. (Upper part): Anito (L), Entrance to human underworld (C), Humans (C), (R).
(Lower part): Yami couple (R) and subterranean house (C), Humans (L). Note the peculiarly round-faced appearance of the Yami, similar to that of 2nd plane gods.
VIII. Bases of the tree trunks supporting the Yami Cosmos.

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34: Del Re--59-62 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines-1-3
116, 772 Yami

"The anito of the first plane differs from all other anitos in that he was an anito before becoming a god, although no one seems to know when or how long he previously existed as a god. In some respects he may be regarded as the spirit (anito) of the dead god or as a divine spirit. All the gods of this plane, whether living or in the state of anito, have to work, but are endowed with the power of creation by a simple act of will.

The shaded arch that separates the first from the second plane symbolizes rain (figure 1). The circles (in figure II) represent the sun which is found on this (2nd) plane as well as on the 7th, the 5th one having two. This alternation of sunless planes is explained by the fact that since each day is divided into darkness and light, the planes lying between those having suns, are necessarily [60] dark. It may be noted that these planes--except the 4th, 9th and the 7th of human beings living underground--are anito planes. The gods of plane 2, are called Shimo-ra-po (left) and Shio-mi-ma (right) and are, respectively, male and female. They are the most important divinities of the Yami and the only ones on this plane known by name, all the others bearing the generic name of Tau-rô-tô i.e., humans who live in heaven. More numerous than the Yami, it is believed that the tribe learned from them the art of weaving and that of building houses. The first man who issued from a stone built himself a great house divided into several compartments each of which capable of containing... fifty persons. (28) Later, when the

28. Presumably the house at Ivakusidan mentioned in the

Legend of Imulud.

families grew too numerous they built other houses of the same size and design examples of which may still be seen in many parts of Botel-Tobago. Large houses of the same type are also frequent in other savage districts of Formosa 'made of bamboo and with many ornaments, but without ceiling, having four doors, which are placed crosswise opposite each other in the North, East, South and West. Sometimes they have six doors, i.e., two facing East, two West and two North. The houses are erected about four feet above the ground on clay foundations.' (29) In some parts, however, they

29. VF, Pt. I, page 4.

are built on piles or stones. The [61] building of what may have been the first Yami house is thus described in the Legend of Ilalai. (30)'...He cut poles for his house.

30. AYL, page 67.

He cut a broad board, and called many men and returned. He fed the helpers with a large pig and taros, and he served the helpers substantially. The boards were completed, and so a house was built. The standing poles for the house were thirty.

They fastened a beam, and continued to build, and there were many men who helped him to thatch. When they had finished thatching, they took taros. They prepared food, and invited relatives. Those who were invited came. They wore silver helmets and sang in the evening. . . .'

The silver helmets mentioned call vulagnat, are worn on ceremonial occasions. As is well-known communal houses are found elsewhere in Indonesia which serves to confirm the opinion held by some ethnologists that the Yami are not, properly speaking, aborigenes but immigrants from some other part of the Malay Archipelago or further afield. These Tau-rô-tô or Tau-du-to are all good divinities whose main business it is to provide the Yami with the necessaries of life. They are divided into two classes the lower, more numerous than the others, serving as messengers or attendants of the higher gods. The chief of these is known as si torijau or si umina. The in-[62] ferior gods are called si animus or si vidai. They all use silver plates and spoons."

34: Del Re--62 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 753, 772, 173, 582, 776 Yami

"Unnatural death, failure of crops, death of livestock are considered punishments meted out by them. (31) [MLB: i.e., the inferior gods] Like the gods of the upper

31. AYL, p. 80, n.

plane, they are endowed with the power to will the creation of anything. Their life, food and dress are, in all respects, similar to those of the Yami save that their houses are built entirely of gold, and are found in the seven heavenly villages, corresponding to the seven villages of the island, each of which is under the protection of the god of its respective heavenly village. The gods must always reside in their own village and may not take to wife a goddess from another village. This suggests that, in earlier days, intermarriage between the different communities on the island was taboo. At present, however, such a prescription appears no longer to be enforced. During the annual festivals the islanders call upon and make offerings to these gods of yams, taro, millet and other fruits of the earth to ensure a good harvest and a plentiful catch of flying-fish. There are also anitos on this plane, but they are harmless."

34: Del Re--62-64 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 539, 772 Yami

"The direct interest taken by these gods in the welfare of the tribe is illustrated by the following legend:---

Once upon a time there lived on Kô-tô-sho a very handsome youth who was very poor. One of the Tau-[63]rô-tô goddesses being sorry for him, told her niece to descend upon the island and to marry him. The niece at first refused, but later the aunt succeeded in making her take pity on the youth. Having reached the island, she approached the youth and asked him to marry her. The youth, however, refused her offer saying that he was too poor to keep himself much less a family. The girl finally got her way by promising that she would make him rich. After nine years of marriage, during which she bore him two sons, the mother returned to heaven taking with her the youngest child, leaving the husband and the eldest son behind.

A man still lives in one of the villages of Kô-tô-sho who claims to be directly descended from this goddess.

The figures shown in the 3rd plane (fig. I), Shipariud (right) and Shivairai (centre), are the principal gods of this heaven which is also inhabited by many other divinities the names of which are unknown. The latter are 'anito-demigods' whose main function seems to be that of living at the expense of the other inferior beings of the Yami universe. Being unable to make a living by themselves, and unwilling to work, they steal food from the Yami entering for that purpose into the bodies of rats and other rodents. Whenever a rat

34: Del Re--62-64 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines-2
116, 539, 772 Yami

.is killed the anito has to find another abode, which often is the body of a bird or a butterfly. In the course of this transmigration, however, he loses his power to harm. In earlier times the [64] island is supposed to have had no rats which--so the tradition goes --were brought over by a (?) Japanese boat and and [sic] spreading over it ravaged the crops. In view of this, it is easy to understand how it came about that the Yami later added to their universe a plane peopled entirely by a special class of wicked anitos. According to some, these anitos are not naturally evil but only become so when they pass into the body of a rat. It is generally believed that they take pleasure in preventing plants from coming to fruition, or in causing the seed to rot in the earth, or spoiling the crops after they have been harvested."

34: Del Re--64-67 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 539, 772, 842 Yami

"The 4th plane (figure I) is entirely peopled by divinities of female sex called Pi-na-lung-ao, the chief of whom is the goddess Shi-nun-manuri, who exercise a function somewhat akin to that of the classical Moirai. When a child is about to be born the goddess must be consulted to ensure--as far [sic] possible--that an equal number of males and females are born in each generation. Sometimes, however, Shi-nun-manuri forgets the correct number and confusion arises, but this is at once set right in the following generation. At the time of birth the goddesses pour water into a bowl and shake it: if only a small amount of water is spilled the new-born child will have a long life, but if all the water is spilled it will die soon. Length of life depends entirely on the amount of water spilled, nor is it affected by any preceding action of the parents or by what the individual may subsequently do, since once [pages 65 and 66 contain illustrations] [67] determined at birth, nothing can alter man's span of life."

34: Del Re--67-71 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines-1-5
116, 539, 772 Yami

"The 5th plane is inhabited by the Yami. The two islands shown in the drawing (fig. 1) probably represent Formosa and the near-by island of Ka-sho-to. It will be noticed that the artist has been at pains to distinguish the Yami from the anitos (planes 2 & 4) with their wild looks, dishevelled hair and pot-bellies, from the humans (planes 7 & 8) and, conversely, their marked resemblance to the gods of the second plane.

'Yami-anitos' occupy the 6th plane (fig. I). These seem to be the doubles rather than the spirits of the Yami. According to some, each individual may have as many as eight anitos who, after the death of the host body, continue to live in the same place, as disembodied spirits. Such a belief presents an interesting analogy with the ancient Egyptian ideas concerning the ka. There are certain places reputed to be haunted by these anitos which the savages fear to visit at night or even during the daytime. They are furthermore regarded as harbingers of death. Like the anitos on the 3rd plane, they too may enter into the bodies of rats which makes them evil and, in this form, are undistinguishable from those just mentioned and from the 'anito-men' who live on the 8th plane. They may also enter into butterflies, mantises and cocoons. Rats, too, are believed to have several anitos, one of which acts as the animal's vital spirit. Whether in the form of Yami, men, animals or gods, it is clear that anitos [68] have a double function and can exist with or without bodies. It will be noticed that the 3rd, 6th and 8th planes of existence (in the 9 plane scheme) are, in effect, anito counterparts of the

corresponding divine (2nd), Yami (5th) and human (7th) planes immediately above them, the only difference being that the anitos of the 3rd plane are considered evil spirits, while those of the 2nd are gods and harmless.

The World of Men is situated on the 7th plane (fig. I). About it the Yami have little to say. This, in itself, might be adduced as a proof of their long period of isolation from the outer world. It is believed however that, in the remote past, two Yami, led by the gods, visited the land of men, situated underground (plane 7 (à)(b)), and on their return handed down the following legend told Dr. Stewart, by a young native. The story makes an interesting addition to the numerous Celtic legends of what Alfred Nutt called the 'Hollow Hill' type of Happy Otherworld, except for the important fact that the Yami underworld is inhabited by living beings not ghosts.(31)

31. cpr. also the underworld in the Puyuma legend, p. 46.

Once upon a time there was a family of Yami which had several children. For some unknown reason the father and mother treated the elder brother and sister very cruelly, feeding them only on scraps and refuse. One night the elder brother dreamed of a country under [69] the earth where there was food and gold in abundance and where he and his sister might live happily and in plenty. All next day while at work in the

fields he could do nothing but think of his dream wondering how he might find the way to that beautiful land. When he had finished his day's work, he asked his sister to go with him to the place called Gimu-awungo. Having reached the spot he pulled up a clump of balung-bung grass and found that the roots had left a large hole which seemed to lead into the bowels of the earth. Filled with curiosity he wriggled down the hole followed by his sister and found himself in a world similar to that of the Yami except that there was plenty to eat and the people treated them very kindly. After some years they both married and had children, the brother two sons, the sister only one. Meanwhile the peasant who had seen them disappear into the earth and fail to return, ran to tell their parents, but when these reached the spot the hole had closed up.

After many years the brother and sister came back to their native village bringing their children with them, and were received with much joy and surprise by their parents. A great feast was held to celebrate their return to which all the neighbours were invited. When the mother heard of all the wonders of the underground world, she implored them to take her back with them. They refused to do so reminding her how cruelly she [70] had treated them when they were small. The time having come for them to return to the underworld, the mother announced her determination to accompany them. Upon reaching the spot, pretending that they would let her come too, they told their [sic] her to turn her back; at that very moment the earth opened and they slipped

down the hole while the ground closed over them for evermore, leaving their mother weeping with rage over their disappearance.

The subterranean house of these Yami is depicted on the lower right-hand side of the 7th plane (fig. I). The figure on the upper left seems to be that of an anito which should properly belong to the 8th plane where 'anito-humans' live who, in (fig. II), have a plane to themselves, not here marked. These anitos are in every respect the same as those of the 6th plane (Yami-anitos).

The 8th or lowest plane is the foundation upon which the Yami world rests. The drawing (plane 8) shows the supporting tree-trunks and the serpent Kamurai who causes the universe to snake and tremble every time he coils himself around or touches one of them. When he draws in his breath the wind blows, when he exhales it, the ocean is churned up into furious waves, but when he coils and uncoils himself the earth is shaken by an earthquake. The violence of these disturbances depends upon the violence of his movements and are generally dictated by the caprice of the moment. His anger is [71] mostly directed against other countries. The Yami also believe that if someone were to attempt to escape from the island after committing some evil deed, Kamurai would raise a tempest and sink his ship as he did in the case of the American sailors shipwrecked upon Kô-tô-sho whom he considered to be criminals and upon whom he wreaked

his just anger using the Yami merely as the instruments of his vengeance. This plane is also inhabited by many snakes and rats.

The second native drawing of the Yami cosmos (fig. II) substantially preserves in a much simplified form, the arrangement of planes of the one described above. It is of special interest, however, because it introduces a new feature, namely the suns which, as previously noted, appear on alternate planes. Such an explanation of the phenomenon of day and night is not found elsewhere among the Formosan savages nor is it clear whether the planes without suns are those inhabited by anitos."

34: Del Re--71 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan: Aborigines
116, 772, 821 Yami

"The whole conception of a cosmos consisting of a number of superimposed elliptical planes, the upper four of which inhabited each by a different category of god or demigod, not only seems to set the Yami apart from the other savage tribes of the Formosan mainland, but gives rise to many speculations as to whence such ideas may have derived."

11: Haguenauer--40-41 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 721, 773 Atayal

The Tayal have several legends which explain the origin of this custom. [MC: of head-hunting] Although they vary, they are all fundamentally the same: it seems that two clans were created by the original ancestor, and that on one occasion one of them was numerically inferior to the other. Accordingly it demanded the right of killing as many members of the other clan as would be required in order to reestablish the [41] original parity. The head of the clan which had the numerical superiority recognized the justice of this demand.

This legend is the best possible illustration of the social importance of head hunting. The native considers that it is a sacred command, and he believes that he must conquer as many spirits as possible in order to assure numerical superiority and the prosperity of his clan.

11: Haguenauer--44 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 773 Atayal

[MC: an Atayal myth] In the olden days there was no night. It was always light and very hot, so the dry bushes were dying. The men did not have any time to sleep, so the ancestors had a council and decided to shoot at the sun, so that it would not be so powerful. Two young warriors set out on the expedition. They took grains of millet for food, and they placed them in bamboo tubes which served as earrings. While they were travelling, they planted orange trees and wild peach trees. After several score years full of adventures, they reached the end of the earth, where the vault of the heavens joins the flat disk upon which we dwell. One of the warriors had a sunstroke, and he died, but the other one managed to shoot an arrow right into the solar disk. Something emerged from the wound, and later it was called the moon.

11: Haguenauer--44 [2] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 773, 787, 825 Atayal

[MC: a Tayal myth] There was a very large stone on the seashore in a place called Binnox-bayan. One day the crow and the silliok met on this stone, and said: "The one who can move this stone will have the power to know what the spirits want, and he shall be their herald". The crow tried, but could not move the stone while the silliok did it without any difficulty. The men who saw this were very astonished and they praised the silliok . Then the bird said to them:" From now on, you must listen to my cry. When I cry at your right, it will be a good portent, and you will have good hunting. If I cry while I am crossing the road that you are taking, do not go on the hunt. And if I cry first at the right and then at the left, it will also be a bad omen. Do not forget what I have just told you."

11: Haguenauer--45 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 773 Atayal

The Tayal stories explain everything, the origin of the animals and that of the various deeds of men. Here is the explanation of the hunt:

Formerly men did not need to hunt, and they simply called the animals. The latter approached, and permitted the men to cut a slice of meat off their backs. But one day a poor fool had the idea of killing an animal, and after that the beasts were suspicious, and so they refused to let men gash them. Ever since that time people have had to hunt.

11: Haguenauer--45 [2] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 773, 825 Atayal

The flea and the louse are due to human laziness. In olden times neither one existed. Then men slept so late and became so lazy that there was not enough millet to eat. The chiefs were obliged to have a council to find some way of keeping their subjects from staying in bed so late. Fortunately, an old man remembered that he had heard that there were some beasts which attached themselves to the hair and the clothing of men and which tormented them. If they could be procured, this epidemic of laziness would be overcome. The proposition was adopted, people went after the flea and the louse, and since that time there have been a great many of them in the villages.

14: Tamai-- 97[7] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 353, 721, 773, 554 Chin-hoan

In every house there is a rack to hold these heads [MC: secured in headhunting expeditions against the Chinese], which are considered ornaments. There are among the Tschinwans six famous heroes. They are called Raushuu, Watsushinai, Maraiakao, Yuakanajo, Ocki, and Juwantschümoi. All of these have more than 70 heads on their racks. In three houses the Japanese found heads on these racks that had just been cut off and were still bloody.

16: Müller--240 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
609, 773, 721

In the mythology of the natives, a huge stone under a tree is connected with the origin of headhunting. They say that this stone once split in half and a woman arose from it. The children of this woman had a feud which was arbitrated by an ordeal. He was to be the victor who would kill the greatest number of bears on a bear-hunting expedition. Later, when the Chinese came to this island and their strength and knowledge was compared to that of bears, the Chinese became the objects of the hunt.

17: Norbeck--5-6 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 539, 773 Atayal

"A comparison based upon the comprehensive motif-index of Stith Thompson (9)

9. Stith Thompson, 'Motif-index of Folk Literature,' Indiana Univ. Studies, 19-23, Nos. 96-97, 100-101, 105-6, 108-12 (1932-36).

reveals that nearly all of the tales share motifs with other areas of the world in general outline, although detailed resemblances have a much more restricted range. The incidence of frequency and the degree of similarity, as might reasonably be expected, increases with territorial propinquity, and is particularly marked among the Malay and other unspecialized Mongoloid peoples. These similarities are intensified in the folklore of the Philippines, and particularly in that of the pagan mountain tribes of northern Luzon. A fairly substantial amount of folklore is at hand on the Apayao, Tinguian, Nabaloi, and Bontoc-Igorot, which is here compared with that of the Atayal. Folklore of the Ilongot and Ifugao, for whom the quantity of material available is considerably smaller, has also been utilized for comparison. [6] Since material on the remaining mountain peoples of Luzon is either very limited or unavailable, references to it have been omitted from consideration here."

17: Norbeck--6-7 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-3
116, 171, 539, 773 Atayal

"Tables of motifs in the mythology of the foregoing Luzon groups follow, with references to Atayal tales bearing the same or similar motifs. For the sake of convenience the appended Atayal folk tales are referred to by number.

I. TALES OF MAGIC APPEARANCE OF FOOD AND REQUISITES FOR LIVING

Philippine Version	Philippine Group	Atayal Folk Tale Number
Food, clothing, and anything desired appear magically. (10)	Apayao	7, 20
As punishment, people must labor for daily needs, with no further magical aid. (11)	Apayao	7, 20
Small basket of rice becomes five pots. (12)	Bontoc-Igorot (14)	7, 20
Pigs and deer emerge from forest		

at call. (13)	Bontoc-Igorot (14)	7, 20
Food once easily available. Handful of rice sufficient for a family. (15)	Ifugao	7, 20
One teaspoon of rice when cooked sufficient for one person. (16)....	Ifugao	7, 20
Magic betel nut which, upon being chewed, produces deer. (17).....	Nabaloi	7, 20 [7]
Prepared food appears at a word. A small jar containing a single grain of rice supplies an abundance of food. (18)	Tinguian	7, 20
One grain of rice placed in each of twelve jars, which at once become filled with rice. (19)	Tinguian	7, 20

Many additional tales bearing the motif of magic appearance of food appear in the folklore of the above groups. This motif is also common in the mythology of other peoples of the Philippines. The motifs listed above bear the closest resemblances to the Atayal tales.

(10) Laurence S. Wilson, Apayao Life and Legends (Baguio: Privately printed, 1947), p. 82.
(11) Mabel Cook Cole, Philippine Folk Tales (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1916), p. 105.
(13) Ibid.
(14) In ibid., as 'Igorot.'
(15) H. Otley Beyer, 'Origin Myths Among the Mountain People of the Philippines,' Philippine Journ. Sci., 8, No. 1 (1913): 111.
(16) Dean C. Worcester (trans.), Fr. Juan Villaverde's, 'The Ifugaos of Quinigian and Vicinity,' Philippine Journ. Sci., 4, No. 4 (1909): 256.
(17) C.R. Moss, 'Nabaloi Tales,' Univ. Calif. Publ. Amer. Archeol. Ethnol., 17, No. 5 (1924): 345-46. [7]
(18) Fay-Cooper Cole, 'Traditions of the Tinguian,' Field Mus. Nat. Hist., Publ. No. 180, Anthropol. Ser., 14, No. 1 (1915): 191.
(19) Ibid., p. 211."

17: Norbeck--7
116, 171, 539, 773

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

"Flood tales similar to the two Atayal flood tales (Nos. 5 and 19) have been found for the Apayo, Ifugao, Nabaloi, and Bontoc-Igorot. All are based on the general theme that the world was once flat except for one or two mountains upon which the surviving people, usually two, take refuge from the floods, and that the present mountains and valleys were formed by the receding flood waters. Elements from these tales are elaborated in the following section."

17: Norbeck--7-8 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 773 Atayal

"Especially frequent throughout the mythology of the Tinguian and Bontoc-Igorot are references to 'peoples of the first times' who had different customs and ideas. Mabel Cook Cole, in referring to Tinguian myths, writes, '...the chief characters of these tales are not celestial beings, but typical generalized heroes of former ages.' She states further, 'In [8] the...stories we read of many customs of "the first time" which differ radically from those of the present.' (20) This is also characteristic of the Atayal

20. M.C. Cole, op. cit., pp. vi-vii.

myths."

"Roland B. Dixon, in The Mythology of All Races states, 'The mountain tribes of northern Luzon in the Philippines seem to stand alone in respect to cosmogonic myths in that, so far as material now at our command is concerned, they lack entirely, or almost entirely, any myths of the origin of the universe.' (21) He writes further that

21. Roland B. Dixon, The Mythology of All Races, Oceania (Boston: Marshall Jones Co., 1916), 9:55.

the actors in cosmogonic myths are treated as human beings in Igorot and some other Philippine mythology. (22) In commenting on cosmogonic mythology among the Ifugaos,

22. Ibid., p. 172.

H. Otley Beyer reports, 'The Ifugaos have no beliefs that I have ever been able to discover, as to the origin of the universe; to their minds it has always existed and will always continue to exist.' (23) Although the appended Atayal tales unquestionably do not

23. Beyer, op. cit., p. 99.

represent the total group mythology, from material at hand the above points are also

characteristic of the Atayal.

Of the Philippine mountain groups, at least the Tinguian, Nabaloi, and Bontoc-Igorot share with the Atayal the idea (not uncommon in the beliefs of many other peoples) that death was not intended to be inevitable and that immortality was lost through some error."

17: Norbeck--8-9
116, 171, 539, 773

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines -1-2
Atayal

"Some individual elements from these tales of the mythical period appear below:

Philippine Version	Philippine Group	Atayal Folk Tale Number
Earth once flat. (24)	Apayao, Bontoc-Igorot, Ifugao, Nabaloi	5, 19
Sun and moon once of equal brightness and there was perpetual daylight. (25)	Apayao, Nabaloi	4 [9]
The moon once also a sun, and it was always day. (26)	Bontoc-Igorot	4
Mountains and valleys formed by rush of receding waters. (27)	Ifugao	5, 19
Shooting the sun with an arrow. (28)	Nabaloi	4
People formerly immortal. (29)	Nabaloi	19

(24) Wilson, op. cit., p. 39; M.C. Cole, op. cit., pp. 102-3; Beyer, op. cit., p. 111; Moss, op. cit., p. 237.
(25) Wilson, op. cit., p. 40; Moss, op. cit., p. 237. [9]
(26) Albert E. Jenks, The Bontoc Igorot (Manila: Dept. Int., 1905), Ethnol. Surv. Publ. I: 221.
(27) Beyer, op. cit., p. 100. Note: only the Ifugao flood tale explicitly states that the mountains and valleys were formed by flood waters. All others begin with the statement that the earth was once flat, and the reader can infer the formation of mountains and valleys from the floods.
(28) Moss, op. cit. p. 233.
(29) Ibid., p. 235."

IV. TALES OF TRANSFORMATION

Philippine Version	Philippine Group	Atayal Folk Tale Number
Boy turns into hawk because parents will not peel sugar can for him. (30)	Apayao	25, and others (31)
Origin of monkeys from women. Planting sticks become tails. (32)	Apayao	8, 24
Boy turns into fish when parents kill his pet pig. (33)	Apayao	23, 25, and others
Vain girl turns into scaly fish. (34)	Apayao	12, and others
Boy turns into serpent eagle because mother is stingy with food. Flies overhead saying. 'I don't need your food any longer.' (35)	Bontoc-Igorot	25, and others [10]
Boy turns into monkey because step-mother did not give him enough food. (36)	Bontoc-Igorot	8, 24, and others

Girl turns into rice bird because mother did not give her enough food. (37)	Bontoc-Igorot, Nabaloi	9, and others
Origin of monkeys from men. Rattan becomes attached to anuses as tails. (38)	Ilongot	8, 24
Men turn into rice birds when woman employer does not feed them. (39)	Ilongot	9, and others
Boy turns into monkey because no one will peel sugar cane for him. Cane becomes tail. (40)	Nabaloi	8, 24
Lazy daughter turns into monkey; roll of cotton becomes tail. (41)	Nabaloi	8, 24
Boy turns into hawk because of mistreatment. Flies over house and tells parents he will eat their chickens in the future. (42)	Nabaloi	25, and others
Woman turns into rock because of shame. (43)	Nabaloi	9, and others

Woman turns into wildcat to punish man for misdeeds. (44)	Nabaloi	22, and others
Lazy man constantly leans on planting stick. He turns into a monkey and stick becomes tail. (45)	Tinguian	8, 24 [11]
A boy is too lazy to strip sugar cane for himself. His mother, in anger, tells him to stick it up his anus. He does so and becomes a monkey. (46)	Tinguian	8, 24
Lazy girl pretends she does not know how to spin. Her companions, in disgust, tell her to stick spinning stick up her anus. She does so, and turns into a monkey. (47)	Tinguian	8, 24
Young wife is told by husband to cut an excessive amount of rice. She turns into a bird and flies off. (48)	Tinguian	9, and others

Boy is sent off to tiresome work of keeping birds from rice field, and turns into bird. Parents plead with him to become a boy again, but he refuses and flies off. (49)	Tinguian	25, and others
Deer which hunters are pursuing turns into a jar. (50)	Tinguian	21, and others
Boy turns into a stone because his grandmother ate the bird he snared. (51)	Tinguian	25, and others

Many additional tales of transformation exist among other peoples of the Philippines, but the most numerous and those of closest resemblance to the Atayal occur in the groups above.

(30) Wilson, op. cit., pp. 105-6.
(31) The Atayal tales which are most similar are listed by number. Where the phrase 'and others' appears, similar motifs may also be found as elements of various other Atayal tales.
(32) Wilson, op. cit., pp. 106-9.
(33) Ibid., pp. 115-16.
(34) Ibid., pp. 134-36.
(35) Jenks, op. cit., pp. 222-23. [10]
(36) Carl W. Seidenadel, The First Grammar of the Language Spoken by the Bontoc Igorot (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1909), pp. 562-65.
(37) M. C. Cole, op. cit., pp. 117-18; Moss, op. cit., p. 291.
(38) Laurence L. Wilson, Ilongot Life and Legends (Baguio: Privately printed, 1947), pp. 40-41.
(39) Ibid., pp. 42-44.
(40) Moss, op. cit., pp. 282-83.
(41) Ibid., p. 283.
(42) Ibid., p. 291.
(43) Ibid., p. 323.
(44) Ibid., pp. 335-37.
(45) Dean S. Fansler, Filipino Popular Tales (Lancaster, Pa., and New York; Amer. Folklore Soc., 1921), p. 414. [11]

(46) Ibid.
(47) Ibid.
(48) Fay-Cooper Cole, op. cit., p. 191.
(49) M.C. Cole, op. cit., p. 53.
(50) Ibid., pp. 68-70.
(51) Ibid., pp. 84-85.
(52) Laurence L. Wilson, Apayao Life and Legends, p. 88."

"V. MISCELLANEOUS TALES

Philippine Version	Philippine Group	Atayal Folk Tale Number
People who lived by inhaling the vapor of cooked rice and who had no anuses; anus made by piercing with pointed stick. (52)	Apayao	3 [12]
Examination of tattoos on back of hands before crossing bridge to Paradise. (53)	Apayao	16
Wicked giant whose skin is so thick it cannot be pierced with arrows. (54)	Nabaloi	6
Giant who violates women. (55) ..	Nabaloi	6
Giant who extends arms across river as a bridge when water is high. (56)	Nabaloi	6

(52) Laurence L. Wilson, Apayao Life and Legends, p. 88. [12]
(53) Ibid., pp. 166-67.
(54) Moss, op. cit., pp. 341-43.
(55) Ibid., pp. 343-45.
(56) Ibid., p. 347."

17: Norbeck--12
116, 171, 773

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

"As may be noted, a number of the Philippine tales referred to above contain motifs and details identical or very nearly identical with the appended Atayal folk tales. Reference has already been made to the similarities noted in the culture, physical type, and language of the Formosan tribes and the various peoples of the Philippines. The coincidence of mythological motifs alone is suggestive of some sort of relationship."

17: Norbeck--12 [2] (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 177, 773 Atayal

"Both the Philippine groups under consideration and the Atayal inhabit isolated mountain regions and, at least during the historic period, remained resistant to outside cultural influences, preserving until very recent times cultures thought to be much the same as those of generations of their forebears. Indian and Islamic influence seems not to have reached them, and western influence upon the mythology of these groups is hardly discernible. In discussing diffusion of mythological themes, Stith Thompson reports that one-seventh of one hundred traditional tales current in western Asia and Europe have been recorded from Indonesia. (57) The motifs which he lists under this

57. Stith Thompson, The Folktale (New York: The Dryden Press, 1946), p. 284.

heading are almost entirely absent from the folklore of the groups here considered."

17: Norbeck--12-13 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 773 Atayal

"The similarity in folklore of the Atayal and Luzon groups seems unquestionably valid as a further substantiation of the relationship noted on the basis of linguistic, physical, and cultural similarities. A thorough comparative study of these [13] groups as well as other isolated groups (58) of Indonesia and Southesast Asia should be rewarding.

58. Of the groups examined in the southern Philippines, those of greatest similarity to the Atayal in mythology (but with considerably less similarity than the Luzon groups covered) were the Bagobo and Mandaya of Mindanao, both isolated peoples. Laura W. Benedict, 'Bagobo Myths,' Journ. Amer. Foklore, 26, No. 49 (1913); Fay-Cooper Cole, 'The Wild Tribes of Davao District, Mindanao,' Field Mus. Nat. Hist., Publ., No. 170, Anthropol. Ser., 12, No. 2 (1913)."

17: Norbeck--13-14
773

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

[MC: For origin myth of Atayal--first man and woman see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--14 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
773, 787 Atayal

[MC: For augury origin myth--divination by the Silek Bird, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--14-15
773

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

[MC: For Atayal story of the Shiguts tribe who lived by inhaling the vapors of cooked food, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--16
773, 821

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

[MC: For the myth of the origin of night and day--cutting the sun in half, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--17
773, 823, 782

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

[MC: For the myth about the flood which formed the configuration of the landscape and of the offering of the chief's daughter, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--17-18
773

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

[MC: For Atayal story of Halus, a giant, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--19-20
773

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

[MC: For the Atayal myth about the easy life of their ancestors, and how it came about that they had to begin to work and search for food, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--20
773

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

[MC: For Atayal story concerning the man who turned into a monkey, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--20-21
773

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

[MC: For Atayal story of the girl who became a pigeon, because of the cruelty of her mother, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--21-22 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
773, 304 Atayal

[MC: For Atayal story of the origin of tattooing, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--22
773, 835

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

[MC: For myth concerning origin of taboo on brother-sister marriages, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--23
773

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

[MC: For the Atayal story of the girl who became a pheasant, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--23-24 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
773, 721 Atayal

[MC: For myth concerning division of forefathers into two groups, and the origin of head-hunting, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--24-27
773, 721

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

[MC: For the myth concerning conflict between the Skhamayun and Buta, chief of the Atayal, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--27-28 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
773 Atayal

[MC: For Atayal story of chief Buta's war strategy against the Skhamayun, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--28-29
773, 775

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

[MC: For paradise myth, story of the journey of the soul after death, and the judgement of the dead, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--29
773, 821

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

[MC: For Atayal idea of the origin of the wind, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--30
773

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

[MC: For myth concerning distribution and immigration of the Atayal, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--30-31
773

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

[MC: For the myth concerning the flood, the propitiating of the ocean by offering sacrifices to it, the origin of evil, and the exercise of the power of a god who entered excreta, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--31-32 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
773 Atayal

[MC: For the myth about food appearing to people when they called for it until they offended the animals, thereafter making it necessary to work to get food, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--32-33 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
773 Atayal

[MC: For tale of Makowai and his adventures with a supernatural being, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--34 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
773, 266 Atayal

[MC: For myth concerning the eating of children, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--34-35 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
773 Atayal

[MC: For myth about some ancestors turning into wild pigs, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--35-36
773

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

[MC: For myth concerning a man who turned into a monkey, and the origin of eating monkeys, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--36-37
773

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

[MC: For the myth concerning the boy who turned into a kite because of the cruelty of his parents, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--37-39
773

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

[MC: For the myth concerning the village of women and their first meeting with a man, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--39-40
773

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

[MC: For myth concerning the branching off of Atayal ancestors from the Formosan Chinese, and the origin of conflict and trade between these two groups, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--40-42
773, 721

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

[MC: For the Atayal story of the origin of tattooing, and its relation to head-hunting, see category 539.]

22: Wiedfeldt--13 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 773, 835 Atayal

According to the Atayal tradition, the first people on earth were a brother and a sister. The sister proposed to the brother that he marry a woman whom she had found for him near the river. The man also found this woman, who differed from his sister only in tattooing, and married her. His sister then disappeared. All the legends which describe the human race as originating from one couple, and which forbid the marriage of brother and sister, get into certain difficulties, such as occur also in Byron's Cain. The Atayals find the solution of the problem in the tattooing, which even now is the sign of being marriageable.

34: Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
773

[MLB: For texts of Puyuma creation myths, see category 539, pp. 42-53.]

34: Del Re 773 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami

[MLB: For texts of Yami creation myths see category 539, pp. 38-42.
For texts of Yami myths relating to the underworld, see category 539, pp. 68-70]

39: Wiedfeldt--14 [4] F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 773 Atayal

They have not worked out for themselves any ideas concerning the origin of the earth. According to them, the first people were a brother and sister who were brought into existence by an earthquake in the mountains, and who, after tattooing the woman, made the first marriage.

11: Haguenauer--41 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 774, 775 Atayal

The Tayal believe that there is no complete separation between the worlds of the living and the dead. For the Formosan natives, the living man is characterized by the fact that he shelters one or several spirits in his body. But these spirits have a distinct life, and they may leave the body for a time or permanently. In the latter instance the body decays, and the individual dies. The spirit (or spirits) continues to live at liberty until it reincarnates itself.

11: Haguenauer--45 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
774 Atayal

The soul is lodged in a part of the body, generally in the pupil of the eye, or in the shoulder, but at death it leaves the body.

16: Müller--237 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 774, 775

The religion... of the aborigines is founded on a belief in spirits, although these are not represented by idols or other tangible images. Phenomena of nature, such as the sun, moon, and stars, bear a relation to these concepts in their imagination, since these are thought to represent a special kind of soul. A rainbow is a bridge for spirits, the pulse is the soul of the hand. Wherever one goes one is surrounded by spirits. Even shadows represent spirits. Closely connected with this is their belief in ghosts; these are believed to have the appearance of human beings, with long hair and long, claw-like nails, and they jump up and down. They bite people's necks. This belief is held by the Ataiyal aborigines. Those of the Tsarisen tribes believe that the mountains are inhabited by dwarfs who challenge human beings to fight with them.

16: Müller--237 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
774 Tayal

Wherever one goes one is surrounded by spirits. Even shadows represent spirits. Closely connected with this is their belief in ghosts; these are believed to have the appearance of human beings, with long hair and long, claw-like nails, and they jump up and down. They bite people's necks. This belief is held by the Ataiyal aborigines.

31; Hofmann--625 [3] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 181, 774, 802 Tsou

The aborigines believe in a life after death. They believe that everyone has two souls; one of these remains in the house after death, while the other lives in the jungles on Arisan. The natives therefore enter this region with all signs of awe and reverence. They seem to be an intelligent people on the whole; one indication of this is that they have terms for high numbers such as hundred, thousand, and million. There would be no difficulties in giving them instruction except that they value their freedom and their own customs above everything else and thus fear and avoid the fetters of civilization.

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

the other gods; both he and other informants failed to indicate any practice of sun-worship[3]. The second type of *kawas* are ancestral gods, called *tatakusan*. The Tavarong Ami worship their ancestors, especially the first ancestors *lotšɛ* and *rarakan*; these latter live among the Ami, although they are invisible. *šikawasai* (shamans) have their special gods[4]. It is clear, therefore, that the Ami have a well-developed theogony, a trait not found among the other aboriginal tribes of Formosa[5].

One who dies an unnatural death will become a *karia* or evil spirit. A person can contract an illness on encountering a *karia*.

Each individual possesses a soul, called *doŋɛ*.[6] If one's *doŋɛ* weakens, one will become sick; and if one's *doŋ* should escape from the body, one will die. In this connection, Furuno (1942: 19–23) reported that among the Ami, each human being has two souls, one on the left and one on the right shoulder. The one on the right shoulder is the good soul, and the one on the left the bad. The *karia*, or evil spirits, are the souls on the left shoulders of those who died an unnatural death.[7]

Shamanism

Religious activities are carried out by *šikawasai*, or shamans, and *kakita:n*, or priests. The functions of both are well-defined. A *šikawasai* is consulted mainly to strengthen or call back the *doŋɛ* of a sick person. In this sense, the *šikawasai* may be defined as medicine-men. The *kakita:n* manage the Ami religious ceremonies, most of which are agricultural in nature. A *šikawasai* is believed to have been chosen by a dead *šikawasai* or by the *šikawasai* gods. When a young boy or girl contracts a chronic illness, he (or she) is regarded as having been chosen, and it is believed that that individual be cured by becoming a *šikawasai*. This child will then be taught the techniques by an older *šikawasai*. In the first year of his apprenticeship, until the next *irisiŋ* (the Ami New Year), a taboo on the eating of fish and vegetables must be observed. He is also required to pursue hard labor and to abstain from washing the body. A primary qualification for a *šikawasai* is the ability to achieve a state of delirium.

There are today approximately ten *šikawasai* in Tavarong, seven men and three women. Oikawa's contention that there are more female than male *šikawasai*

3. Furuno [1945:20] recorded the following belief from the Hsiu-ku-luan Ami: "*tšidar*" the sun, gave life to human beings, animals, and plants. We think that she is a *kawas*, too. Rituals cannot be carried on without *tšidar* The *kakita:n* call on *tšidar* in the *irisiŋ*. At harvest time, we gave thanks to this goddess."
4. Sayama [1914] listed the names of two *šikawasai* gods, *saoriŋa* and *sararazoi*.
5. Mabuchi [1934-35] discusses this theogony.
6. Furuno [1940:19-21] and Mabuchi [1934-35] recorded the *doŋɛ* as a goddess.
7. This belief is found among other Formosan tribes. For a Bunun example, see Mabuchi [1951:55].

11: Haguenauer--41 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 774, 775 Atayal

The Tayal believe that there is no complete separation between the worlds of the living and the dead. For the Formosan natives, the living man is characterized by the fact that he shelters one or several spirits in his body. But these spirits have a distinct life, and they may leave the body for a time or permanently. In the latter instance the body decays, and the individual dies. The spirit (or spirits) continues to live at liberty until it reincarnates itself.

11: Haguenauer--41-42 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 602, 775, 842 Atayal

The Tayals' ideas about birth are no more scientific than their thoughts concerning death. However surprising this may seem, they do not look upon a child as the simple result of conjugal relations, for they believe that birth can only be achieved when a soul is reincarnated in the body of a woman in the tribe. Therefore the spirits are closely associated with the existence of the living. The community and the clan are literally a group of souls some of which are imprisoned in bodies, while others are free, but all of them are serving the clan. [42] The community increases in strength in proportion to the number of the souls who are interested in its fate.

11: Haguenauer--42 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 602, 609, 721, 775 Atayal

The victim of a head hunt was always a stranger, and they cut off his head to liberate his soul. By apologizing to it and offering it wine and millet, the soul was enslaved so that it would serve the clan. And this conquered soul added one more unit to the community, which now had an additional voice in the kingdom of the spirits. This reasoning is also applied to animals. The savage collects the skulls of the beasts which he has slain; by doing this he believes that he increases his power over them, and that he ensures good hunting for the future.

11: Haguenauer--45-46 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 775 Atayal

The soul is lodged in a part of the body, generally in the pupil of the eye, or in the shoulder, but at death it leaves the body. The corpse is buried in the house between the beds. The spirit flies west in the direction of the abode of the souls. The road leading there is a long and dangerous one, and on the way you have to cross a broad pond. It is true that there is a bridge, the rainbow (the "bridge of souls" in Tayal), but not all of the spirits are authorized to [46] cross it. Only those of the warriors who have taken heads and of women who know how to weave nicely are admitted. The other spirits have to make a long detour. The souls of people who died a violent death or who were drowned are never admitted, and they are condemned to wander through the forests. They attack the living, and make them sick, so to get rid of them you have to have recourse to magic remedies. Other mischievous spirits fly over the surface of the swamps; they are the "souls-fire", which are rather like our will-o'-the-wisps. Anyone who sees them will die. We should observe that according to the native belief, the fact that the abode of the dead is a long way away does not prevent these souls from coming back among the living; on the contrary, the aborigines think that the spirits who are attracted by offerings return very rapidly.

16: Müller--236-237 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 775, 828

The aborigines of Formosa...hold the following beliefs:

1. Death destroys only the body; the soul remains immortal.
2. Dreams are due to the souls of departed which appear to the dreamer in his sleep. [237]
3. The souls of the departed inhabit certain definite places, in the forest, under a tree, or in imaginary places.
4. The spirits of the departed influence the fate of human beings for good or evil, and all fortune or misfortune is dependent on them.

16: Müller--237 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 774, 775

The religion... of the aborigines is founded on a belief in spirits, although these are not represented by idols or other tangible images. Phenomena of nature, such as the sun, moon, and stars, bear a relation to these concepts in their imagination, since these are thought to represent a special kind of soul. A rainbow is a bridge for spirits, the pulse is the soul of the hand. Wherever one goes one is surrounded by spirits. Even shadows represent spirits. Closely connected with this is their belief in ghosts; these are believed to have the appearance of human beings, with long hair and long, claw-like nails, and they jump up and down. They bite people's necks. This belief is held by the Ataiyal aborigines. Those of the Tsarisen tribes believe that the mountains are inhabited by dwarfs who challenge human beings to fight with them.

16: Müller--237 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 753, 791, 775, 787

The belief in the evil power of spirits is deeply rooted in native imagination. Sickness and other misfortunes are all believed to be the work of evil spirits. If one is careful, however, one may recognize the signs of his approach. The flight of birds or their call, even sneezing or gas in the stomach are thought to be signs of the presence of spirits. With the aid of soothsayers and dream specialists it is possible sometimes to escape their evil designs. Once they have taken hold of their victim, however, it is difficult to elude their grasp.

16: Müller--241 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 789, 775

Since the aborigines of Formosa are extremely superstitious, it is only natural that they have other reasons for headhunting. Its function in trial by ordeal has already been discussed. Among some tribes of the Ataiyal group, headhunting is also a necessary preparation for the festivals in honor of ancestors. It is also used as a kind of fetish for exorcizing evil spirits. Some of the aborigines believe that the soul of the man who has been killed in this way becomes subject to the power of the man who has killed him.

17: Norbeck--28-29
773, 775

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

[MC: For paradise myth, story of the journey of the soul after death, and the judgement of the dead, see category 539.]

18: Kakyo--71 [2] E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 775, 828

1. The natives of Formosa are able to distinguish between sleep and death.
2. They believe that death destroys only the body, but that the soul is immortal.
3. They believe that a dream is the appearance of the soul of a dead person.
4. They believe that the soul leads a happy existence in a definite place.
5. They look on the spirits of the dead as a kind of "evil powers."

18: Kakyo--71 [3] E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 775, 769

The distress and the happiness, the fortune and misfortune of all men are attributed by the Formosan aborigines to the influence of these devilish forces. [MC: i. e., spirits of the dead.].

To attain happiness and ward off misfortune, they honor the spirits of their ancestors.

This enables us to recognize that the Formosa natives are already on the way to developing a cult of their ancestors.

21: Asai--3 [4] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 775

"Immortality is believed in. The soul will live eternally and after death the souls live in other worlds. They have a concrete idea of a land of death and know the direction of the land. The direction is usually the place of their origin. They people believe in multiple souls."

21: Asai--4 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 775, 776 Yami

"The Yami believe in four souls. They say that their souls often go to visit a friend during a dream. The Yami have a distinct idea of gods and they have the idea of several heavens, but this is exceptional among Formosan tribes."

21: Asai--4 [4] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 721, 761, 775, 778

"The cult of headhunting was very general in Formosa, but at present it is engaged in very rarely. They believe in two kinds of death, natural and accidental. In natural death, the soul goes to the land of death where it lives peacefully. In the case of accidental death, the soul does not go to the land of death but must wander around the spot where the person was killed. If the heads of the enemy are taken and brought back to the house, then the soul of the person killed will stay in that place peacefully. Such heads have mana and aid in growth of crops. Therefore, it is good to have as many heads as possible. They are offered food and wine on various occasions."

34: Del Re--58-59 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116: 775 Yami

"It is worth noting that the Yami--unlike most of the main-island tribes who have no traditions concerning a creator of the world and believe that it will continue for all eternity--do not appear to have any idea of an after-[59] life or of retribution, such as is found, for instance, among the Tayals who believe that those who have done evil will be punished, and those who have done good will enter, through a narrow gate placed at the end of a steep and difficult path, into a kind of paradise. None of the planes of the Yami cosmos are in the nature of retributory abodes after death, akin to the place of voluptuous pleasures and of filth assigned to the good and the bad by certain tribes (27),

27. VF, Pt. I, p. 12.

which suggest eschatological ideas of Chinese origin."

39: Wiedfeldt--14,15 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 555, 761, 775 Atayal

According to their ideas, worthy [15] people live on after death. Such persons would include successful skull-hunters and women skilled at weaving. Hence, worth does not include merely the manly virtues... The dead cross the sea to the "great land" by way of the rainbow, and in the process, the unworthy, that is, those who are not tattooed, fall into the sea, or are cast down among the Taroku by the ancestors. The others continue to live together with their ancestors, just as they had lived before, and with the tools and weapons that were buried in the grave with them. This whole story is possibly an attempt to explain the incomprehensible manner in which a person is living and then is dead. In any event, the idea of reward or punishment after death for their actions during life is foreign to them, although their expression, "the wrath of the ancestors", which is applied to infractions of the law, seems to indicate the existence of such a concept.

21: Asai--4 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 775, 776 Yami

"The Yami believe in four souls. They say that their souls often go to visit a friend during a dream. The Yami have a distinct idea of gods and they have the idea of several heavens, but this is exceptional among Formosan tribes."

21: Asai--8 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 626, 776, 784 Yami

"There are many tabus among the Yami. They believe that anyone who goes against the laws will be killed by the gods."

34: Del Re--62 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 753, 772, 173, 582, 776 Yami

"Unnatural death, failure of crops, death of livestock are considered punishments meted out by them. (31) [MLB: i.e., the inferior gods] Like the gods of the upper

31. AYL, p. 80, n.

plane, they are endowed with the power to will the creation of anything. Their life, food and dress are, in all respects, similar to those of the Yami save that their houses are built entirely of gold, and are found in the seven heavenly villages, corresponding to the seven villages of the island, each of which is under the protection of the god of its respective heavenly village. The gods must always reside in their own village and may not take to wife a goddess from another village. This suggests that, in earlier days, intermarriage between the different communities on the island was taboo. At present, however, such a prescription appears no longer to be enforced. During the annual festivals the islanders call upon and make offerings to these gods of yams, taro, millet and other fruits of the earth to ensure a good harvest and a plentiful catch of flying-fish. There are also anitos on this plane, but they are harmless."

34: Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
776 Yami

[MLB: For Yami beliefs concerning prevalent types and attributes of spirits and gods see pp. 38-71, cat. 116, this source. For texts of myths concerning spirits and gods see pp. 62-63, cat. 539, this source.]

34: Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
764, 776, 778 Yami

[MLB: The photograph on page 66 this source is of a perpendicular-shaped rock which the caption states is "The Place of Death" where the bodies of the dead are cast away. The natives visit it fully armed for fear of the Anitos (evil spirits) who are supposed to haunt it.]

39: Wiedfeldt--16 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 755, 776, 787, 791 Atayal

Superstitions, fear of spirits, or similar things...are unknown to them. The old woman of the clan, the hamangoppu, tattooes, administers medicines in case of illness, and foretells whether the patient will recover, or whether the woman will have a child. She does this by dropping pieces of elder pith on a bamboo board which she holds on her knees and counting the number of pieces that fall. A raven that lights on a hut is considered an evil omen. This belief does not exist among the Chinese or Japanese. Their imagination has produced no other superstitions or spells.

51: Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

different localities, that their cultures, though similar, are not uniform. The native tribes also differ considerably in the degree to which they have been acculturated and in the type of culture change that has taken place.

The Ami

The Ami live in the Taitung Rift Valley, which runs in approximately a north-south direction for 150 kilometres along the east coast of Formosa. Some Ami live on the east coast proper. The Ami tribe is the largest on Formosa. They are divided into five groups by dialect and cultural differences. The number of households and population of each group, based on the census of 1937, are as follows:

Group	No. of households	Population
Pei-nan	859	9546
Heng-ch'un	461	4403
Hai-an	1159	11760
Hsiu-ku-luan	2008	15861
Nan-shih	1713	8436
Total	6200	50006

The chief traits of the Ami are intensive agriculture and fishing; pile dwellings; paddle-and-anvil pottery; long wooden shields; feather headdresses; clans[1]; matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence; classificatory or Malayan kinship terminology; parent-child nymic linkage; and age-grades.

Tavarong is a town of 5,000 population situated in the central part of the Taitung Rift Valley, in Hualien Hsien. It belongs to the Hsiu-ku-luan group and is regarded by the Ami themselves as the oldest settlement in the whole Ami area. About one per cent of the Tavarong townsmen are Christians; the rest hold to their native religion.

Gods, spirits, and souls

The Ami term for gods, which include also spirits and souls, is *kawas*. The Tavarong Ami believe in two kinds of *kawas*. The first kind, which may be considered natural gods, include *maratau*, *tšidar*, *borar*], and others. *maratau* is a male tutolary deity who resides in heaven. According to informant Maran-Namo?, *maratau* is the god of "politics and strength". In former days, when the Ami were at war with their neighbors, the Atayal, they prayed to *maratau* for protection[2]. *tšidar* is the female sun goddess, and *borar*] the male moon god. The sun goddess is held to be more powerful than the moon god. Maran-Namo? while explaining the designs on the houseposts of the house of the *kakita:n* (priest), stated that *tšidar* is the almighty deity and holds the supreme position over

1. Utsurikawa [1935] reported about 55 clan names for the Ami, but he gave no clan names north of the Vataan, Tavarong, and Karuran areas.
2. According to Furuno [1954:3-42], *maratau* is connected with headhunting and is the god of crops and game, as well as being the war god.

51: Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
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the other gods; both he and other informants failed to indicate any practice of sun-worship[3]. The second type of *kawas* are ancestral gods, called *tatakusan*. The Tavarong Ami worship their ancestors, especially the first ancestors *lotše* and *rarakan*; these latter live among the Ami, although they are invisible. *šikawasai* (shamans) have their special gods[4]. It is clear, therefore, that the Ami have a well-developed theogony, a trait not found among the other aboriginal tribes of Formosa[5].

One who dies an unnatural death will become a *karia* or evil spirit. A person can contract an illness on encountering a *karia*.

Each individual possesses a soul, called *dogɛ*.[6] If one's *dogɛ* weakens, one will become sick; and if one's *dog* should escape from the body, one will die. In this connection, Furuno (1942: 19–23) reported that among the Ami, each human being has two souls, one on the left and one on the right shoulder. The one on the right shoulder is the good soul, and the one on the left the bad. The *karia*, or evil spirits, are the souls on the left shoulders of those who died an unnatural death.[7]

Shamanism

Religious activities are carried out by *šikawasai*, or shamans, and *kakita:n*, or priests. The functions of both are well-defined. A *šikawasai* is consulted mainly to strengthen or call back the *dogɛ* of a sick person. In this sense, the *šikawasai* may be defined as medicine-men. The *kakita:n* manage the Ami religious ceremonies, most of which are agricultural in nature. A *šikawasai* is believed to have been chosen by a dead *šikawasai* or by the *šikawasai* gods. When a young boy or girl contracts a chronic illness, he (or she) is regarded as having been chosen, and it is believed that that individual be cured by becoming a *šikawasai*. This child will then be taught the techniques by an older *šikawasai*. In the first year of his apprenticeship, until the next *irisiy* (the Ami New Year), a taboo on the eating of fish and vegetables must be observed. He is also required to pursue hard labor and to abstain from washing the body. A primary qualification for a *šikawasai* is the ability to achieve a state of delirium.

There are today approximately ten *šikawasai* in Tavarong, seven men and three women. Oikawa's contention that there are more female than male *šikawasai*

3. Furuno [1945:20] recorded the following belief from the Hsiu-ku-luan Ami: "*tšidar*" the sun, gave life to human beings, animals, and plants. We think that she is a *kawas*, too. Rituals cannot be carried on without *tšidar*. The *kakita:n* call on *tšidar* in the *irisiy*. At harvest time, we gave thanks to this goddess."
4. Sayama [1914] listed the names of two *šikawasai* gods, *saoripa* and *sararatol*.
5. Mabuchi [1934-35] discusses this theogony.
6. Furuno [1940:19-21] and Mabuchi [1934-35] recorded the *dogɛ* as a goddess.
7. This belief is found among other Formosan tribes. For a Bunun example, see Mabuchi [1951:55].

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
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On the sixth day, all grade members gathered once more in front of the *kaʼita;n* house. At this time all the *šikawasai* (shamans) of the town came to the house and performed rites to ward off disease from the attending celebrants. Then, the *šikawasai* danced together, while the others went out to their own fields to perform a ceremony of mimical cultivation to guarantee a good harvest in the year to come.

The final day of the *irisiŋ*, all the inhabitants of Tavarong went to fish in the streams and rivers. Each individual offered one fish to the gods to inform them that the New Year had commenced. After the celebrants returned to the town, the fish were offered to the *tatakusan*, the ancestral gods; the offering was then divided up among the populace and eaten, thus breaking the taboo on fish and vegetables. This concluded the *irisiŋ*.

Conclusions

In our examination of Ami religion, we found that at least in part Ami society can be considered as a theocracy. The *kakita;n*, the hereditary priests, combined in their persons both temporal and spiritual power. The priestly house served as the ceremonial and political center of the tribesmen and may bear some theoretical importance as a possible prototype of the village-temple.

Shamans and priests are clearly distinguished among the Ami. The former succeeded by reincarnation, and the latter through inheritance. Ami shamanism [this was still true in 1953] in typically Asiatic, in that its practitioners are emotionally unstable individuals who derive their power from direct contact with the spiritual world; this contact is made at times of the greatest physical strain [chronic illness]. Ami shamanism is also of a non-Arctic type, since the neophyte is indoctrinated with the shamanistic techniques, instead of receiving them through spiritual experiences of a personal, charismatic nature. The shamans practice a complex and typically Indonesian type of divination.

As with many other peoples of the Indonesian culture area, no sharp distinction is made by the Ami between gods, spirits, and souls, which are all designated by the generic term *kawas*. However, the Ami are atypical among the Formosan tribes in that they possess a relatively highly developed genealogical mythology or theogony. The possible relation between this theogony and Ami social structure is worthy of future study. It may be of significance, for instance, that in this matrilineal society the sun is a female goddess, and the moon male. This spiritual world provides the power and justification for all Ami religious activities, being beseeched with prayers and bribed with offerings.

The *irisiŋ*, the great New Year ceremony which was described in detail, is functionally a world renewal ritual, the renewal of the powers of the stream and soil and, in fact, a renewal of the whole society. In this, the population was

51: Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

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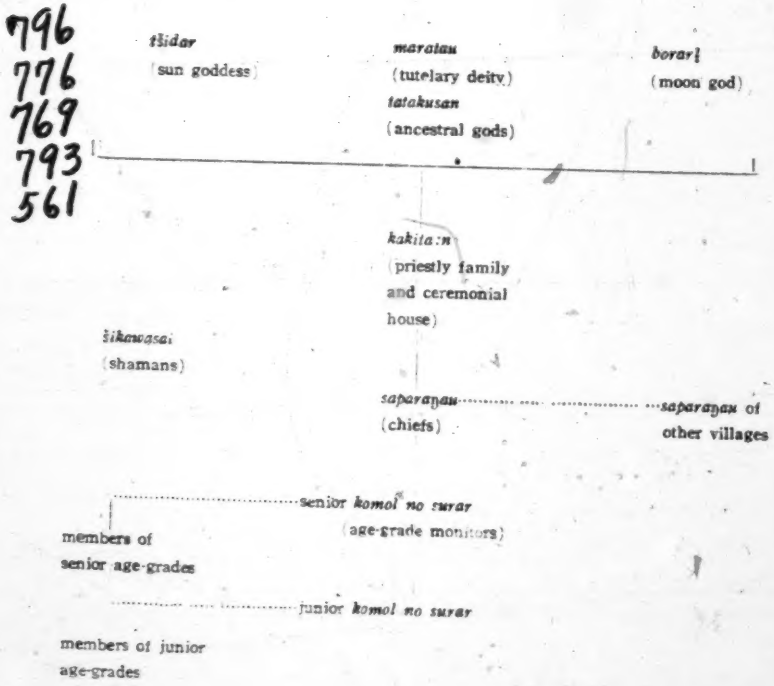

Figure 2: the Ami hierarchy at *irisiŋ*

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

purified through fasting, symbolical washing of hands, and shamanistic expulsion of disease. The structure of the Ami universe is at this time stated as a hierarchy in which each rank of seniority hands down precepts to be obeyed by the next lower rank [see Figure 2]. At the top level, for among the Ami the spiritual world is continuous with the material, are the sun goddess, the moon god, and *maratau*, the tutelary deity who instructed men in the order of things on earth. With them are the *tatakusan*, the ancestral gods who are to be respected as elders and whose way of life is to be followed. Under these were the *kakita:n*, the priestly families who carried out the will of the gods in this world. The rest of the Ami were arranged by seniority into a system of age-grades, each with its chosen monitor, and each harkening to the instructions passed down from the next senior age-grade. Acting as intermediaries between the priests and the laity were the *saparaŋau*. leaders of proven ability selected from the ranks of the elder grades. This structure was annually affirmed symbolically in the *irisiŋ*, and it clear that it was basically gerontocratic in nature, in that the real power was in the hands of old men.

All this is of course now passing away, and element after element of the old Ami way of life is either disappearing or being reinterpreted to meet new conditions. In the realm of social organization, for instance, there is a definite drift in Tavarong and other Ami areas towards patrilineal descent and neolocality, a change fostered by Japanese and Chinese pressure. Ami religion is fast changing, and the *kakita:n* house itself is an unused, half-forgotten relic of interest primarily only to ethnographers. Shamanism for some as yet unexplaind reason has persisted; this is a field for further study.

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21: Asai--4 [3] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 777, 787

"Dreams are important in divination. The lucky and unlucky days for hunting are told in dreams. Another kind of divination is by the Sisili bird. When they go hunting (whether for birds or for animals), they count the number of cries of the bird, and if the number is unlucky, they will go back to the village. This is an Indonesian type of divination."

34: Del Re--20-23 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 183, 421, 577, 627, 777 Yami

"The real secret of the smooth working of their system of life may be attributed to the absence of any selfish possessive feeling in respect of things and persons based on deep-rooted 'natural' ethical principles which allow the reciprocal claims of the individual and the community to be harmoniously adjusted in a spirit of freedom and equality. An illuminating instance of [pages 21 and 22 contain illustrations] [23] the application of these principles (6) is seen in the custom, which still persists though

6. According to VF (Pt. I, p. 9) community of property is not usual among other Formosan savages.

frowned upon by the police, of settling every community dispute by means of a wrestling match followed, in cases where the two parties are not satisfied, by a bloodless duel. When this occurs, the two opponents armed with bamboo lances and wearing rattan armour proceed to the seashore accompanied by their seconds and there fight it out. It rarely happens that either is seriously injured or killed, because this would be considered highly unlucky and must therefore be avoided."

7: Joest--62 [4] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 771, 778 Chin-hoan

The religion of the Chinwan natives seems to be on a very primitive level. I did not see any idols or temples. Every Chinwan tribe or village, has a sacred animal which is believed to protect the people in that village. These animals, snakes, leopards, etc., are kept in cages and fed by the natives.

21: Asai--4 [4] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 721, 761, 775, 778

"The cult of headhunting was very general in Formosa, but at present it is engaged in very rarely. They believe in two kinds of death, natural and accidental. In natural death, the soul goes to the land of death where it lives peacefully. In the case of accidental death, the soul does not go to the land of death but must wander around the spot where the person was killed. If the heads of the enemy are taken and brought back to the house, then the soul of the person killed will stay in that place peacefully. Such heads have mana and aid in growth of crops. Therefore, it is good to have as many heads as possible. They are offered food and wine on various occasions."

34: Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
764, 776, 778 Yami

[MLB: The photograph on page 66 this source is of a perpendicular-shaped rock which the caption states is "The Place of Death" where the bodies of the dead are cast away. The natives visit it fully armed for fear of the Anitos (evil spirits) who are supposed to haunt it.]

39: Wiedfeldt--15-16 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 769, 778 Atayal

There is a trace of ancestor worship in the tribal celebrations and also in the clan celebrations, which...are held for such members of the clan as can not attend the tribal celebration. Members of other tribes are not permitted to attend these celebrations, which unite all the members of the tribe, even if they were members before marriage. In the festival of the millet planting the chief of the tribe is said to thrust four bamboo stakes into the ground in a field that has been cleared of weeds early in the morning. Into the square thus formed he pours millet wine and millet mush, and standing in the middle, he says: "According to old customs and usages handed down to us we celebrate today, as our ancestors in this land have always celebrated. We thank our ancestors that we and our children are well. We wish that the millet which we are planting may bring us a rich harvest. We wish that our ancestors would protect us against illness. We thank our ancestors from the bottom of our hearts." Then he says to the assembled members of the tribe] "Everything is done", and they drink to gether the millet wine which they have brought with them. The harvest celebration is the same, except that the wish for a rich harvest is replaced by a prayer of thanks. In spite of my efforts, I have never been able to find out how they think their ancestors will protect them against illness or just how they procure them a rich harvest. I have also not been able to determine whether any special festivals or religious acts take place on Mt. Sylvia, which according to the Japanese is sacred to the Atayals. [16] The Atayals themselves say nothing about it, and foreigners have not yet penetrated that far into Atayal territory.

37: Steere --304-305 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 511, 427, 779, 771, 166 Pepo-hoan

"The Pepo-whans are very poor, having mortgaged the poor lands they now occupy to the Chinese, so that they live principally upon sweet potatoes, the one rice crop that the land produces going to pay rent or the interest on their debts. They burn charcoal and the women carry it in baskets upon their heads to the Chinese villages for sale. They were visited about three years ago by Dr. Maxwell, a Scotch missionary, and they received Christianity readily, the Chinese worship of idols and ancestors having but little root among them, while the traditions they still possess of their ancient teachers probably influenced them to some extent. There are now several hundred christians among them at Kamana, Backsa, etc., with a number of schools and chapels established. The Pepo-whans of Baukimseng, differ from their brethren farther north in their ancient language, and the women, instead of a turban, wear a broad conical hat, like the Hak-kas near them, and this is highly ornamented with tinsel and bits of glass. They are crowded back upon the poor stony lands near the mountains, and they go to their fields armed with lances and fire-locks to protect themselves from attack. The Pepo-whans have nearly lost their love for hunting and fishing, and support themselves almost entirely from the produce of their fields. There seems to be but little hope of regaining a foot-hold on the [305] western side of the island, and they will probably be compelled to migrate, like their brethren who have gone before them, to the east coast."

16: Müller--237 [4] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 782, 789

There are numerous methods used to exorcise evil spirits. Often they are appeased with offerings; thus, if a man has recovered from a disease, he sacrifices a pig, etc. At other occasions, especially if the evil spirits have sown discord among a group or caused an epidemic, such as smallpox, they try to drive the evil spirit into a pig; then they cut off the ears of the pig and finally burn it so that the evil spirit is believed to be destroyed altogether.

17: Norbeck--17
773, 823, 782

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

[MC: For the myth about the flood which formed the configuration of the landscape and of the offering of the chief's daughter, see category 539.]

7: Joest--62 [5] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 192, 784, 826 Chin-hoan

The Chinwans seem to have some form of taboo. Thus no one may enter a village in which the inhabitants are fasting; to signify that an object may not be touched or that they do not want to give it away, they say hiang. It is for them a great shame to let someone even touch their head. The bags in which they keep the heads of their enemies, the pig-tails of Chinese, etc., are also haing.

21: Asai--8 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 626, 776, 784 Yami

"There are many tabus among the Yami. They believe that anyone who goes against the laws will be killed by the gods."

31: Hofmann--625 [2] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 262, 343, 784 Tsou

The food of the natives consists chiefly of millet, rice, and Colocasiae. This is supplemented by game, deer and boars, as well as pork and chicken. The natives also eat fish, which they obtain in abundance in the many streams on the mountains. The Tsou natives are not allowed to eat fish in their homes; the reason for this taboo is not known. If they want to eat trout, they must eat in a house built for this purpose. There is an open shed with a straw roof erected on pilework in Tappan which is used on those occasions.

34: Del Re--33-34 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 784, 562, 823, 226, 793 Yami

"So great is the importance attributed to the visit of the flying fish, that during this period fishermen are required to observe a large number of prescriptive taboos, as well as others connected with the numerous rituals observed during the actual ceremonies. These are summed up in the following commandments:---'When you go fishing, do not look down into the water.' 'Do not spit into the sea: spit into the air so that your spittle may fall upon the sea like rain.' 'Do not cast stones into the sea' ---and many others of a like nature. Another important taboo connected with the sea and most stringently enforced at this time, is that no woman shall touch or have anything to do with the flying-fish ceremony, or approach close to, much less enter, the sea. It would appear that this is related to the early creation myth in which a pregnant woman by enter-[34]ing the sea was the cause of the great flood which covered the island and destroyed all life upon it. (11)"

11. See Legand of Imulud, AYL, p. 92 lines 1 ff.

37: Steere--314 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 583, 241, 533, 784, 609 Chin-hoan

"The Kale-whan, in times of scarcity, frequently sell their daughters to the Chinese and Pepo-whans, who take them as supplementary wives and make them useful as interpreters in thus bartering with the savages. While we were among the Kale-whan the chief offered to sell us three girls of the tribe at twenty dollars each, or its equivalent, in barter on fee simple. The poor girls were dressed up in all the finery the tribe possessed, one of them having a beautiful stem of wild red lilies in her hair, and were kept singing nearly all night before our door. They are a very musical people, and at night a large number collected in the house of the chief and the women would sing a monotonous but musical chant apparently as long as they could hold their breath, and then the men would answer in the same strain, winding up every time with a loud inspiration. We went among them during their seed time, and there seemed to be some taboo connected with it that forbade them entering their houses, and we found them all sitting around outside with closed doors, or at least with the slabs of slate that served for doors in their places. About midnight the taboo passed off enough so that they entered their houses, but there was still something that forbade them trading with us or assisting us, they even refusing at first to give us fire. Whenever one of the tribe, led by the display of cloth, scissors, etc., that we had with us, was tempted to trade us a pipe or an ornamented knife-scabbard, some one would pronounce the fatal word parici, and the trade was immediately dropped. There were

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
Atayal AD4

721 place to take an oath for starting their hunting trip. *joqex-etex* said that on this
79 occasion, the leader stood in front of all participants, with a wooden-spoon [*sasowai*] in his right hand and with a torch made of palm-fibre in his left hand, he prayed to their ancestor-spirits: "I hold this ceremony according to the old tradition of our tribe. This spoon and torch have been transmitted to us from our ancestors because they represent good fortune. Drinking this water in the spoon and lighted by this torch, we shall have good luck." After this, each participant moistened his right hand in the spoon and sucked it with his lips. Then, the torch was lighted. The ignition was by flint and steel. This fire had to be divided among the participants to light a new fire in their own houses. *taqun-nomin* said that the condition of the ignition revealed omens of the expedition.

4. Taboo after the new fire

721 After the new fire had been lighted, many kinds of taboo had to be observed.
784 The more important ones were: (1) prohibition from extinguishing the kitchen fire; (2) prohibition from weaving (this taboo must be observed by all families of the same
79 *qotox litan*(s) or hunting group. Other hunting groups though may be released from this taboo, but the warp beam must be filled up with cloth fragments to prevent its making a sound when weaving.); (3) prohibition from intercourse and exchange of gift with the family which is quarrelling with the other family; (4) prohibition for holding a ceremony; (5) prohibition to make a noise; (6) prohibition to steal; (7) prohibition to commit adultery (this is applied to families of the same hunting group).

5. Costumes and foods

721 The leader and other participants of the expedition dressed according to their regulation, and brought weapons, bags for transporting the hunted heads, and ear-
[26] ornaments to be used in time of returning in triumph with them. Foods prepared to be consumed for the expedition were salt, millet-cakes, ginger, etc.

72 6. Dream divination

787 In the evening before the expedition is to start, they seek for dream omens which are called *mital sapijil*(m) or *mata spi*(s). If most of the participants have bad dream, the expedition will be postponed or cancelled.

7. Bird divination

If a good omen is gotten from the dream, two or three members of the expedition will be sent out early in the morning to hear the chirping of a kind of bird called *siljeq*. If an evil omen is gotten, the expedition must stay over night at the place where the bird divination had taken place, and will have another divination the following morning. If again an evil omen is gotten, they will cancel the trip.

721 8. Calling the souls of the enemy

788 If a good omen is revealed by the bird divination, the expedition will start on its way. The first thing they must do after they have reached the destination is to hold a ceremony for calling the souls of their enemies to come, which is called *somilai*. In the ceremony the leader has camphor leaves in his hands, he points these in the direction

The moral code of the natives demands that they take revenge on the enemy who robbed them of their fertile land and sent them to the barren mountains. This tradition is handed down from generation to generation, and it is believed that it is actually a good deed to obtain the head of one of the enemies of the country. (2) Their revenge

> 2. For that reason head hunting has increased during the first few years; the Japanese, without harming the natives themselves, have penetrated into their region and exploited it.

is therefore never personal. It is not a question of decapitating the man who has felled a certain camphor tree, for instance. Everyone who belongs to the enemy's party is liable for the common guilt with his head. Since it is also considered an act of courage to get the head of an enemy, this trophy is necessary to one who wants to marry. The bridegroom places the head, a bloody token of his ability to become a husband, at the feet of his bride. A second reason for this custom is a superstition which cannot be eradicated. Thus, in the north, the harvest festival in honor of the gods is celebrated by an offering consisting of several human heads.

On Formosa, headhunting takes the place of a procession held to implore the deity for rain or sun. Finally, headhunting also takes the place of a trial by ordeal. If a

case cannot be decided, [611] the chief of a tribe, the guardian of the law, proclaims that he who is the first to bring back the head of an enemy, is in the right.

some rare plants and land shells in the ravines which I wished to collect, but the savages seemed to think that it would bring some great evil upon them if they allowed me to take away any thing, and they almost compelled me by force to desist, pulling me by the arms and shouting parici in my ears. We were told that this taboo would pass off within four or five days, but we had no time to wait and so did not see them in their usual state."

7: Joest--62 [7] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 178, 787, 791 Chin-hoan

In former times soothsayers stayed in the public sleeping and assembly houses when they were consulted and wore no clothes. Today, however, they wear their holiday attire and all their ornaments and stay on a platform which usually consists of a few boards placed over a barrel. The women and girls of the village form a circle around her and join hands; they go around the platform, first slowly, and then faster and faster, and sing at the same time. The soothsayer begins to dance, slowly at first and gradually faster and more violently until she is attacked by a fit and falls off the platform. Then they catch her and carry her to the nearest hut where they try to make out, from her confused ravings, what the oracle signifies. This is often employed for less important occasions, to find out whether it will rain or whether it is time to cultivate the fields.

7: Joest--62 [8] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 787 Chin-hoan

Like almost all primitive peoples, the Chinwans believe in omens; the flight and call of certain birds are regarded as portents. If they have gone out to hunt and the omens have been favorable they return home if they see a bird which signifies misfortune; they are convinced that some accident would befall them if they continued with the chase. Other signs of bad luck are stepping on a rifle, carrying a spear upside down, etc.

11: Haguenauer--37-38 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 721, 726, 787 Atayal

A Tayal never went out alone in quest of a head; he was always accompanied. The little group did not start until it had consulted the omens; if one of the members of the expedition had had a bad dream, or if the augural bird, the silliok, had sung in the wrong way, the warriors did not leave the village. And even if all the signs were favorable, they did not venture very far. They built a little hut at the entrance to the forest, and arranged their weapons and food stuffs there. Then they purified their arms and provisions by sprinkling them with fresh water. When this was done, the head of the expedition purified himself, and then all of his companions in the same way. Then everyone went to bed. The next morning they examined the dreams and portents again, especially the bird songs. The hunt did not begin unless all of the signs were propitious. As you see, the change from ordinary life to the hunt was made progressively and in a prudent fashion. It was a matter of getting the support of the ancestors' spirits. In the village all taboos were enforced while the hunters were absent. The women did not weave, all useless activities were avoided, and the fires which were lighted in each house before the departures of the warriors were kept burning. The men walked until they found a good spot to lay a trap. The capture of a head was not an heroic combat, for the unfortunate victim was taken by surprise. One warrior shot, while the others rushed ahead to finish him off with lance thrusts. When the victim was prostrate, the warrior for whom the hunt had been arranged [38] drew his sabre and cut off the head of the dying

man at the base of the skull. The head was taken back in a special kind of net, or else it was fastened to a hook that was inserted into the scalp.

11: Haguenauer--44 [2] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 773, 787, 825 Atayal

[MC: a Tayal myth] There was a very large stone on the seashore in a place called Binnox-bayan. One day the crow and the silliok met on this stone, and said: "The one who can move this stone will have the power to know what the spirits want, and he shall be their herald". The crow tried, but could not move the stone while the silliok did it without any difficulty. The men who saw this were very astonished and they praised the silliok . Then the bird said to them:" From now on, you must listen to my cry. When I cry at your right, it will be a good portent, and you will have good hunting. If I cry while I am crossing the road that you are taking, do not go on the hunt. And if I cry first at the right and then at the left, it will also be a bad omen. Do not forget what I have just told you."

16: Müller--236 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 692, 695, 721, 787

The aboriginal chiefs administer justice either independently or together with the tribal elders. If a case is doubtful a trial by ordeal is held. This is preceded by certain formalities. The chieftain first of all asks the soothsayers and the men who interpret dreams whether a trial by ordeal should be held. If he has their consent he orders the accused to go on a headhunting expedition. The latter then makes the necessary preparations. He puts his weapons in a sacred place and lives in seclusion in a hut. If a day arrives which from the flight of birds he judges to be favorable he starts on the expedition together with several friends. If he is successful he is declared free from guilt, but if he returns home without a head he is punished.

16: Müller--237 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 753, 791, 775, 787

The belief in the evil power of spirits is deeply rooted in native imagination. Sickness and other misfortunes are all believed to be the work of evil spirits. If one is careful, however, one may recognize the signs of his approach. The flight of birds or their call, even sneezing or gas in the stomach are thought to be signs of the presence of spirits. With the aid of soothsayers and dream specialists it is possible sometimes to escape their evil designs. Once they have taken hold of their victim, however, it is difficult to elude their grasp.

17: Norbeck--14
773, 787

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

[MC: For augury origin myth--divination by the Silek Bird, see category 539.]

19: Guérin and Bernard--562-563 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 787

Both men and women observe a daily superstition; every morning at dawn each one of them [563] goes to the center of the path to watch the augural bird (a blackish wren, which is very common in the mountains). If the bird cuts the road obliquely, the omen is favorable and plans will turn out well. But if the bird flies perpendicular or parallel to the path, the savage resigns himself to spending the day in his hut; it will be full of disaster, and there will not be any game or Chinese heads; women hesitate to go down to the fountain, fearing lest they might encounter some venimous reptile on the way; tattooing is postponed, and the lover will not propose to his lady-fair. The omens derived from the direction of the bird's flight are corroborated in good and evil when it sings its confused but rhythmic song. When we lived among the tribes, we never failed to regulate our conduct according to this pattern.

21: Asai--4 [3] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 777, 787

"Dreams are important in divination. The lucky and unlucky days for hunting are told in dreams. Another kind of divination is by the Sisili bird. When they go hunting (whether for birds or for animals), they count the number of cries of the bird, and if the number is unlucky, they will go back to the village. This is an Indonesian type of divination."

25: Plaut--61 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 273, 583, 787

The Vonum still observe the practice of kidnapping the bride. The young man goes to her house with a large group of his friends, he has a mock war with her relatives, then seizes her and carries her off to his house. After she has lived with him for several days, the relatives on both sides gather and celebrate the wedding with drinking and singing. During the feast the so-called Shui-sha-lien-hua-Vonum stage a mock battle, and it is considered a lucky omen for the marriage if blood flows. The Vonum also have exchange marriage, for a young man may wed the sister of his friend, and give him his own sister as a wife.

37: Steere--311 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 482, 771, 609, 787, 825 Chin-hoan

"They carry burdens upon a high wooden frame that is strapped to the back, instead of by the universal Chinese method of a pole across the shoulder. I could find but little traces of religion, but plenty of superstitions. I was one day astonished by the band with which I was traveling suddenly all dropping to the ground and beginning to groan as if they expected to die. Inquiring the cause of this, I found that a certain bird, to which ominous powers are attributed, had cried out on the left side of the path we were traveling, and this was considered a bad omen for us. After a few minutes the party got up and moved on, though all were still groaning and beating their gunstocks with their knives; and they did not regain their composure until the same bird was heard to call out on the right side of the path, when they moved on as usual. They seem to have little or no connection with the other savages, but to live in mortal fear of them. If they ever were in the habit of taking the heads of their enemies, it must have been long ago, as the proofs have disappeared."

39: Wiedfeldt--16 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 755, 776, 787, 791 Atayal

Superstitions, fear of spirits, or similar things...are unknown to them. The old woman of the clan, the hamangoppu, tattooes, administers medicines in case of illness, and foretells whether the patient will recover, or whether the woman will have a child. She does this by dropping pieces of elder pith on a bamboo board which she holds on her knees and counting the number of pieces that fall. A raven that lights on a hut is considered an evil omen. This belief does not exist among the Chinese or Japanese. Their imagination has produced no other superstitions or spells.

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
Atayal AD4

721 place to take an oath for starting their hunting trip. *joqex-etex* said that on this
796 occasion, the leader stood in front of all participants, with a wooden-spoon [*sasowai*] in his right hand and with a torch made of palm-fibre in his left hand, he prayed to their ancestor-spirits: "I hold this ceremony according to the old tradition of our tribe. This spoon and torch have been transmitted to us from our ancestors because they represent good fortune. Drinking this water in the spoon and lighted by this torch, we shall have good luck." After this, each participant moistened his right hand in the spoon and sucked it with his lips. Then, the torch was lighted. The ignition was by flint and steel. This fire had to be divided among the participants to light a new fire in their own houses. *taqun-nomin* said that the condition of the ignition revealed omens of the expedition.

4. Taboo after the new fire

721 After the new fire had been lighted, many kinds of taboo had to be observed.
784 The more important ones were: (1) prohibition from extinguishing the kitchen fire; (2) prohibition from weaving (this taboo must be observed by all families of the same
791 *qotox litan*(s) or hunting group. Other hunting groups though may be released from this taboo, but the warp beam must be filled up with cloth fragments to prevent its making a sound when weaving.); (3) prohibition from intercourse and exchange of gift with the family which is quarrelling with the other family; (4) prohibition for holding a ceremony; (5) prohibition to make a noise; (6) prohibition to steal; (7) prohibition to commit adultery (this is applied to families of the same hunting group).

5. Costumes and foods

721 The leader and other participants of the expedition dressed according to their regulation, and brought weapons, bags for transporting the hunted heads, and ear-
[262] ornaments to be used in time of returning in triumph with them. Foods prepared to
792 be consumed for the expedition were salt, millet-cakes, ginger, etc.

6. Dream divination

787 In the evening before the expedition is to start, they seek for dream omens which are called *mital sapijil*(n or *mata spi*(s). If most of the participants have bad dream, the expedition will be postponed or cancelled.

7. Bird divination

If a good omen is gotten from the dream, two or three members of the expedition will be sent out early in the morning to hear the chirping of a kind of bird called *siljeq*. If an evil omen is gotten, the expedition must stay over night at the place where the bird divination had taken place, and will have another divination the following morning. If again an evil omen is gotten, they will cancel the trip.

721 8. Calling the souls of the enemy
788 If a good omen is revealed by the bird divination, the expedition will start on its way. The first thing they must do after they have reached the destination is to hold a ceremony for calling the souls of their enemies to come, which is called *somīlai*. In the ceremony the leader has camphor leaves in his hands, he points these in the direction

51: Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

756 due to the fact that men have more difficulty in attaining a state of delirium (Oikawa 1935) obviously does not apply in Tavarong.

755 When a *šikawasai* is at his devotions, he wears special clothing and dances and prays. Sometimes wine, pigs, and rice-cakes are offered to the gods. The *šikawasai* often uses banana and ginger leaves to rub over the affected part of the patient. The patient fasts while under treatment, and his family observes a taboo on eating fish and vegetables and on sexual intercourse.

There are seven kinds of rituals used by the *šikawasai* to cure disease. The prefix *pa* in the following ritual names means "to do anything connected with a ritual".

1) *miriwai*. This is a five-day ritual in which the *šikawasai* prays to *maratau*.
2) *pamaratau*. This ritual is shorter than *miriwai* and, according to the informants, "less serious". The *šikawasai* dances and prays to the *tata-kusan*, the ancestors.
3) *pasaer*. A simpler ritual than the above two and which lasts for one or two hours. It is used to cure sickness brought on by the god of millet (formerly the staple crop) as a punishment for wrongdoing.
4) *pakawas*. On the death of a *šikawasai*, the *šikawasai* god may tell a man with a chronically ill offspring that that child should be shaman. This ritual is held to determine whether that course is correct. In it, the *šikawasai* consulted by the father prays to the *šikawasai* god.
5) *pasasidoi*. A simple spell to drive away the *karia* and to bring back and strengthen a person's *dogs*.
6) *padogs*. A prayer to one's *dogs*.
7) *mian?an*. The *dogs* of small children are not stable and are often lost. This ritual is performed to stabilize them.

787 The choice of the [illegible] to be used for curing a disease is determined by the result of *mi‖?ao* divination. Utsurikawa provides a detailed description of the Ami *mi?‖ao* (Utsurikawa 1938), translated as follows:

> The divinatory instrument is called *mi?‖ao* and consists of two parts. One is termed *‖ao*. A *‖ao* is a strip of bamboo, about 35cm in length, with a bamboo-joint at one end and the inside face whittled with a knife. The whittling starts from the end with the bamboo-joint, so that mane-like whittled fibres remain attached to the other end. The remaining unwhittled part of the bamboo strip thus becomes thin and string-like. The process for making a *‖ao* is rather complex. The bamboo must be cut at a definite period of the year. With rice, wine, and betel nuts as offerings, they pray to their ancestral gods. The bamboo is then smeared with cow's blood and must be kept away from women. During the next few nights, the maker must seek for dream-omens. The bamboo, the material for making a *‖ao*, is called *‖agas* in Tavarong and Kiwit. About five or six bamboos are bound into a bundle and hung above the fireplace for drying. The method of preparing a *‖ao* differs in other villages.

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

The other part of the *mi?ɬao* divinatory instrument is called *tsohak*. This is a piece of hardwood about 18cm in length. It is held under one foot of the diviner when in use. The end held under the foot is often somewhat thinner than the other end. The other end is about 4cm thick and has two or three grooves transversely carved on one side. These grooves are called *ɣakto*.

During divination, the *tsohak* is placed on the ground with the grooved side facing downward. The end without grooves is held under one foot of the diviner. The central portion of the inner face of the *ɬao* is breathed upon and smeared with ashes before it is used. Then, with the end with the mane-like fibres in his left hand, and with the end with the bamboo-joint in his right hand, the diviner saws the *ɬao* in the *ɣakto* of the *tsohak*. The *ɬao* will be severed by this heavy sawing, and the result of the divination can be read from the shape of the severed end of the part without the bamboo-joint, with the bamboo exterior facing the diviner.

By comparative study, Utsurikawa found that *mi?ɬao* divination has affinities in southeast Asia, particularly with the Kenyah and the Kayan of Borneo and with the Nagas of Assam. He therefore considered this technique as an Indonesian culture trait.

Priesthood

Among the Tavarong Ami, priests were called *kakita:n*. The office of *kakita:n* was hereditary: succession was by primogeniture through the female line. Formerly there were five or six *kakita:n* families in Tavarong, but only one, that of the late Saumah-Kuriu, remains in existence today, and will be described later. The cause of the decrease in *kikita:n* families was, according to one informant, due to the prohibition placed on native rituals by the Japanese authorities. The priestly families consequently declined because they had lost their function. The Saumah-Kuriu family retained its standing as it owned a ceremonial house with carved wooden posts; this house was designated an historical monument in 1935 by the Japanese colonial administration.

This same ceremonial house was reported by Utsurikawa (1936) and Tsijiiwa (1944). The present house keeps its original form today although it has been rebuilt in recent years and now is only one half the size of the original house described by the above two authors. Its present plan and a side-view are shown in the accompanying illustration (Figure 1). According to Utsurikawa, the original house was abandoned in May 1930 on the death of the family head Saumah-Kuriu, a decision reached at that time by the family members on account of frequent misfortune. The house itself is unique: it is the only one in the entire Ami area having carved wooden posts. The designs on these posts are human and animal figures, curved lines, and sawtooth patterns. The geometrical designs are always symmetrical in arrangement. In the changing culture of the Ami, a new type of house has been adopted by the tribesmen. This ceremonial house remains as the only surviving example of their original type of dwelling.

40: Kirk--17 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 788, 177.78

"The worship of the shrine in every household is a part of the larger program to transform 'wild savages' into good imperialistic Japanese."

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
Atayal AD4

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72

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50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Atayal

of their enemies and says: "I have camphor leaves in my hands. One who has these leaves in his hands will acquire his enemies' heads." After this spell has been recited, all members in the expedition will come forward to touch the leaves with their hands. It is said that camphor leaves are used in this ceremony because the Han people often come to the mountain region to collect camphor leaves to make camphor, and therefore they think that the camphor leaves might have the power to attract the Han people to come for them to hunt.

9. Attacking

The object of attack may be travellers, or may be a whole homestead which is near to their living section. They will attack the homestead when it does not guard against them.

10. Triumph

If the head have been gotten, they will put it in the bag [*taoqan*] and hurry back to their village. When they come to a place which their enemies can not reach, they will take out the head from the bag, and cut down its hair. This hair will be divided into two parts: a part of it will be kept in the headhunting guardian bag, and another part of it will be equally divided among those who have aided in securing this head. After the hair has been divided up, the whole troop will proceed on their way toward their home village again. When they come near the village, they will sing *qoas palis* or the triumphal songs. Then they will proceed again. As they reach the place where their village can be seen, they will stop and fire guns according to the number of heads they have gotten to be *xama²ao palis* or triumphal signals. They will shout "wao-si……" after each firing. When hearing these signals the villagers will come out in full dress to welcome the triumphant returners.

11. Celebration

After the expedition troop has come back to their village, the victim's head will be hung on the *laoŋ* or the wooden hook in the hunter's house. All members of the troop will be fully dressed and assembled there. When the celebration is begun, the head is removed from the hook and is put on a wooden mortar which is put up side down. Wine is poured into the mouth of the victim's head. Every two members will go forward in pairs to drink of this blood-wine which flows out from the victim's neck. This is called *palamo*(s). When they are exhilarated from drinking, they will start to dance and sing. The dancers hand in hand will circle the head. Flutes will be played to accompany the dance and singing. The dance and singing will continue the whole night until the dawn of the next day. This celebration is called *məs-liβu*(s).

12. Sacrificial rites for the head

On the next day, the head will be removed from the mortar and put into the middle of the *sasaquliatsan*(m) or *paca*(s) or a skull rack in front of the chief's house. A twig with some leaves on its end and with many carved grooves in its stem will be stuck on the center of the rack to be *lajan*(s) or "signal for calling souls." A bamboo stick tied with four bundles of grasses (miscanthus tinctorious) is stuck to each end of

16: Müller--237 [4] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 782, 789

There are numerous methods used to exorcise evil spirits. Often they are appeased with offerings; thus, if a man has recovered from a disease, he sacrifices a pig, etc. At other occasions, especially if the evil spirits have sown discord among a group or caused an epidemic, such as smallpox, they try to drive the evil spirit into a pig; then they cut off the ears of the pig and finally burn it so that the evil spirit is believed to be destroyed altogether.

16: Müller--237-238 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 751, 789, 824, 721

Even when there is no immediate cause for anxiety, preventive measures are used. Thus every household uses measures to drive the evil spirits from its house several times a year. For this purpose they strew grains of rice, mixed perhaps with pieces of pork [238] or small pieces of Calamus [MC: the sweet flag (Acorus Calamus) or its aromatic root] on the floor and speak magic formulas. Calamus plays an important part in all the religious ceremonies of the aborigines. If there is a smallpox epidemic, they try to appease the evil spirits by going on a headhunting expedition and presenting the head as an offering. [MC: Millet and calamus form an important part of the periodic propitiation ceremonies. For details see category 796.]

16: Müller--241 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 789, 775

Since the aborigines of Formosa are extremely superstitious, it is only natural that they have other reasons for headhunting. Its function in trial by ordeal has already been discussed. Among some tribes of the Ataiyal group, headhunting is also a necessary preparation for the festivals in honor of ancestors. It is also used as a kind of fetish for exorcizing evil spirits. Some of the aborigines believe that the soul of the man who has been killed in this way becomes subject to the power of the man who has killed him.

20: Alvarez--253
789, 764, 322

(no date) 1927

Formosan Aborigines

"The Tsalisen of the mountains in front of the Port of Takao are styled ka-lé-lang by the Chinese (4).

4. According to the highly authorized Chinese dictionary (Kang-hi), the two signs ... mean 'ugly wooden figures used to make dollies'. They are called Kalé-hi in Formosa. Such Kalé-hi are made for the purpose of exorcising the devils, when somebody suddenly dies. This name 'ugly figures' seems to have been applied by the first Chinese invaders to the savage tribes of Formosa."

7: Joest--62 [6] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 437, 562, 791, 888 Chin-hoan

There are no priests among the Chinwans, but some women hold the office of soothsayer. Old women seem to have a great deal of influence. I often saw them giving orders even to experienced warriors or swearing at them if they did not demand enough red flannel as payment for an object. During my entire stay with the Chinwans, however, they never stole anything from me, although I had to pay a high price for everything I bought from them.

7: Joest--62 [7] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 178, 787, 791 Chin-hoan

In former times soothsayers stayed in the public sleeping and assembly houses when they were consulted and wore no clothes. Today, however, they wear their holiday attire and all their ornaments and stay on a platform which usually consists of a few boards placed over a barrel. The women and girls of the village form a circle around her and join hands; they go around the platform, first slowly, and then faster and faster, and sing at the same time. The soothsayer begins to dance, slowly at first and gradually faster and more violently until she is attacked by a fit and falls off the platform. Then they catch her and carry her to the nearest hut where they try to make out, from her confused ravings, what the oracle signifies. This is often employed for less important occasions, to find out whether it will rain or whether it is time to cultivate the fields.

16: Müller--237 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 753, 791, 775, 787

The belief in the evil power of spirits is deeply rooted in native imagination. Sickness and other misfortunes are all believed to be the work of evil spirits. If one is careful, however, one may recognize the signs of his approach. The flight of birds or their call, even sneezing or gas in the stomach are thought to be signs of the presence of spirits. With the aid of soothsayers and dream specialists it is possible sometimes to escape their evil designs. Once they have taken hold of their victim, however, it is difficult to elude their grasp.

16: Müller--237 [3] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 755, 791

If a member of the household is taken seriously ill, the desire of the spirits must be learned first of all. In one tribe of the Ataiyal group it is customary to call a female soothsayer to the bedside of the sick man; there she consults the fates. She holds a small bamboo cane between her knees and balances a round stone on it. If she is able to keep it from falling from the cane by moving her right hand, the evil spirit will not be able to harm the sick man. If the stone falls off, however, the sick man's fate is sealed.

39: Wiedfeldt--16 F-3 / (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 755, 776, 787, 791 Atayal

Superstitions, fear of spirits, or similar things...are unknown to them. The old woman of the clan, the hamangoppu, tattooes, administers medicines in case of illness, and foretells whether the patient will recover, or whether the woman will have a child. She does this by dropping pieces of elder pith on a bamboo board which she holds on her knees and counting the number of pieces that fall. A raven that lights on a hut is considered an evil omen. This belief does not exist among the Chinese or Japanese. Their imagination has produced no other superstitions or spells.

34: Del Re--33-34 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 784, 562, 823, 226, 793 Yami

"So great is the importance attributed to the visit of the flying fish, that during this period fishermen are required to observe a large number of prescriptive taboos, as well as others connected with the numerous rituals observed during the actual ceremonies. These are summed up in the following commandments:---'When you go fishing, do not look down into the water.' 'Do not spit into the sea; spit into the air so that your spittle may fall upon the sea like rain.' 'Do not cast stones into the sea' ---and many others of a like nature. Another important taboo connected with the sea and most stringently enforced at this time, is that no woman shall touch or have anything to do with the flying-fish ceremony, or approach close to, much less enter, the sea. It would appear that this is related to the early creation myth in which a pregnant woman by enter-[34]ing the sea was the cause of the great flood which covered the island and destroyed all life upon it. (11)"

11. See Legand of Imulud, AYL, p. 92 lines 1 ff.

51: Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

the other gods; both he and other informants failed to indicate any practice of sun-worship[3]. The second type of *kawas* are ancestral gods, called *tatakusan*. The Tavarong Ami worship their ancestors, especially the first ancestors *lotʃi* and *rarakan*; these latter live among the Ami, although they are invisible. *ʃikawasai* (shamans) have their special gods[4]. It is clear, therefore, that the Ami have a well-developed theogony, a trait not found among the other aboriginal tribes of Formosa[5].

One who dies an unnatural death will become a *karia* or evil spirit. A person can contract an illness on encountering a *karia*.

Each individual possesses a soul, called *doŋɛ*.[6] If one's *doŋɛ* weakens, one will become sick; and if one's *doŋ* should escape from the body, one will die. In this connection, Furuno (1942: 19–23) reported that among the Ami, each human being has two souls, one on the left and one on the right shoulder. The one on the right shoulder is the good soul, and the one on the left the bad. The *karia*, or evil spirits, are the souls on the left shoulders of those who died an unnatural death.[7]

Shamanism

Religious activities are carried out by *ʃikawasai*, or shamans, and *kakita:n*, or priests. The functions of both are well-defined. A *ʃikawasai* is consulted mainly to strengthen or call back the *doŋɛ* of a sick person. In this sense, the *ʃikawasai* may be defined as medicine-men. The *kakita:n* manage the Ami religious ceremonies, most of which are agricultural in nature. A *ʃikawasai* is believed to have been chosen by a dead *ʃikawasai* or by the *ʃikawasai* gods. When a young boy or girl contracts a chronic illness, he (or she) is regarded as having been chosen, and it is believed that that individual be cured by becoming a *ʃikawasai*. This child will then be taught the techniques by an older *ʃikawasai*. In the first year of his apprenticeship, until the next *irisiŋ* (the Ami New Year), a taboo on the eating of fish and vegetables must be observed. He is also required to pursue hard labor and to abstain from washing the body. A primary qualification for a *ʃikawasai* is the ability to achieve a state of delirium.

There are today approximately ten *ʃikawasai* in Tavarong, seven men and three women. Oikawa's contention that there are more female than male *ʃikawasai*

3. Furuno [1945:20] recorded the following belief from the Hsiu-ku-luan Ami: "*tʃidar*" the sun, gave life to human beings, animals, and plants. We think that she is a *kawas*, too. Rituals cannot be carried on without *tʃidar*. The *kakita:n* call on *tʃidar* in the *irisiŋ*. At harvest time, we gave thanks to this goddess."
4. Sayama [1914] listed the names of two *ʃikawasai* gods, *saoriŋa* and *sararazoi*.
5. Mabuchi [1934-35] discusses this theogony.
6. Furuno [1940:19-21] and Mabuchi [1934-35] recorded the *doŋɛ* as a goddess.
7. This belief is found among other Formosan tribes. For a Bunun example, see Mabuchi [1951:56].

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

The other part of the *mi?ʃao* divinatory instrument is called *tsohak*. This is a piece of hardwood about 18cm in length. It is held under one foot of the diviner when in use. The end held under the foot is often somewhat thinner than the other end. The other end is about 4cm thick and has two or three grooves transversely carved on one side. These grooves are called *ŋakto*.

During divination, the *tsohak* is placed on the ground with the grooved side facing downward. The end without grooves is held under one foot of the diviner. The central portion of the inner face of the *ʃao* is breathed upon and smeared with ashes before it is used. Then, with the end with the mane-like fibres in his left hand, and with the end with the bamboo-joint in his right hand, the diviner saws the *ʃao* in the *ŋakto* of the *tsohak*. The *ʃao* will be severed by this heavy sawing, and the result of the divination can be read from the shape of the severed end of the part without the bamboo-joint, with the bamboo exterior facing the diviner.

By comparative study, Utsurikawa found that *mi?ʃao* divination has affinities in southeast Asia, particularly with the Kenyah and the Kayan of Borneo and with the Nagas of Assam. He therefore considered this technique as an Indonesian culture trait.

Priesthood

Among the Tavarong Ami, priests were called *kakita:n*. The office of *kakita:n* was hereditary: succession was by primogeniture through the female line. Formerly there were five or six *kakita:n* families in Tavarong, but only one, that of the late Saumah-Kuriu, remains in existence today, and will be described later. The cause of the decrease in *kikita:n* families was, according to one informant, due to the prohibition placed on native rituals by the Japanese authorities. The priestly families consequently declined because they had lost their function. The Saumah-Kuriu family retained its standing as it owned a ceremonial house with carved wooden posts; this house was designated an historical monument in 1935 by the Japanese colonial administration.

This same ceremonial house was reported by Utsurikawa (1936) and Tsijiiwa (1944). The present house keeps its original form today although it has been rebuilt in recent years and now is only one half the size of the original house described by the above two authors. Its present plan and a side-view are shown in the accompanying illustration (Figure 1). According to Utsurikawa, the original house was abandoned in May 1930 on the death of the family head Saumah-Kuriu, a decision reached at that time by the family members on account of frequent misfortune. The house itself is unique: it is the only one in the entire Ami area having carved wooden posts. The designs on these posts are human and animal figures, curved lines, and sawtooth patterns. The geometrical designs are always symmetrical in arrangement. In the changing culture of the Ami, a new type of house has been adopted by the tribesmen. This ceremonial house remains as the only surviving example of their original type of dwelling.

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

On the sixth day, all grade members gathered once more in front of the *kakita:n* house. At this time, all the *šikawasai* (shamans) of the town came to the house and performed rites to ward off disease from the attending celebrants. Then, the *šikawasai* danced together, while the others went out to their own fields to perform a ceremony of mimical cultivation to guarantee a good harvest in the year to come.

The final day of the *irisiŋ*, all the inhabitants of Tavarong went to fish in the streams and rivers. Each individual offered one fish to the gods to inform them that the New Year had commenced. After the celebrants returned to the town, the fish were offered to the *tatakusan*, the ancestral gods; the offering was then divided up among the populace and eaten, thus breaking the taboo on fish and vegetables. This concluded the *irisiŋ*.

Conclusions

In our examination of Ami religion, we found that at least in part Ami society can be considered as a theocracy. The *kakita:n*, the hereditary priests, combined in their persons both temporal and spiritual power. The priestly house served as the ceremonial and political center of the tribesmen and may bear some theoretical importance as a possible prototype of the village-temple.

Shamans and priests are clearly distinguished among the Ami. The former succeeded by reincarnation, and the latter through inheritance. Ami shamanism [this was still true in 1953] in typically Asiatic, in that its practitioners are emotionally unstable individuals who derive their power from direct contact with the spiritual world; this contact is made at times of the greatest physical strain [chronic illness]. Ami shamanism is also of a non-Arctic type, since the neophyte is indoctrinated with the shamanistic techniques, instead of receiving them through spiritual experiences of a personal, charismatic nature. The shamans practice a complex and typically Indonesian type of divination.

As with many other peoples of the Indonesian culture area, no sharp distinction is made by the Ami between gods, spirits, and souls, which are all designated by the generic term *kawas*. However, the Ami are atypical among the Formosan tribes in that they possess a relatively highly developed genealogical mythology or theogony. The possible relation between this theogony and Ami social structure is worthy of future study. It may be of significance, for instance, that in this matrilineal society the sun is a female goddess, and the moon male. This spiritual world provides the power and justification for all Ami religious activities, being beseeched with prayers and bribed with offerings.

The *irisiŋ*, the great New Year ceremony which was described in detail, is functionally a world renewal ritual, the renewal of the powers of the stream and soil and, in fact, a renewal of the whole society. In this, the population was

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

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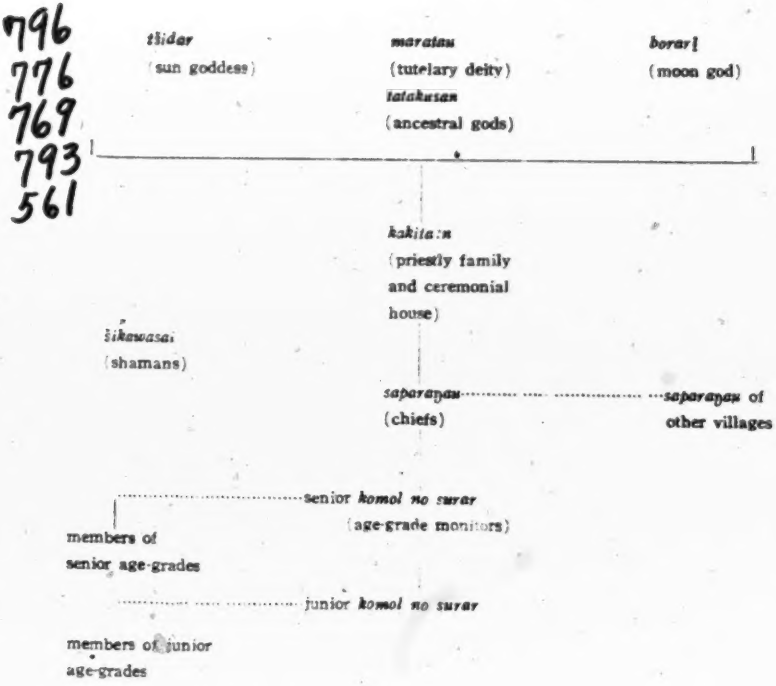

Figure 2: the Ami hierarchy at *irisiŋ*

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

purified through fasting, symbolical washing of hands, and shamanistic expulsion of disease. The structure of the Ami universe is at this time stated as a hierarchy in which each rank of seniority hands down precepts to be obeyed by the next lower rank [see Figure 2]. At the top level, for among the Ami the spiritual world is continuous with the material, are the sun goddess, the moon god, and *maralau*, the tutelary deity who instructed men in the order of things on earth. With them are the *tatakusan*, the ancestral gods who are to be respected as elders and whose way of life is to be followed. Under these were the *kakita:n*, the priestly families who carried out the will of the gods in this world. The rest of the Ami were arranged by seniority into a system of age-grades, each with its chosen monitor, and each harkening to the instructions passed down from the next senior age-grade. Acting as intermediaries between the priests and the laity were the *saparaŋau*, leaders of proven ability selected from the ranks of the elder grades. This structure was annually affirmed symbolically in the *irisiŋ*, and it clear that it was basically gerontocratic in nature, in that the real power was in the hands of old men.

All this is of course now passing away, and element after element of the old Ami way of life is either disappearing or being reinterpreted to meet new conditions. In the realm of social organization, for instance, there is a definite drift in Tavarong and other Ami areas towards patrilineal descent and neolocality, a change fostered by Japanese and Chinese pressure. Ami religion is fast changing, and the *kakita:n* house itself is an unused, half-forgotten relic of interest primarily only to ethnographers. Shamanism for some as yet unexplaind reason has persisted; this is a field for further study.

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21: Asai--2-3 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 621, 622, 626, 794 Atayal

"Among the Atayal, there are four ritual leagues called gagas in one community, each with its own chief. All four gaga are not always in one village. In one village there may be two. One part of the village will belong to one and the other [3] part to another. Among the gaga there is the head of the ceremonies. At present few ceremonies are practiced in the name of gaga. Membership in gagas is hereditary through the father. A man who immigrated into a village from another village would not be able to join the gaga of the new village. If he marries a woman of the new village, his son can join the gaga. It is possible to marry within the gaga. The gaga play an important role in social control."

16: Müller--238-240 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 796, 769 Tsuo

Among the Tso'o aborigines there are three festivals to propitiate beneficent spirits every year. The most important of these at the same time marks the time when the harvest of millet begins; it is held under the sacred tree [239] which is the habitat of the spirits. To prepare for this festival the women brew the wine made from millet with many ceremonies, using millet which they have chewed beforehand to ferment it. On the day of the festival the unmarried young men ring a bell and all the heads of families start out for the sacred tree. They carry a bunch of Calamus reeds [MC: the sweet flag (Acorus Calamus)] tied together with fiber; the Calamus must be grown under the sacred tree. When they have arrived at the tree, the village elder sacrifices a bamboo cup filled with wine made of millet, murmuring incantations at the same time; during this time the others kneel down. After this everyone plants his Calamus under the sacred tree. On the following day [240] the young men again ring the bell and all the inhabitants, dressed in their holiday attire, assemble in the house of the chieftain. The oldest man in the village and the chieftain then sing a song in praise of the ancestral spirits. After this, all the participants form a solemn procession and march to the hut of the unmarried men where they dance around a fire. On the last day of the festival a banquet and a drinking bout are held.

In Polysia, the festival in honor of the ancestral spirits is somewhat different. On the first day there is a race for the boys, and the victor is given a red flat. On the second day the people assemble in the chieftain's house. There they knead viscous rice with their hands in a solemn fashion and give it the shape of a fish; the chieftain then cuts off the head and tail of the fish and distributes the body among those present. He puts the head and tail in a basket which he attaches to a bundle of Calamus. [MC: the sweet flag (Acorus Calamus)] After that he leads the people to the sacred tree; everyone carries a single Calamus reed. A huge stone lies under the tree.* Then the rites connected

* In the mythology of the natives, a huge stone under a tree is connected with the origin of headhunting. They say that this stone once split in half and a woman arose from it. The children of this woman had a feud which was arbitrated by an ordeal. He was to be the victor who would kill the greatest number of bears on a bear-hunting expedition. Later, when the Chinese came to this island and their strength and knowledge was compared to that of bears, the Chinese became the objects of the hunt.

with the offering begin. The young men present their Calamus to the chieftain and then turn around. The chieftain places his own offering of Calamus and rice and that of the others on the sacred stone, murmuring incantations at the same time. Then he pushes

his spear into the lower part of the tree trunk, and at the same time all the young men run home with loud shouts. On the third day of the festival, they hunt for stags. They make an offering of the stag, or, if they have not been successful, of a pig, to the spirits of their ancestors. The fourth and last day of the festival is a gay one: the people eat, drink, and dance as long as they can.

19: Guérin and Bernard--563 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 273, 796

The aborigines celebrate three annual feasts which correspond to the sowing or harvesting of rice, millet and chickweed. The Tayal call them by the picturesque name of work of the cups. As a matter of fact, there is a great deal of drinking, and according to a custom which is fraternal rather than convenient, people drink two by two out of the same vessel. There is some preliminary hunting, so the natives always have an ample supply of venison. The guests get drunk, fight, and then when the ceremony is over, they limber up their muscles in a hunt.

21: Asai--4-5 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 241, 769, 796

"A special ceremony takes place just after the harvest. In such ceremonies, wine and foods are offered to the souls of the ancestors, who live in the land of the dead. The people chant [5] ceremonial songs to make the souls come to the village. The dances last sometimes 24 hours in one week successively in Saisiyat. This is called the period of pastaai. The people bring rice and cooking utensils. The festival usually takes place in November. Through Chinese influence, there are sometimes two festivals, spring and autumn."

34: Del Re--30-33 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 796, 825 Yami

"The Flying-Fish Festival is not only the central event of the Yami year but the whole of the communal life of the tribe revolves around it. Not without reason, indeed, since these fish not only constitute their most valued article [pages 31 and 32 contain illustrations] [33] of food, but are regarded as symbols of the tribal spirit."

34: Del Re--33 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosans Aborigines
116, 796, 805, 622, 756, 226 Yami

"The ceremony of 'calling' the flying-fish opens the year which begins, according to the Yami system, in April corresponding, in the solar calendar, to October. It is accompanied by most elaborate ritual observances the purpose of which is to secure a good season and to celebrate the arrival of the fish. On this occasion the tribe annually chooses the man whom it considered best fitted to exercise the role of high priest and to represent it. It may be noted in passing that, contrary to what occurs in other tribes, the Yami have no medicine-women, all ritual observances being restricted to men alone."

34: Del Re--34-37 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 221, 226, 241, 796 Yami

"In the Yami calendar the months of May, June and July (i. e. November, December and January) are almost wholly given up to catching flying-fish, the greater part of which are dried. The fishing is done by night, from small canoes and in large ones during the first two months, but, on the third, only by day. During the fourth month however, fishing by night and by day and with small canoes is permitted. Meanwhile the womenfolk collect the fibrous bark of certain shrubs, mainly the abaka, which they dye, spin and weave on primitive handlooms into cloth with admirably decorative designs in colour. When the flying-fish season is over, and during the months of August and September (February, March) the crops of tarô and suli are gathered in and the fields worked over. October (April) is the month set aside specially for the making of the earthenware dishes and pots used in the flying-fish ceremony. During November (May) they finish eating their store of dried flying-fish, while December (June) is mainly devoted to preparing the lime the savages chew with their betel-nuts, used for both medical and dyeing purposes. In January (July) they cut down the onigaya (misacanthus) out of which they fashion torches for the flying-fish ceremony, and celebrate the mil- [pages 35 and 36 contain illustrations] [37] let harvest. Millet, suli and tarô are sown in February (August), while March (September) is principally given up to catching mamibiki, a largish flat fish which is found in considerable quantities in these waters."

34: Del Re--37-38 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 621, 626, 796 Yami

"In concluding these remarks it should be stressed that while each individual must contribute by his work to the welfare of the community, he is otherwise free to join or not as he pleases in the communal life without exposing himself to criticism or censure except, of course, during the flying-fish festival where failure to comply with the tribal customs would not only involve him but the whole [38] community in the direst misfortunes."

34: Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines

Yami

THE FLYING FISH CEREMONY (*Native Drawing*): Note decorated communal canoe and silver helmets

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34: Del Re--47 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan-Aborigines
823, 796

"It seems that the natives, believing that large fish cause storms, instituted an annual ceremony of pacification in which only youths and girls take part, since the original couple changed into fish were also young."

34: Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
651, 796 Yami

[MLB: The caption below the photograph on p. 17 states that on ceremonial occasions such as weddings, a tax is levied on the villagers in the form of a large iron basin.]

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

of five to twelve houses. Chinimoan had 55 houses and Pinaiwanan 101. The cultivated fields around the village were possessed by the aristocratic households (*usam na mamatsayiran*) of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. By annexing and transition of these fields, their state of possession had become rather complicated. The distribution of aristocratic households had also become rather complicated too. The village had 12 aristocratic households, 9 of them belonged to the Chimo. Among them was the *ruvanian* household which was of the highest rank. The *ruvanian* also in charge of the *satsilapan* household which was saved as a village temple in time of our investigation. These two households were both situated on the upper part of Chinimoan. The other 8 Chimo aristocratic households were equally distributed in the two hamlets. The *tfaluŋi*, the *matsiliat*, the *gumul*, and the *voto* were in Chinimoan, while the south *tfalas*, the north *tfalas*, the *tarapatea*, and the *tfalusaŋiu* were in Pinaiwanan. Two of the Paiwan aristocratic households, the *lusiguan* and the *alijulan* were in *Pinaiwanan*, and the *atsinajan* was in southeast end of Chinimoan. From the distribution of those households, therefore, we may say that the significance of the distinction of Chinimoan and Pinaiwanan has been lost. But by their possession of hunting grounds (*aluliapan*), the existence of dual organization in the early days has been revealed. The village had 6 localities of hunting grounds, two lay south and east of the village, *pasulaval* and *vuit*, and belonged to the Chimo chiefs, four lay in west and north and belonged to the Paiwan chiefs. At the time of investigation, *alulialiav* and *pasulaots* belonged to the *lusiguan* household; *patsavatsavan*, south *tfalas*; *pasupaots*, north *tfalas*. The latter two may have been annexed by the Chimo. The fishing grounds were similar in condition to hunting grounds. The Lai-i River (or the *pasulaval* river as it is called by the natives) was the fishing grounds of the Chimo. Most of the lower part belonged to the *atsinajan*, *lusiguan*, north *tfalas*, *gumul*, *tara'atea* and the south *tfalas* respectively. The tributary of the Lai-i River, which is called *pasuivelin* by the natives, was originally the fishing grounds of the Paiwan but it was then divided into two parts and is owned by the *atsinajan* and the north *tfalas*. The Chimo though they predominated over the Paiwan in hunting grounds, and equalled the Paiwan in fishing grounds, had less influence on aspects of religious and ritual. *Para'aree*, the priest of the most important religion rite *malɔvo*, the five-years-feast, was a member of the *atsinajan* household of the Paiwan. The ceremonies of *malɔvo* was initiated in the *lusiguan* and *atsinajan* of the Paiwan and then performed in Chimo households. Two of the three *puliŋao* or priestesses who sang songs for inviting gods were Paiwan. But the *pusao* or the six-years-feast was performed by the Chimo priest and priestesses. The *para'aree* and *puliŋao* of these two groups have acquired their techniques from their own group. This teaching had been kept secret from each other.

By the above mentioned facts, we may assume that the Paiwan are the natives and the Chimo came later. The Chimo though predominated over the Paiwan in economic and political power, but the Paiwan have maintained their position in religious life.

58: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Atayal

descendants of the sixth generation counting from him. It is said that about 80 years ago, *ufi* lived originally in Shih-t'an Hsiang. It was his son *layao-ufi* that moved to Hu-shan. *layao-ufi* had a daughter *qojo-layao* and a son *βaitso-layao*. *qojo-layao* married *taimo-layao*, the grandfather of *joqex-etex*. *βaitso-layao*, the younger brother of *qojo-layao*, had entered *camil maililax* because he was brought up in his sister's husband's family which belonged to *camil məililax*. This case indicates that a *camil* member may not be cansanguinity, A *camil* may include members from other *camil*. Thus *tapilas* is a local social group which is interwoven by the above mentioned k groups.

III. HEAD-HUNTING

Though the Atayal has been famous for their old custom of headhunting, the *Tsəo²le²* Tribe which inhabits the regions closer to the plains occupied by the Han people, abandoned the custom earlier than other tribes. In *tapilas* and *paqali*, only a few persons have had experience of head-hunting. The *fiaqalo* Atayal kept the custom until more recent time because they had lived formerly in a more remote regions known as *jaβayan* and *loxqax*. They were coerced by the Japanese to move into this region. The following accounts were given by *joqex-etex* and *taqun-nomin* (70 years of age, he had moved from *loxqax* of *fiaqalo*). In the following descriptions when the custom of these two villages do not accord with each other, (m) indicates that of the former, and (s) that of the latter.

1. Reasons for undertaking a head-hunting expedition

Head-hunting in Atayal is called *mə-qaqa*. It means "to observe the old tradition". According to the motive of the expedition, it may be divided into the following three kinds: (1) for blood vengeance; (2) for military achievement; and (3) for settling dispute. The former two are called *məqetsβo*(m) or *məfiβo*(s), which means "hunting"; the last one is called *məqulaqam*(m) or *²əmələs no qoaq*(s), which means "settling dispute". The former two kinds are employed to venge oneself against the member of another tribe or sometimes one's own tribe; the latter kind undertaken to settle a quarrel between kinsmen. The result of the headhunting expedition, whether it has succeeded or failed, is regarded as the judgement on the case shown by the wishes of their ancestral spirits; therefore the quarrel could be thus settled. It is for this reason that they must carry with them a *tsineto*(s) or *tenato*(m) or a guardian bag.

2. The organization of a hunting expedition

To organize a head-hunting expedition permission must be securred from the Chief. An expedition may consist of two or three or as many as seventy persons. In *tapilas*, participants, as a rule, are enlisted from the same *camil*, though sometimes members of a friendly *camil* may also join them. The participants elect their own *paqa-lain* or leader. The leader is to hold ceremonies and to command attacks.

3. Oath and New fire

After the expedition has been organized, all participants assemble in a certain

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
Atayal AD4

721 place to take an oath for starting their hunting trip. *joqex-etex* said that on this
• 786 occasion, the leader stood in front of all participants, with a wooden-spoon [*sasowai*] in his right hand and with a torch made of palm-fibre in his left hand, he prayed to their ancestor-spirits: "I hold this ceremony according to the old tradition of our tribe. This spoon and torch have been transmitted to us from our ancestors because they represent good fortune. Drinking this water in the spoon and lighted by this torch, we shall have good luck." After this, each participant moistened his right hand in the spoon and sucked it with his lips. Then, the torch was lighted. The ignition was by flint and steel. This fire had to be divided among the participants to light a new fire in their own houses. *taqun-nomin* said that the condition of the ignition revealed omens of the expedition.

4. Taboo after the new fire

721 After the new fire had been lighted, many kinds of taboo had to be observed.
784 The more important ones were: (1) prohibition from extinguishing the kitchen fire; (2)
791 prohibition from weaving (this taboo must be observed by all families of the same *qotox litan*(s) or hunting group. Other hunting groups though may be released from this taboo, but the warp beam must be filled up with cloth fragments to prevent its making a sound when weaving.); (3) prohibition from intercourse and exchange of gift with the family which is quarrelling with the other family; (4) prohibition for holding a ceremony; (5) prohibition to make a noise; (6) prohibition to steal; (7) prohibition to commit adultery (this is applied to families of the same hunting group).

5. Costumes and foods

721 The leader and other participants of the expedition dressed according to their
[26] regulation, and brought weapons, bags for transporting the hunted heads, and ear-
721 ornaments to be used in time of returning in triumph with them. Foods prepared to be consumed for the expedition were salt, millet-cakes, ginger, etc.

6. Dream divination

787 In the evening before the expedition is to start, they seek for dream omens which are called *mital sapijil*(n) or *mata spi*(s). If most of the participants have bad dream, the expedition will be postponed or cancelled.

7. Bird divination

If a good omen is gotten from the dream, two or three members of the expedition will be sent out early in the morning to hear the chirping of a kind of bird called *siljeq*. If an evil omen is gotten, the expedition must stay over night at the place where the bird divination had taken place, and will have another divination the following morning. If again an evil omen is gotten, they will cancel the trip.

8. Calling the souls of the enemy

721 If a good omen is revealed by the bird divination, the expedition will start on its
788 way. The first thing they must do after they have reached the destination is to hold a ceremony for calling the souls of their enemies to come, which is called *somilai*. In the ceremony the leader has camphor leaves in his hands, he points these in the direction

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
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surviving example of their original type of dwelling.

The *kikita;n* managed the religious ceremonies, which were entirely concerned with the staple crops, millet and rice. The following were the more important agricultural rituals:

misauma	millet-sowing
mikolas	millet-weeding
mihavai	millet-harvest
misapanai	rice-sowing
mi?ot?ot	rice-weeding
mibanai	rice-harvest
irisiŋ	New Year, following termination of *mihavai* in mid-September

We will describe the *irisiŋ* and the function of the *kakita;n* during this rite in a later section.

Age-grades

We will describe the Tavarong Ami age-grading system in detail for two reasons, firstly, because some inaccuracies about this system have appeared in the literature, and secondly, because age-grading is at the heart of the Ami social structure.

The Ami age-grade system has been discussed by Ino (1910 and 1912), Koizumi (1928), Okada (1932a and 1932b), Kamura (1939:259–277), Furuno (1945:285–320), and others. Okada describes Ami age-grading as follows:

> The age-grade systems of the tribe may be separated into two forms: those consisting of three class divisions—childhood, youth, and manhood with old age (found among the Nan-shih, Hsiu-ku-luan, and Hai-an groups); and those consisting of four class divisions—childhood, youth in the prepartory stage, youth, and manhood with old age (found among the Pei-nan and Heng-ch'un groups). The Ami age-grade systems may also be classified according to names above the youth class into three types: 1) those having a limited group of names which are cyclically used, 2) those in which names are assigned to all new grades, and 3) those which combine the previous two types. (Okada 1939: 14).

Okada has pointed out that the Nan-shih group and Vataan of the Hsiu-ku-luan group belong to the first classification; the Pei-nan, Hai-an, and Heng-ch'un groups and Tavarong of the Hsiu-ku-luan group to the second; and Kiwit of the Hsiu-ku-luan group to the third classification.

Wei in a recent article (1953) only recorded two types based on the assignment of names to age-grades. He names the first type of Okada as the "Nan-shih type" and the second as the "Ma-lan type". Okada's third type which is represented by Kiwit is classified by Wei under the "Nan-shih type". Wei also stated that

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participates in the *misuḷar*, the initiation rite, and becomes a member of the first grade. Since the initiation rite is held only once every five years in the *saḷuratan*, the assembly hall, two or three days before the *irisiŋ*, there is some range of ages at which boys are initiated. On the day of the *misuḷar* all the old grades are promoted, although their grade names remain unchanged. A member of the Rariwas grade, for instance, remains so throughout life. Vudai-Katɛ reported that the interval between initiation rites was longer in the ancient days, and that it was reduced because of the increasing village population which has resulted in the increase of members in each grade.[9] Each grade has its monitor, callad *komol no surar*. Persons showing abilities for leadership will become monitors by common assent. Wei (1953) states:

> Leadership within each grade is determined by seniority as well as by ability. When a grade is formed, one of them will be chosen to be the nominal leader on the basis of seniority. At the same time, two or three others can establish their leadership by their abilities, achievements, and wealth. They participate in the activities of the organization when the grade itself is still in the preparatory stage, to show their capacities and win support from their fellow grade-members.

Our information, however, indicates that in Tavarong there is only one leader in each grade, and he is chosen for his abilities.

The irisiŋ

We have already referred to the *irisiŋ* as one of the great Ami agricultural rituals. Furuno (1945:101–103) has described the *irisiŋ*, which was the Ami New Year. After the millet-harvesting rite, there was a lull in the life of Tavarong. Since there was little to do, the townsmen repaired their houses. On the first full moon following the house repairs, the *irisiŋ* commenced. It was the most important ritual of the year. The *irisiŋ* was managed by the *kakita:n* family. One female and one male member of the family were leaders of the ritual. The female member was always the head of the family, and the male was her brother.

Saumah-Kuriu, the head of the remaining *kakita:n* family of Tavarong, had three siblings; Namo?-Kuras[10] (male), ŋadai-Kuriu (female), and Riŋa-Kuriu (female). In the Tavarong *irisiŋ*, Saumah and her brother Namo? were the leaders. The ceremonial procedures followed about thirty years ago were described by informants Vuei-Mayau, Rata-Namo? (Saumah's husband), and Vudai-Katɛ, and are given in the paragraphs which follow.

One week before the start of the ritual, all the siblings of Saumah returned to the family house and began the observation of the taboo on eating fish and

9. The period of years between initiation rites varies in different Ami villages. Nataoran, Pokpok, and Ridau hold a *misuḷar* every seven years, Kiwit and Malan every three years.
10. This name is given as Namo?- Kuriu in *Taihoku Teikoku Daigaku, Jinshugaku Kenkyushitsu* [1935:chart 275].

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
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796 vegetables. On the evening of the sixth day of the fast, Saumah ascended the roof of her own house and shouted "auuuu ···· !" to inform the villagers to start preparations for the ritual. This act is termed ***misamsam***. In the evening of the following day, Saumah repeated this performance, but in this case it was to inform her several related families. This phase is termed ***misatamuru***. The evening of the eighth day of the fast, Saumah again ascended her roof and shouted "patanam kita·····!" Then, following this, Namo? went out to visit the related families.

The next day was the first day of the *irisiŋ*. That morning, all the chiefs (*saparaŋau*) of Tavarong gathered in the *kakita:n* ceremonial house. Members of the senior grades who had performed unusual services for the tribesmen could be chiefs if they were recognized by other chiefs and by the monitors of all grades. In those days, there were about ten chiefs in the town. Wine, rice-cakes, chickens, and a pig were then offered to the gods in the ceremonial house. About twenty youths of the town were called to the *kakita:n* house and then dispatched to the neighboring villages to spread the word that the *irisiŋ* had begun. Each youth took with him a bottle of wine which he presented to the *saparaŋau* of the village he visited. The chief who received the wine gave back a bottle in return; the youth brought this back to Tavarong and presented it to his *saparaŋau* and to the gods. The wine was then divided between the *saparaŋau* and the youths. Then, the youths left the house and danced in the courtyard; the chiefs remained inside the ceremonial house the whole night.

On the second day of the ritual, the youths of the town gathered and danced in front of the *kakita:n* house. The *saparaŋau* addressed the monitors of all fifteen grades inside the *kakita:n* house, the contents of their speeches being a survey of the results of the past year and admonitions to work hard and behave well in the future.

On the third day, age-grade members assembled in the houses of their own grade monitors and danced in the courtyards. The monitors repeated the addresses of the *saparaŋau* and urged the grade members to respect their elders and be on good behavior in the coming year.

The fourth day, representatives were sent by each age grade to the monitors of the elder grades to hear precepts from them. They retold these precepts to their own grade members on their return.

About two o'clock in the afternoon of the fifth day, all fifteen grades gathered in front of the *kakita:n* house. They first danced in the courtyard, then gathered before the *saparaŋau;* there they washed their hands in wine brought in by Namo?-Kuras this action removing evil and providing blessings. Saumah-Kuriu then entered the ceremonial house with two or three packs of betel nuts, which she put on a table. After a blessing was pronounced over them by Saumah, they were distributed to all the attending grade members. The meeting was then dismissed. It was considered a happy omen to have a good dream that night.

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
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On the sixth day, all grade members gathered once more in front of the *kaʻita:n* house. At this time all the *šikawasai* (shamans) of the town came to the house and performed rites to ward off disease from the attending celebrants. Then, the *šikawasai* danced together, while the others went out to their own fields to perform a ceremony of mimical cultivation to guarantee a good harvest in the year to come.

The final day of the *irisiŋ*, all the inhabitants of Tavarong went to fish in the streams and rivers. Each individual offered one fish to the gods to inform them that the New Year had commenced. After the celebrants returned to the town, the fish were offered to the *tatakusan*, the ancestral gods; the offering was then divided up among the populace and eaten, thus breaking the taboo on fish and vegetables. This concluded the *irisiŋ*.

Conclusions

In our examination of Ami religion, we found that at least in part Ami society can be considered as a theocracy. The *kakita:n*, the hereditary priests, combined in their persons both temporal and spiritual power. The priestly house served as the ceremonial and political center of the tribesmen and may bear some theoretical importance as a possible prototype of the village-temple.

Shamans and priests are clearly distinguished among the Ami. The former succeeded by reincarnation, and the latter through inheritance. Ami shamanism [this was still true in 1953] in typically Asiatic, in that its practitioners are emotionally unstable individuals who derive their power from direct contact with the spiritual world; this contact is made at times of the greatest physical strain [chronic illness]. Ami shamanism is also of a non-Arctic type, since the neophyte is indoctrinated with the shamanistic techniques, instead of receiving them through spiritual experiences of a personal, charismatic nature. The shamans practice a complex and typically Indonesian type of divination.

As with many other peoples of the Indonesian culture area, no sharp distinction is made by the Ami between gods, spirits, and souls, which are all designated by the generic term *kawas*. However, the Ami are atypical among the Formosan tribes in that they possess a relatively highly developed genealogical mythology or theogony. The possible relation between this theogony and Ami social structure is worthy of future study. It may be of significance, for instance, that in this matrilineal society the sun is a female goddess, and the moon male. This spiritual world provides the power and justification for all Ami religious activities, being beseeched with prayers and bribed with offerings.

The *irisiŋ*, the great New Year ceremony which was described in detail, is functionally a world renewal ritual, the renewal of the powers of the stream and soil and, in fact, a renewal of the whole society. In this, the population was

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formōsa
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776
769
793
561

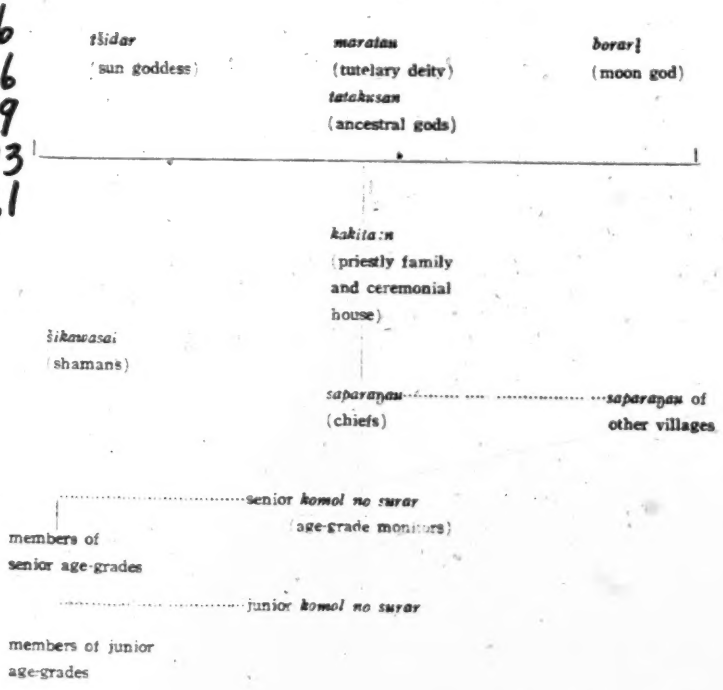

Figure 2: the Ami hierarchy at *irisiŋ*

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
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purified through fasting, symbolical washing of hands, and shamanistic expulsion of disease. The structure of the Ami universe is at this time stated as a hierarchy in which each rank of seniority hands down precepts to be obeyed by the next lower rank [see Figure 2]. At the top level, for among the Ami the spiritual world is continuous with the material, are the sun goddess, the moon god, and *maratau*, the tutelary deity who instructed men in the order of things on earth. With them are the *tatakusan*, the ancestral gods who are to be respected as elders and whose way of life is to be followed. Under these were the *kakita:n*, the priestly families who carried out the will of the gods in this world. The rest of the Ami were arranged by seniority into a system of age-grades, each with its chosen monitor, and each harkening to the instructions passed down from the next senior age-grade. Acting as intermediaries bstween the priests and the laity were the *saparaŋau*. leaders of proven ability selected from the ranks of the elder grades. This structure was annually affirmed symbolically in the *irisiŋ*, and it clear that it was basically gerontocratic in nature, in that the real power was in the hands of old men.

All this is of course now passing away, and element after element of the old Ami way of life is either disappearing or being reinterpreted to meet new conditions. In the realm of social organization, for instance, there is a definite drift in Tavarong and other Ami areas towards patrilineal descent and neolocality, a change fostered by Japanese and Chinese pressure. Ami religion is fast changing, and the *kakita:n* house itself is an unused, half-forgotten relic of interest primarily only to ethnographers. Shamanism for some as yet unexplaind reason has persisted; this is a field for further study.

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34: Del Re--29 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
177, 797

"10: cpr. account of marriage customs etc. among Western tribes in VF, Pt. I, p. 8-10. This is of special interest as referring to a period in their social evolution anterior to their partial conversion to Christianity by Dutch missionaries in the South and Spanish Catholic fathers in the North, which temporarily affected their gradual sinicization. Among the former was the famous Georgius Candidius, who arrived in Formosa in 1627."

37: Steere--306 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 797, 212 Sek-hoan

"The Lek-whan first learned something of Christianity a little over two years ago, when one of the tribe, an old hunter, strayed down to Taiwanfu, and into the missionary hospital there, where he was cured of an ulcer, and took back with him some idea of the Christian religion. This rapidly spread among the Lek-whans, and there are now four or five hundred church members among them, with many more who have thrown away their Chinese idols and their own idolatry, and have become regular attendants upon the Christian services. There are five or six chapels established among them, and the same number of schools, where the Romanized coloquial is taught them, and I saw many girls and boys who had learned to read and write it. This Romanized colloquial is Chinese of the Fuh Kien dialect, spelled out in Roman letters, with certain marks to show the Chinese accents. There is a lack of school-books, there being nothing but the new testament and a hymn book yet translated into this dialect,"

40: Kirk-- 16-17 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 798

"Christian missionaries came to Formosa in the nineteenth century and carried on evangelical work among the [17] aborigines, but now under Japanese rule religious teaching is prohibited in administrative districts. A member of the Atayal tribe, who received his training in Taihoku, spent three months in prison, it is said, because he 'preached the gospel' among his own people in administrative districts. Previously the young man had been appointed to work among the Ami, who are considered as having been assimilated by the Japanese, and the military police did not interfere with his mission there. His personal efforts in behalf of his own people, the Atayal, however, led to his arrest on the grounds of religious propaganda. Specifically, he was charged with failure to show proper respect to the 'god-shelf,' or Shinto Shrine, in his own home."

11: Haguenauer--42-43 T-3 (no date) 1929 **Formosan Aborigines**
116, 212, 802 **Atayal**

The Tayal are practically uncivilized. The Tayal do not have any means of writing, and when they want to do some arithmetic, they use strings of knotted straw or little sticks; [43] addition, subtraction, multiplication and division are done by means of little sticks, which are laid on the ground.

18: Kakyo--67 E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 802

The Formosa savages have numerals up to 1,000 or even 10,000. (The question if they actually employ these terms does not belong here.)

22: Wiedfeldt--31 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 685, 554, 802, 614 Atayal

On the basis of this kind of evidence [MC: i. e. skull trophies], disputed land is awarded to a clan, or a penalty is imposed on a clan. The head of the clan then assigns the land to the family concerned, or demands that they comply with the penalty. In business which concerns only the clan, the procedure is the same. All payments are made by the clan heads, with the occasional assistance of a wise man, that is, one who can surely count up to 30. The payment of the price for a bride, and the adoption settlements, etc., are also mostly made with the help of the head of the clan, for the ordinary Atayal can count up to 5 at the most. In decisions of this sort, where there are two steps, one of which is carried out between clans and the other within the clan, there is no difficulty in putting them into effect, as the tangible nature of what is generally recognized as evidence is a help.

31: Hofmann--625 [3] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 181, 774, 802 Tsou

The aborigines believe in a life after death. They believe that everyone has two souls; one of these remains in the house after death, while the other lives in the jungles on Arisan. The natives therefore enter this region with all signs of awe and reverence. They seem to be an intelligent people on the whole; one indication of this is that they have terms for high numbers such as hundred, thousand, and million. There would be no difficulties in giving them instruction except that they value their freedom and their own customs above everything else and thus fear and avoid the fetters of civilization.

39: Wiedfeldt--11-12 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 436, 555, 622, 802 Atayal

The Atayals have a better idea of counting than they have of measuring time. Most of them, to be sure, can only count up to three or five, and that is sufficient for their purposes. Anyone who can count up to thirty is considered clever, and only a few individuals in the border tribes can count up to a hundred. Some of the Japanese maintain that a smart Atayal of the interior can count up to a thousand, but most people say that this is just talk. Most of the tribes are said to have names for numbers up to five only, and to count further by saying five and one, five and two, five and three, five and four. They have a special word for ten, and also for twenty and thirty. Some tribes are said to know more words for numbers, but they seem to have acquired them recently through Chinese or Japanese interpreters. Most of the clan heads can count this way up to twenty or thirty. If they need to go beyond that, they call in a wise man to help them, if fines are to be paid. They also have to count when they are fixing the price of the bride or the price for adopted children. They count 25 rokosch-kaha, or 250 yen, by putting down 20 rokosch-kaha, or garments with precious [12] materials, and 10 bintoan, breastpieces with precious materials. Presumably the calculation is made at once in this way, and the reduction to a common denominator is made by the interpreter. In tribes that have lived for years inside the Aitu line, and that accept Japanese money, families will sell a rokosch-kaha together with their profit on it for 13 or 15 yen, because they can conceive only of 13 as 1 rokosch-kaha plus 1 binrai, or 15 as 1 rokosch-kaha plus 1 bintoan, but they can not imagine 11, 12, or 14 yen.

31: Hofmann--626-627 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 436, 461, 804 Tsou

The natives do not know the value of money. They have several articles used for barter and pay, chiefly cloth. They measure length by spans. [627] Since they have a communist economy they pay by the day, so that the strongest man is hired as a carrier at the same price as the weakest boy. If a distinction were made, they would consider this unjust. In the same way they divide food among themselves so that everyone gets an equal share.

39: Wiedfeldt--10 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 314, 804, 822 Atayal

One may judge with a greater degree of certainty the intellectual capacity of the seemingly alert Atayal. They have a concept of space and measurement of space. As a measure of length, which they need in building their houses and in weaving, they use the measures provided by nature, i.e. the ell and the arm span with both arms outstretched. They have no means of measuring an area or a weight. They speak of a large field, or a heavy antelope, but they are unable to be more specific about it. As dry measure they use the men's caps, if, for example, one neighbor helps another out with a cap full of millet or salt. For gunpowder they are said to have recently begun to use bamboo sticks a span long.

14: Tamai--97 [5] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 805 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwans do not have a calendar. They know that a year has passed when they see a certain flower bloom again for the first time. A full moon marks the end of the month. Most of the Tschinwans do not know how old they are.

16: Müller--230 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 466, 653, 561, 805 Ami

Among some tribes of the Amis group it is customary to assign public works according to the degree of physical development rather than age, since in some cases they do not even keep track of their age. They divide the men into three to eleven classes and assign these to permanent positions; this includes the construction of roads, guard duty, etc.

24: Anonymous--91 U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 551, 601, 769, 805

The aborigines of Formosa are very different from the Chinese. They have no family names and no calandar or units of time like ours. The aborigines recognize no other degree of relationship except that of parents, they do not offer sacrifices to their ancestors, and they are not even able to tell their own age.

34: Del Re--33 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 796, 805, 622, 756, 226 Yami

"The ceremony of 'calling' the flying-fish opens the year which begins, according to the Yami system, in April corresponding, in the solar calendar, to October. It is accompanied by most elaborate ritual observances the purpose of which is to secure a good season and to celebrate the arrival of the fish. On this occasion the tribe annually chooses the man whom it considered best fitted to exercise the role of high priest and to represent it. It may be noted in passing that, contrary to what occurs in other tribes, the Yami have no medicine-women, all ritual observances being restricted to men alone."

39: Wiedfeldt--10-11 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 581, 805, 822 Atayal

The concept of time... is not strange to the Atayals, although they also lack a system of measuring time. They have no word or idea for month or for day. They only have two designations for hot time and cool time. Some tribes have words for sunrise, the zenith of the sun, and sunset, but as far as I have been able to ascertain they have no word for midnight. [11] For their practical needs they make use of other means. The length of time that it is possible to plant a field is given in the terms of the number of harvests obtained from the field. Since none of them know how old they are, marriageability is indicated by tattooing. When I asked if one could give his age according to the number of harvests, there being only one harvest a year, I was always told...that one could only obtain three harvests from one field, and that their people had experienced many more harvests. In summoning their clan and tribal assemblies, as well as in negotiations with the Japanese, the day is fixed according to the number of times they would normally sleep up to that time, and by the nodes in a bamboo staff, or the Japanese indicate the time by the knots in a string. According to the Japanese, it is not unusual for an Atayal to turn up a day early, because, for example, he slept twice in one day when he was hunting, and hence had counted two knots. Harvest time is easily recognized by the ripening of the fruit. The time to plant millet is determined according to the time when the Formosa maple has young red shoots...Rice is planted when the tse-tung-non, a tree of average size, is covered with white blossoms.

39: Wiedfeldt--12 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 212, 811, 821 Atayal

The Atayals know nothing about fields of knowledge which are somehow connected in thought, or have some sort of a slight connection. They have not yet progressed to the point of having written characters, or even to the point of having definite marks. ... Even a rudimentary knowledge of astronomy... is foreign to the Atayals. They know nothing about the moon and its phases, and they have no names for constellations... The only celestial phenomenon that they are acquainted with and have spun fancies about is the rainbow. They think it is a bridge which connects the island with the mainland for their dead. ...

39: Wiedfeldt--16 [2] F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 153, 811, 177.65 Atayal
636.65 Japanese

The capacity of the Atayals to grasp something that has been told them is also limited. If one attempts to tell them something through the medium of an interpreter, one runs up against a complete lack of comprehension, even if it is only a question of their forming a new concept out of elements already known to them. They do not even have an idea of the power of the Japanese, of which they should have been clearly conscious in view of the bloody battles that they have had with them. In order to make them aware of this, and to scare them off from making further attacks, the Japanese have very cleverly taken a number of highly respected Atayals to Tokyo every year at the expense of the state, so that they could get an idea there by what they themselves could see of the power and the resources of Japan, and could then tell the members of their tribe. The sum total of all this is that the Atayals do not completely lack imagination...but it has been employed only in a few fields, and has not been very productive even in these...

11: Haguenauer--43 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
82 Atayal

The science of the Tayal is purely empirical, and it is limited to a few observations concerning atmospheric phenomena, the properties of certain plants and the habits of the wild animals.

11: Haguenauer--43 T-3 (no date) 1929 **Formosan Aborigines**
116, 821, 825 **Atayal**

The Tayal do not know how to reckon the lunar months, and only the regular recurrence of certain natural phenomena reminds them that there are certain tasks to perform. For example, the appearance of buds and the frequent thunder storms in March show them that it is time to sow. They recognize most of the birds by their cry, but do not perceive the beauty of their songs.

17: Norbeck--16 (no date) 1950 - Formosan Aborigines
773, 821 Atayal

[MC: For the myth of the origin of night and day--cutting the sun in half, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--29 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
773, 821 Atayal

[MC: For Atayal idea of the origin of the wind, see category 539.]

34: Del Re--71 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 772, 821 Yami

"The whole conception of a cosmos consisting of a number of superimposed elliptical planes the upper four of which inhabited each by a different category of god or demigod, not only seems to set the Yami apart from the other savage tribes of the Formosan mainland, but gives rise to many speculations as to whence such ideas may have derived."

34: Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
821 Yami

[MLB: For native explanations of the origin of their cosmos, see category 772, pp. 53-58, and pp. 59-71.]

39: Wiedfeldt--12 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 212, 811, 821 Atayal

The Atayals know nothing about fields of knowledge which are somehow connected in thought, or have some sort of a slight connection. They have not yet progressed to the point of having written characters, or even to the point of having definite marks. ... Even a rudimentary knowledge of astronomy... is foreign to the Atayals. They know nothing about the moon and its phases, and they have no names for constellations... The only celestial phenomenon that they are acquainted with and have spun fancies about is the rainbow. They think it is a bridge which connects the island with the mainland for their dead. ...

14: Tamai--96 [22] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 435, 823, 822 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwans are extremely greedy. The objects they covet most are any article with a red color and articles made of metal. For that reason they value coins highly but paper money has no meaning to them.

39: Wiedfeldt--10 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 314, 804, 822 Atayal

One may judge with a greater degree of certainty the intellectual capacity of the seemingly alert Atayal. They have a concept of space and measurement of space. As a measure of length, which they need in building their houses and in weaving, they use the measures provided by nature, i.e. the ell and the arm span with both arms outstretched. They have no means of measuring an area or a weight. They speak of a large field, or a heavy antelope, but they are unable to be more specific about it. As dry measure they use the men's caps, if, for example, one neighbor helps another out with a cap full of millet or salt. For gunpowder they are said to have recently begun to use bamboo sticks a span long.

39: Wiedfeldt--10-11 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 581, 805, 822 Atayal

The concept of time... is not strange to the Atayals, although they also lack a system of measuring time. They have no word or idea for month or for day. They only have two designations for hot time and cool time. Some tribes have words for sunrise, the zenith of the sun, and sunset, but as far as I have been able to ascertain they have no word for midnight. [11] For their practical needs they make use of other means. The length of time that it is possible to plant a field is given in the terms of the number of harvests obtained from the field. Since none of them know how old they are, marriageability is indicated by tattooing. When I asked if one could give his age according to the number of harvests, there being only one harvest a year, I was always told... that one could only obtain three harvests from one field, and that their people had experienced many more harvests. In summoning their clan and tribal assemblies, as well as in negotiations with the Japanese, the day is fixed according to the number of times they would normally sleep up to that time, and by the nodes in a bamboo staff, or the Japanese indicate the time by the knots in a string. According to the Japanese, it is not unusual for an Atayal to turn up a day early, because, for example, he slept twice in one day when he was hunting, and hence had counted two knots. Harvest time is easily recognized by the ripening of the fruit. The time to plant millet is determined according to the time when the Formosa maple has young red shoots... Rice is planted when the tse-tung-non, a tree of average size, is covered with white blossoms.

14: Tamai--96 [22] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 435, 823, 822 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwans are extremely greedy. The objects they covet most are any article with a red color and articles made of metal. For that reason they value coins highly but paper money has no meaning to them.

17: Norbeck--17 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
773, 823, 782 Atayal

[MC: For the myth about the flood which formed the configuration of the landscape and of the offering of the chief's daughter, see category 539.]

34: Del Re--33-34 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 784, 562, 823, 226, 793 Yami

"So great is the importance attributed to the visit of the flying fish, that during this period fishermen are required to observe a large number of prescriptive taboos, as well as others connected with the numerous rituals observed during the actual ceremonies. These are summed up in the following commandments:---'When you go fishing, do not look down into the water.' 'Do not spit into the sea: spit into the air so that your spittle may fall upon the sea like rain.' 'Do not cast stones into the sea' ---and many others of a like nature. Another important taboo connected with the sea and most stringently enforced at this time, is that no woman shall touch or have anything to do with the flying-fish ceremony, or approach close to, much less enter, the sea. It would appear that this is related to the early creation myth in which a pregnant woman by enter-[34]ing the sea was the cause of the great flood which covered the island and destroyed all life upon it. (11)"

11. See Legand of Imulud, AYL, p. 92 lines 1 ff.

34: Del Re--47 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan-Aborigines
823,796

"It seems that the natives, believing that large fish cause storms, instituted an annual ceremony of pacification in which only youths and girls take part, since the original couple changed into fish were also young."

16: Müller--237-238 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 751, 789, 824, 721

Even when there is no immediate cause for anxiety, preventive measures are used. Thus every household uses measures to drive the evil spirits from its house several times a year. For this purpose they strew grains of rice, mixed perhaps with pieces of pork [238] or small pieces of Calamus [MC: the sweet flag (Acorus Calamus) or its aromatic root] on the floor and speak magic formulas. Calamus plays an important part in all the religious ceremonies of the aborigines. If there is a smallpox epidemic, they try to appease the evil spirits by going on a headhunting expedition and presenting the head as an offering. [MC: Millet and calamus form an important part of the periodic propitiation ceremonies. For details see category 796.]

22: Wiedfeldt--9[2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 263, 177, 824, 431 Atayal

As a condiment, they like salt best of all. If this is lacking, they use as a substitute the small, salty berries of the mabu tree. The Taroku are said to have learned how to get salt from the sea from the Chinese by way of the Amis who border them to the south. Recently there have been isolated instances of their giving this necessary condiment as a gift and also as an article of barter to the tribes in the interior, after the Japanese prevented the importation of salt. Otherwise they use as a spice a kind of ginger which they get from the root of a species of banana, and to which they attribute a strengthening effect.

11: Haguenauer--37 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
825 Atayal

If one of the members of the expedition had had a bad dream, or if the augural bird, the silliok, had sung in the wrong way, the warriors did not leave the village.

11: Haguenauer--43 T-3 (no date) 1929 **Formosan Aborigines**
116, 821, 825 **Atayal**

The Tayal do not know how to reckon the lunar months, and only the regular recurrence of certain natural phenomena reminds them that there are certain tasks to perform. For example, the appearance of buds and the frequent thunder storms in March show them that it is time to sow. They recognize most of the birds by their cry, but do not perceive the beauty of their songs.

11: Haguenauer--44 [2] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 773, 787, 825 Atayal

[MC: a Tayal myth] There was a very large stone on the seashore in a place called Binnox-bayan. One day the crow and the silliok met on this stone, and said: "The one who can move this stone will have the power to know what the spirits want, and he shall be their herald". The crow tried, but could not move the stone while the silliok did it without any difficulty. The men who saw this were very astonished and they praised the silliok . Then the bird said to them:" From now on, you must listen to my cry. When I cry at your right, it will be a good portent, and you will have good hunting. If I cry while I am crossing the road that you are taking, do not go on the hunt. And if I cry first at the right and then at the left, it will also be a bad omen. Do not forget what I have just told you."

11: Haguenauer--45 [2] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 773, 825 Atayal

The flea and the louse are due to human laziness. In olden times neither one existed. Then men slept so late and became so lazy that there was not enough millet to eat. The chiefs were obliged to have a council to find some way of keeping their subjects from staying in bed so late. Fortunately, an old man remembered that he had heard that there were some beasts which attached themselves to the hair and the clothing of men and which tormented them. If they could be procured, this epidemic of laziness would be overcome. The proposition was adopted, people went after the flea and the louse, and since that time there have been a great many of them in the villages.

34: Del Re--30-33 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 796, 825 Yami

"The Flying-Fish Festival is not only the central event of the Yami year but the whole of the communal life of the tribe revolves around it. Not without reason, indeed, since these fish not only constitute their most valued article [pages 31 and 32 contain illustrations] [33] of food, but are regarded as symbols of the tribal spirit."

37: Steere--311 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 482, 771, 609, 787, 825 Chin-hoan

"They carry burdens upon a high wooden frame that is strapped to the back, instead of by the universal Chinese method of a pole across the shoulder. I could find but little traces of religion, but plenty of superstitions. I was one day astonished by the band with which I was traveling suddenly all dropping to the ground and beginning to groan as if they expected to die. Inquiring the cause of this, I found that a certain bird, to which ominous powers are attributed, had cried out on the left side of the path we were traveling, and this was considered a bad omen for us. After a few minutes the party got up and moved on, though all were still groaning and beating their gunstocks with their knives; and they did not regain their composure until the same bird was heard to call out on the right side of the path, when they moved on as usual. They seem to have little or no connection with the other savages, but to live in mortal fear of them. If they ever were in the habit of taking the heads of their enemies, it must have been long ago, as the proofs have disappeared."

7: Joest--57 [6] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 141, 826 Chin-hoan

Since the natives will not allow anyone to touch their head, I found it impossible to take any measurements. I should say that most of the men are from 5'2" to 5'4", while the women are considerably smaller.

7: Joest--62 [5] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 192, 784, 826 Chin-hoan

The Chinwans seem to have some form of taboo. Thus no one may enter a village in which the inhabitants are fasting; to signify that an object may not be touched or that they do not want to give it away, they say hiang. It is for them a great shame to let someone even touch their head. The bags in which they keep the heads of their enemies, the pig-tails of Chinese, etc., are also haing.

19: Guérin and Bernard--551 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361, 826

All of these clans [MC: of northern Formosa in the district around Mt. Sylvia] have property along a water-course. The Tapéhan have a brook, and the Katasiek a river which empties into the eastern sea. The water-course which has watered the Taoussaï territory has its mouth in the Taïoukou region. A large river traverses the country of the Kaiaou, the Sélamaou, Mouiaou and Menibo, and then ends near Sau-o-bay. The Tangav have the Manka river at its source, the Takassan, the Kakaougan, the Kéoui and the Takoham each have one of the tributaries of this same river.

The most populous of these tribes are the Takoham, Menibo, Mouiaou, Taoussaï and the Taïoukou.

The Menibo are reputed to be thieves. The Taoussaï have goitres, so they are an object of horror to the other tribes.

7: Joest--58 [6] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 827 Chin-hoan

At the same time that they are tattooed young girls also have the two teeth in the corners of the upper jaw removed. One girl told me that this was done so that they could breathe better and that they could inhale more wind.

22: Wiedfeldt--17 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 827, 462 Atayal

When a family has selected a piece of land, the man first pulls off or cuts off the branches of the trees on the land, so that the trees will die. The following year he burns off the dry trunks, together with the underbrush and the grass. The Atayals think it ridiculous to claim that these ashes encourage plant growth, and they find the Chinese custom of using human excrement as fertilizer repugnant. When the Formosa maple has red shoots, the woman loosens the ground with a stick or a spear and sows millet. The next year she plants mountain potatoes, or sweet potatoes and beans, and sometimes she plants millet again in the third year.

16: Müller--236-237 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 775, 828

The aborigines of Formosa...hold the following beliefs:

1. Death destroys only the body; the soul remains immortal.

2. Dreams are due to the souls of departed which appear to the dreamer in his sleep. [237]

3. The souls of the departed inhabit certain definite places, in the forest, under a tree, or in imaginary places.

4. The spirits of the departed influence the fate of human beings for good or evil, and all fortune or misfortune is dependent on them.

18: Kakyo--71 [2] E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 775, 828

1. The natives of Formosa are able to distinguish between sleep and death.
2. They believe that death destroys only the body, but that the soul is immortal.
3. They believe that a dream is the appearance of the soul of a dead person.
4. They believe that the soul leads a happy existence in a definite place.
5. They look on the spirits of the dead as a kind of "evil powers."

19: Guérin and Bernard--562 [4] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 771, 828

The aborigines do not have any external cult; there is no adoration of gods or fetishes, and no belief in a future existence. However, they invoke a kind of familiar genius who visits them in their dreams; he does not assume a divine shape, but comes in the guise of a father, a mother or close relative. There is never any doubt about the interpretation of a dream; the councillor limits himself to recommending or forbidding the action which the dreamer envisages.

34: Del Re--16 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 181, 609, 674, 829 Yami

"According to the reports published by scientific expeditions, the Yami live in a kind of idyllic natural state which might, indeed, have served as model for some of the 'naturist' utopias beloved of XVIIIth century philosophers, the essential features of which may be seen practised on Botel-Tobago. To give one instance. As far back as the oldest inhabitant is able to recollect, or at least since forty years ago when the Japanese first stationed a couple of policemen on the island, there has been no record of a single case of theft or violence among the natives. The wholesale execution of the crew of an American vessel wrecked there a few years previously of whom only two managed to escape, can hardly be considered as an exception since it appears to have been due to ritual reasons. Apart from the naturally peaceful temper of the Yami, the absence of crime is attributable less to the fact that these and other misdemeanours such as adultery are considered as crimes in themselves or as immoral actions, than to the fact that the tribe looks upon them as undesirable."

34: Del Re--29-30 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 586, 595, 562, 831, 183 Yami

"The Yami are strictly monogamous in so far as they may only have one wife at a time. Divorce, however, is easy and merely determined by the wish of the party concerned, nor does it carry any stigma for the woman who, in this respect, has equal rights with the man. There are among the islanders women who have been divorced as [30] many as fifteen times. Contrary to what might be thought, this does not lead to laxity of morals. The level of morality in this tribe is very high notwithstanding, or perhaps because of, the conspicuous absence of any sense of moral or social guilt attached to sexual intercourse."

34: Del Re--27 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 832, 584 Yami

"As might be expected, the family life of the Yami is also largely communal. When a youth wishes to court a girl, he approaches her and winks: if she winks back, generally speaking, all is well. Before being [sic] accepted him as a regular 'follower', the pair must have winked at one another several times after which the youth is allowed to speak to the girl and pinch her. The latter seems to be the acid test. If she pinches him back or slaps the youth's face it means that all is over between them. If, on the other hand, she has decided to accept him, she answers with a smile and they go together to a deserted hut or secluded spot where they stretch a mat on the ground and sit down on it facing each other. The youth then lays his hand on her breast and they tell each other ancient tales of love interspersed with poems which he usually improvises, to which she must reply with poems of her own. At a further stage they rub noses and embrace. In this way they spend many nights together without any more intimate intercourse. When the cock crows they separate, each returning to his own house. This preliminary stage of the courtship, which may even last several months, is called 'remembering.' During all this time the male is required to play a passive role. Indeed if he were to attempt the slightest liberty he would be at once repulsed. When the girl has finally decided to accept him as a husband, she unties his 'G-string.' "

24: Anonymous--91 [5] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 462, 833, 837

If there is work to be done in the fields, the woman plows while the man stays at home to take care of the children. If the husband and wife cease to have intercourse, whether there are children or not, they live in promiscuity. During the warm season, one may see men and women having intercourse in the nude publicly, but adults avoid being seen by the younger people.

34: Del Re--28-29 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 581, 585, 833 Yami

"In accordance with the parents' wishes, or because the girl wants to postpone the marriage, it sometimes happens that the union is not immediately consummated. The validity of a marriage does not appear to be affected by its actual consummation. This seems to have also been the case with other tribes since the author of Forsaken Formosa, writing obviously from direct knowledge of these Western savages in the middle of the XVIIIth [29] century, observes concerning this custom, that the savages apply in the fullest sense the dictum 'nuptias non concubitus sed consensus facit.' The essential requirement for a marriage, at least among the Yami, seems to be a proper fulfilment of the terms of the ritual courtship known as 'remembering.' "

7: Joest--59 [3] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 609, 834 Chin-hoan

Those Chinwans who wear more than the scant minimum are not motivated by modesty. On the contrary, the women and girls do not show a trace of modesty, especially when they squat down. They are not ashamed to show their genitals and many of them asked me to let them see or touch mine; this was done from sheer curiosity.

31: Hofmann--623 [4] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 514, 834, 844 Tsou

After the delivery, the mother cuts the sharp umbilical cord with a sharp piece of reed; the newly-born infant is washed in a brook. Both men and women are modest to a very high degree. The men who were our carriers for several days had a high sense of decency, and, if they had to relieve themselves, always hid from the rest.

17: Norbeck--22 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
773, 835 Atayal

[MC: For myth concerning origin of taboo on brother-sister marriages, see category 539.]

22: Wiedfeldt--13 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 773, 835 Atayal

According to the Atayal tradition, the first people on earth were a brother and a sister. The sister proposed to the brother that he marry a woman whom she had found for him near the river. The man also found this woman, who differed from his sister only in tattooing, and married her. His sister then disappeared. All the legends which describe the human race as originating from one couple, and which forbid the marriage of brother and sister, get into certain difficulties, such as occur also in Byron's Cain. The Atayals find the solution of the problem in the tattooing, which even now is the sign of being marriageable.

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

class. A man of the lower class must pay as much as or more than that of a upper class member if he wants to marry one above himself. The lower class member does not marry one above him because he can not afford to do so.

C. Incest prohibition

The kindred group of the Paiwan is bilateral. The present writer has assigned it as occasional bi-sexual lineage. No emphasis upon either the paternal or the maternal consanguinities is made. No distinction between lineal and collateral is made in addressed terms, but it is made in indirect and collective terms. Those who have the same parents are called *maluvluŋuluŋa*, those who have the same grand parents, *malusiatsətsəl*, those have the same grand-grand parents, *malusiatsalaitaita*, and those have the same grand-grand-grand parents, *malusiapatsətsəv*. *malusiatsəlsəl* are prohibited to marry. *malusiatsalaitsata* are also called *naŋaʔaŋa putsəl*, they are allowed to marry. *malusiapatsetsev* are also called *naŋaʔaŋa lavatsə putsəl*, they are the most prefered mates. Relative beyond the *malusiapatsətsəv* are called *aolav*. *aolav* are allowed to marry with each other, but they are not as preferable as the *malusiapatsətsəv*, and even the *malusiatsalaitaita*. It is noteworthy that these marriage prohibitions are not to supplement the rule of exogamy but serve as the limitations of the rule of endogamy.

TRIBAL CHIEFTAINSHIP

The tribal chieftainship of Chala'abus village differs with the dual chieftainship of the North-Paiwan, and may be regarded as a kind of mutual independence of the three powers: political, religious, and military. The political and economic powers are in the hands of the Chimo chiefs. The religious powers are equally distributed over the chiefs of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. The nomination of a *paraʔare* or priest is determined by a kind of divination called *paiwata*. The military powers fall in hands of the commoners. The office of the priest of the headhunting ritual (*paraʔare na ara*) is held hereditary by the *tsivulaŋaŋ* household of commoner. The tribal chiefs and their offices are listed as follows:

A. Political and economic chiefs:

a) *avusamaŋ* (big chief)·····*ruvaniau*
maluvtsivtsik (consanguineous chiefs)·····*tsaluŋi*, *tʃalas* (south), *tʃalas* (north)
naitsu anumax (affinal chiefs)·····*lusiguaŋ, atsinajaŋ, alijulaŋ, taraʔatea, gumul, matsiliat, voto, tʃalusaŋiu.*

b) *pinairaratsə* (representatives of the big chief of other villages)·····*tʃalas* (north) a representative of the *tsulivuaŋ*, the big chief of Kunanao village.
tavalaŋ a representative of the *karaŋiraŋ*, the big chief of Kulalus village.

c) *utsiʃ atsipoŋ* (vassals of the chiefs)·····*ruvaniau, tsapalai, tavalaŋ, suajoŋ,*

14: Tamai--96 [24] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 556, 584, 585, 836 Chin-hoan

When a Mota has found a girl he wants to marry and she is willing to marry him, he sleeps with her immediately. The girl then tells her parents and the boy sends them presents through his relatives or friends; the presents consist of cows, antlers, the hide of stags, or other valuable objects. He either sends someone to announce the forthcoming marriage to the girl's parents or does it himself. He invites his relatives, friends, and acquaintances to the wedding, which is celebrated as sumptiously as possible; rich families celebrate a wedding for several days, poor families usually only for one day.

22: Wiedfeldt--22 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 836, 847 Atayal

Sexual intercourse between unmarried persons...troubles nobody. It should be rare in view of the ease with which a family can be supported. Illegitimate children are killed by the father of the girl as illegal offspring, in spite of the fact that such a high value is attached to children.

25: Plaut-- 62 [2] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 583, 836 Pepo-hoan

In recent times the Peipo seem to have adopted the custom of marriage for the groom has to give the parents-in-law a certain price for their daughter; this may be an imitation of the Chinese custom. One branch of the Peipo, the Tatso, have the custom of giving their daughters a hut of their own when they are of marriageable age; the girls may receive their lovers here.

31: Hofmann--624 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 562, 684, 836 Tsou

In their marital relations they show a great respect for the women. The bachelors are not admitted to the houses and are therefore forced to practice continence. For that reason they inflict severe punishment on any member of the tribe who has violated a woman within the tribe, and in the case of a stranger, this offense is a casus belli.

In 1908 a Japanese forester violated the wife of a native in Rantaisan, in the region of the Hosha, an aggressive tribe; this led to a long headhunting expedition. The aborigines, even the women, were curious about the conquerors and therefore often went near their dwellings. The Japanese foreman was especially attracted by one woman and abducted her. She remained with him, probably because she was afraid of the severe punishment which the chieftain would administer. Her husband did not take the offense as seriously as her father-in-law, who forced his son to take revenge. Four Japanese workers who had had nothing to do with the affair were attacked by a group of natives and decapitated. The man who had abducted the woman was not one of the victims.

11: Haguenauer--34 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 595, 837 Atayal

Polygamy among the Tayal is forbidden, and the husband must be faithful to his wife, and protect her.

If a Tayal wife is mistreated by her husband's family [35] she can go home to her parents. But this is a very serious act, for it entails not only a divorce, but a rupture between the two families. It is a case of vendetta, and the only way of avoiding a reprisal on the part of the wife's family is by paying an indemnity. Usually an unhappy wife just asks a third person to intervene, it may be the village chief, or some one else. If the husband is at fault, he is scolded. If the husband is guilty of adultery, the wife has the right to leave the house, and the husband cannot ask her family to return the sum that he paid in order to marry her. If the wife is guilty, her spouse has the right to repudiate her and to ask for the restoration of this sum. When the divorce proceedings are over, each family must kill a pig and distribute the pieces among the other families in the village. A Tayal woman who has been repudiated never goes back to her family; she has to marry again or live alone.

19: Guérin and Bernard--559-560 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 548, 768, 837

Although there is no prudery in the language of the savages, prostitution is unknown, and there is almost no adultery; moreover, the husband has rights of a Draconian severity to protect his honor, and he would avail himself of them if it were necessary. [560] In the south, custom authorizes widows to sell themselves, but this was doubtless a means devised to enable them to make a living and support their young children.

20: Alvarez--258 [2]
116, 577, 581, 586, 837

(no date) 1927

Formosan Aborigines

"They are not strict moralists, though libertinage is severely punished in accordance with the laws established for it. Matrimony seems to be regarded as a transcendental act in the life of man. Among the Tsalisen, however, the man leaves the hut of his wife in case she has failed to become mother. By this, the marriage is regarded as dissolved, and both are free and can marry again."

22: Wiedfeldt--22 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 595, 837 Atayal

The Atayals are strictly monogamous, and look with contempt upon the Chinese practice of swelling the ranks of the family by concubines and upon the Japanese Geishas. Adultery is consequently rare, and is severely punished.

22: Wiedfeldt--22-23 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 837, 684, 597 Atayal

If a married woman commits adultery, she is killed by her husband or his clan, and the hut of the adulterer is burned. In addition to this, the guilty man, or his clan, has to pay the injured husband compensation as a substitute for the murdered woman. The amount of the payment is fixed by the head of the clan according to the adulterer between 25 and 30 rokosch-kaha. [MC: ornamented clothing used as money] If the adulterer is unmarried, he has no hut that can be burned, and he only has to pay half the compensation. If the guilty party or his clan does not pay [23] the injured party steals children out of the clan andsells them for adoption until the sum has been made up. No one knows what happens when a married man commits adultery with a single girl. To the Atayals, the real crime is adultery on the part of a wife.

24: Anonymous--91 [5] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 462, 833, 837

If there is work to be done in the fields, the woman plows while the man stays at home to take care of the children. If the husband and wife cease to have intercourse, whether there are children or not, they live in promiscuity. During the warm season, one may see men and women having intercourse in the nude publicly, but adults avoid being seen by the younger people.

25: Plaut--41 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 684, 837 Amis

Adultery and seduction. Adultery and seduction are judged in as many different ways as murder. Among the Amis and the Puyuma the usual punishment for adultery is execution; but the adulterer can ransom himself by paying a sum to the offended husband, provided the latter agrees to this.

25: Plaut--41 [2] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 436, 684, 837 Atayal

The Atayal in the central part of Formosa punish the guilty wife and her lover by killing them at once. The seducer of a girl is also slain unless the girl's parents agree to accept ransom. The Atayal, who live farther north, make the adulterer give the injured husband between five and ten shell strings (the current money) or a weapon or other objects as compensation.

25: Plaut--41 [3] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 684, 837 Tsou

The Tsoo require that the culprit give all of his personal property to the husband. If the adulterer is so poor that his possessions cannot be regarded as sufficient to constitute a ransom, the chief occasionally makes the payment for him, takes him as his servant and lets him work out the remainder. The wife's punishment is more severe. As her shame affects not only her husband, but her parents and brothers as well in an even greater degree, all take part in punishing her. After she has been bound and laid on the floor, each one comes up and whips the pubic region with rods. Then a vessel full of red pepper juice is brought, and each one in turn pours some of the biting sap into her vagina and spits in her face. After all of this they advise her to live a better life in the future, and finally she is given back to her husband.

25: Plaut--41 [4] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 684, 837 Paiwan

Among the Paiwan all of the goods and chattels of the adulterer are given to the insulted husband; the woman is repudiated, and sent back to her parents or to her brothers. The seducer is seized by the members of the girl's family, taken to her house and forced to pay a fine which is commensurate with the position of the family in the tribe, and then he has to marry the girl.

26: Honda--471 [4] N-3 (1896) 1897 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 535, 837 Bunun

A strange custom is the removal of the eye-teeth when the children are about five years old. Some of the people displayed tatooing on their hands and faces. The chief ordered the performance of a dance in my honor; ten or more women held hands and formed a large circle, swayed to and fro, and beat the rhythm with their feet as a monotonous song was heard. Men formed in a circle and engaged in the same movements. Marital faithfulness is very strictly maintained; even the chiefs have no more than one wife and are loyal to her.

31: Hofmann--623 [3] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 609, 301, 592, 837 Tsou

Members of the Tsou tribe are monogamous; adultery on the part of the woman does not occur at all. The women are very shy; they do not look strangers in the face, and they go about with their eyes downcast. Some of them wear garments made of cloth from China, others weave their own garments on primitive looms. I saw few women who were wearing ornaments; the men here are far more vain than the women.

11: Haguenauer--41-42 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 602, 775, 842 Atayal

The Tayals' ideas about birth are no more scientific than their thoughts concerning death. However surprising this may seem, they do not look upon a child as the simple result of conjugal relations, for they believe that birth can only be achieved when a soul is reincarnated in the body of a woman in the tribe. Therefore the spirits are closely associated with the existence of the living. The community and the clan are literally a group of souls some of which are imprisoned in bodies, while others are free, but all of them are serving the clan. [42] The community increases in strength in proportion to the number of the souls who are interested in its fate.

19: Guérin and Bernard--561 [5] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 553, 842, 853

The arrival of a child of either sex is considered a benediction; when it is a month old, the parents select a name. The mother nurses the child as long as she has milk for it, and there is no weaning.

22: Wiedfeldt--23 F-5 (1913) 1914 • Formosan Aborigines
116, 842, 844, 846 Atayal

The birth of a child is not considered anything special, and takes place without a midwife or any other help. By the following day the mother has resumed her usual activities. After a few days a fire is lighted in front of the hut, in order that the purifying force of fire may drive out the impurities of birth. In contrast to other far-eastern peoples, boys and girls are equally highly prized.

24: Anonymous--91 [4] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583, 591, 842

The natives regard the birth of a daughter as a fortunate event, for a boy will leave the house sooner or later to live with his wife's parents, while the daughter will bring home a son-in-law. When a girl desires to marry she goes into the community house (kung-chich). Her suitor seranades her with a jew's harp (k'-ou-ch'-in), and she comes out of the house to unite with him. If he is agreeable to her, she informs her parents, a drinking bout is held to which the neighbors are invited, and this concludes the ceremony.

34: Del Re--64-67 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 539, 772, 842 Yami

"The 4th plane (figure I) is entirely peopled by divinities of female sex called Pi-na-lung-ao, the chief of whom is the goddess Shi-nun-manuri, who exercise a function somewhat akin to that of the classical Moirai. When a child is about to be born the goddess must be consulted to ensure--as far [sic] possible--that an equal number of males and females are born in each generation. Sometimes, however, Shi-nun-manuri forgets the correct number and confusion arises, but this is at once set right in the following generation. At the time of birth the goddesses pour water into a bowl and shake it: if only a small amount of water is spilled the new-born child will have a long life, but if all the water is spilled it will die soon. Length of life depends entirely on the amount of water spilled, nor is it affected by any preceding action of the parents or by what the individual may subsequently do, since once [pages 65 and 66 contain illustrations] [67] determined at birth, nothing can alter man's span of life."

11: Haguenauer--35 [3] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 553, 844, 854 Atayal

The new-born Tayal baby is bathed at once by an elderly women, his grandmother if possible. Then he is named two weeks after birth. The Tayal baby stays with his mother until he can walk. Until that time she carries him wherever she goes, and he rides astride on her hip, with his mouth at the level of her breast.

19: Guérin and Bernard--561 [4] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 844, 846

The woman in labor is her own mid-wife, and five days after her delivery she resumes her normal occupations. There are no difficult deliveries among the aborigines.

22: Wiedfeldt--23. F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 842, 844, 846 Atayal

The birth of a child is not considered anything special, and takes place without a midwife or any other help. By the following day the mother has resumed her usual activities. After a few days a fire is lighted in front of the hut, in order that the purifying force of fire may drive out the impurities of birth. In contrast to other far-eastern peoples, boys and girls are equally highly prized.

24: Anonymous--91 [6] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 757, 844

They wash the newborn children with cold water. They have neither doctors nor medicines, when they are sick, they bathe in the river for they believe that the Great Doctor has placed a healing power in the water. They believe that bathing is healthy at all times of the year.

31: Hofmann--623 [4] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 514, 834, 844 Tsou

After the delivery, the mother cuts the sharp umbilical cord with a sharp piece of reed; the newly-born infant is washed in a brook. Both men and women are modest to a very high degree. The men who were our carriers for several days had a high sense of decency, and, if they had to relieve themselves, always hid from the rest.

11: Haguenauer--35 [2] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 845 Atayal

The Tayal are loyal to each other, and they are also good parents; however, they kill all twins for they believe that they bring bad luck.

16: Müller--230 [14] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 845

Among the Vonum, Tso'o, Tsarisen, and Paiwan tribes, the birth of twins is regarded as a misfortune and the second child is killed.

16: Müller--230 [13] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 846

Childbirth usually proceeds with so little difficulty that the mother resumes her tasks on the following day; for one month after the delivery, she avoids the heavy labor in the fields. Usually the natives perform certain ceremonies, based on quasi-religious superstitions, after the birth of a child; this consists in driving the evil spirit out of the house and similar rites.

19: Guérin and Bernard--561 [4] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 844, 846

The woman in labor is her own mid-wife, and five days after her delivery she resumes her normal occupations. There are no difficult deliveries among the aborigines.

22: Wiedfeldt--23 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 842, 844, 846 Atayal

The birth of a child is not considered anything special, and takes place without a midwife or any other help. By the following day the mother has resumed her usual activities. After a few days a fire is lighted in front of the hut, in order that the purifying force of fire may drive out the impurities of birth. In contrast to other far-eastern peoples, boys and girls are equally highly prized.

7: Joest--62 [9] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 847 Chin-hoan

There is one ancient custom among the Chinwans which is said to be practiced to this day: the women practice abortion up to their 34th or even 37th year; they go to a sooth-sayer if they become pregnant and have her beat and massage the belly.

22: Wiedfeldt--22 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 836, 847 Atayal

Sexual intercourse between unmarried persons...troubles nobody. It should be rare in view of the ease with which a family can be supported. Illegitimate children are killed by the father of the girl as illegal offspring, in spite of the fact that such a high value is attached to children.

22: Wiedfeldt--23 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 847, 553, 851 Atayal

The father has the right to kill a child, or more accurately, to have someone else kill it, for he never does it himself. With the high value placed upon children, this never occurs except when a child is blind, or deaf, or burdened with some other kind of physical defect. It has the effect, if you will, of making the race a select one. There is no punishment for killing a child that has not yet reached the age of two or three years, and hence does not yet have a name. In view of the high rate of infant mortality, they do not give the child a name until there is some prospect that it will survive. In naming it, the name of one of the grandparents, or of a famous head-hunter of the clan, is placed before the first name of the father.

22: Wiedfeldt--28 [6] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 682, 851, 847 Atayal

As long as children do not have a name, there is no punishment for killing them. A child that is capable of running around alone at a distance from the hut always has a name.

22: Wiedfeldt--23 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 847, 553, 851 Atayal

The father has the right to kill a child, or more accurately, to have someone else kill it, for he never does it himself. With the high value placed upon children, this never occurs except when a child is blind, or deaf, or burdened with some other kind of physical defect. It has the effect, if you will, of making the race a select one. There is no punishment for killing a child that has not yet reached the age of two or three years, and hence does not yet have a name. In view of the high rate of infant mortality, they do not give the child a name until there is some prospect that it will survive. In naming it, the name of one of the grandparents, or of a famous head-hunter of the clan, is placed before the first name of the father.

22: Wiedfeldt--28 [6] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 682, 851, 847 Atayal

As long as children do not have a name, there is no punishment for killing them. A child that is capable of running around alone at a distance from the hut always has a name.

22: Wiedfeldt--42 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 671, 851 Atayal

The Atayals also possess the most important institutions of civil law. ... The mere fact of birth is a matter of indifference before the law. Only when the child receives a name, that is, when it is about three years old, does it begin to enjoy some consideration before the law. On the other hand, the capacity to carry on business is indicated by the outward sign of tattooing, instead of by age.

19: Guérin and Bernard--561 [5] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 553, 842, 853

The arrival of a child of either sex is considered a benediction; when it is a month old, the parents select a name. The mother nurses the child as long as she has milk for it, and there is no weaning.

7: Joest--59 [6] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 482, 562, 854 Chin-hoan

Carrying heavy burdens is a task which is scorned by the men; the women carry them by attaching them to a strap which is passed over the forehead. In this manner they carry firewood, game which has been killed, or bamboo filled with water; they carry their children in the same way. Sometimes they carry children on their shoulders; the children are secured by means of a strap which the mother ties around her chest.

11: Haguenauer--35 [3] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 553, 844, 854 Atayal

The new-born Tayal baby is bathed at once by an elderly women, his grandmother if possible. Then he is named two weeks after birth. The Tayal baby stays with his mother until he can walk. Until that time she carries him wherever she goes, and he rides astride on her hip, with his mouth at the level of her breast.

34:Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami

A PAIWAN MOTHER AND BABY: NOTE THE NATIVE WOODEN DOLL HELD BY THE CHILD, AND THE JAPANESE SCARF SLUNG OVER THE WOMAN'S NECK

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11: Haguenauer--35 [4] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 855 Atayal

When the Tayal child is about five years old, he begins to wander around the house, but he is still practically naked.

34: Del Re--30 [1] U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116. 855. 882 Yami

"The children born from various unions spend their earliest years with their mother whom they must obey unconditionally. As soon as they reach maturity boys as well as girls are allowed to choose whom they will live with, contributing their quota of work in exchange for food; or they may sleep away from home in the houses of their friends or relations. Each village has furthermore a house reserved for men alone."

7: Joest--61 [12] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 857 Chin-hoan

Even small boys play with wooden knives and small bows and arrows; they play at "decapitating."

7: Joest--63 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 181, 609, 857 Chin-hoan

The character of the Chinwans has been described by all who have come into contact with them as good-natured and unassuming; they have never killed a white man who has approached them in good faith. Although my appearance aroused great curiosity, I was never annoyed by the natives here as I had been among the Hakkas or the Chinese. While the children of the latter always ran away from me and cried, the children of the Chinwans were easily persuaded to make friends with me.

They did, it is true, touch me or pull my beard. One of the natives thought that the fork I had brought with me was a comb and used it to scratch the lice from his body, and sometimes the natives rubbed my body with a wet finger to make sure that this was my natural color, but there was always one among them who had known me longer and told the rest to desist, lecturing them about me...

11: Haguenauer--36 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 857, 864 Atayal

When a Tayal child is five, his forehead is tattooed with the distinctive mark which is worn by all the Tayal. When a boy is seven, he begins to play with a bow. He sleeps with his parents until he is ten years old, but after that he has a place in the children's bed. Little girls never sleep beside the boys, for there is a very strict taboo which keeps brothers away from their sisters.

16: Müller--233 [6] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 276, 857

The natives grow their own tobacco, but they use the leaves without any preparation. All the aborigines of Formosa smoke a great deal. Even very young boys and girls constantly have a pipe in their mouth. The pipes are made of bamboo.

Many of the natives also chew betel, which is treated with a solution of lime. This practice blackens the teeth, which is considered an attractive feature.

22: Wiedfeldt--18 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 231, 177, 262, 857 Atayal

If the Atayals may be said not to practice agriculture in the proper sense of the word, it may also be said that they do not do any cattle-farming. They have not domesticated any animal, nor do they need any, either for draught animals or for food. In the regions along the frontier, they have recently learned from the Chinese to raise the small black pigs, and they have also become acquainted with the Chinese method of keeping wild boars, according to which the family which raises boars gets a young pig from every litter. From the same source they have introduced the few chickens that they have, which are kept as a luxury... since they, like the Chinese, do not eat eggs. Even the dog, which one now finds in almost every hut, the Atayals are said to owe to the Chinese, and to get them from them by barter. The dog is not used for hunting nor for guarding the hut, but is a playmate of the children. It is apparently more attached to the woman, whom it helps to pass the time, than it is to the man.

14: Tamai--96 [18] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 293, 411, 858 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwan men always wear a sword on their left side, even when they are indoors. When they go hunting or are going away for another reason they also carry a rifle. Boys start to wear their sword when they are seven or eight years old.

18: Kakyo--70 [3] E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 888, 858

Age is respected and the young are loved, particularly among the Amis tribe, where disrespect towards the old is looked on as a crime.

18: Kakyo--70 [4] E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 593, 627, 858

Love between parents and children among the Formosan savages is based above all on the principle that rules in general the relations between young and old; to this is added parental love, which created a strong bond between parents and children. Although, among savages, the ethical love of children is not prominent as compared with natural love, nevertheless the parents love and care for their children, while the children look on it as their sacred duty, if father or mother is killed, for example, to take revenge. This is enough to show that the ethical love of children is being developed.

22: Wiedfeldt--36 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 586, 858, 597, 768 Atayal

They [MC: children]are offered for sale when marriages are dissolved, on the occasion of the death of one of the parents, when the remaining partner remarries, in which cases children are often a burden or become unnecessary, and thus are put up for sale. A brother or sister may also be sold when a son of the family is to be married, in order to raise the price of the bride for him. This does not suffice, however, to fill the demand for labor. I myself have seen an old Schimptonoff come to the Japanese police commissioner leading a Chinese boy by the hand, and ask for permission to buy him from his parents, which he was forbidden to do, according to Japanese regulations. The price for a ten-year old boy, --younger children are not bought as a rule, --amounts to from 10 to 13 rokosch-kaha. [MC: ornamented sleeveless jacket used as money] For a ten-year old girl, who can not weave yet, the price is 7 to 10. If the girl knows how to weave, she is worth the same amount as the boy.

22: Wiedfeldt--23 [5] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 593, 861, 736 Atayal

The relationship between parents and children is apparently good, and is based on obedience, but a child is never disciplined in the presence of others. Children remain in their parents' house until they are married, and work for them. After marriage there is no further economic bond between them. The children neither receive help from the parents, nor would they think of helping them. In cases of need, the clan intervenes, but there is no family sentiment, nor activities on the part of the relatives.

37: Steere--312 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 721, 861, 622 Chin-hoan

"From the fact that they have become so dependent upon their trade with the Pepo-whans, the practice of head hunting seems to have nearly gone into disuse. There were several skulls in niches in their houses, and I was shown a grass hut, with seven or eight skulls heaped in a corner. There were a number of small seats upon the ground, and as nearly as I could ascertain, this hut was used as a dormitory for the small boys, that they might get accustomed to the sight of the skulls of their enemies, and learn to prize them. The villages are upon steep hill-sides. The houses are built solidly, but rudely, of slabs of slate stone. Places are excavated in the hill-side, and the walls built up and covered with slate, the roofs slanting in but one direction, and that with the direction of the hill, so that the houses are hardly seen at a little distance. The roofs are supported by heavy cross walls inside, and by timbers, some of which have been rudely ornamented with carving. The doors, which also serve for windows, are so low that we had to creep on our hands and knees to enter. They are secured by slabs of slate set upright."

11: Haguenauer--36 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 857, 864 Atayal

When a Tayal child is five, his forehead is tattooed with the distinctive mark which is worn by all the Tayal. When a boy is seven, he begins to play with a bow. He sleeps with his parents until he is ten years old, but after that he has a place in the children's bed. Little girls never sleep beside the boys, for there is a very strict taboo which keeps brothers away from their sisters.

21: Asai--6 [4] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 868, 869, 882

"In the southern tribes, the Tsou and Paiwan, every village has a young man's house. The boys upon reaching a certain age must live and sleep there and adults are put in charge of their education. The boys are taught hunting, observance of ceremonies, law and religion."

22: Wiedfeldt--16 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 226, 517, 868 Atayal

Fishing and hunting, especially, are of little use in providing food, but serve as a sport for the purpose of training them in the use of weapons and as a diversion for the leisure time of the Atayal men.

22: Wiedfeldt--23 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 868 Atayal

The father instructs the boys in the making and use of bows and arrows, and the mother teaches the girls how to prepare food and make clothing.

34: Del Re--38 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 619, 868 Yami

"Possessing neither written language, laws nor a religious caste to preserve their traditions and taboos, it is the duty of the elders to pass on to their children the treasures handed down to them by their forefathers, to which they add the fruits of their personal experience. All such traditional or new material is embodied into gnomic sentences, legends and tales which they tell by the seashore or on the slopes of the hills, thus preserving the ancient tribal spirit."

21: Asai--6 [4] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 868, 869, 882

"In the southern tribes, the Tsou and Paiwan, every village has a young man's house. The boys upon reaching a certain age must live and sleep there and adults are put in charge of their education. The boys are taught hunting, observance of ceremonies, law and religion."

7: Joest--58 [5] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 304, 881 Chin-hoan

The women also tattoo their face when they have reached puberty. The design covers the face from ear to ear; the line extends from the temples at the level of the ear across the cheek and the upper lip to the other ear, and the lower line runs parallel to this, passing just below the lower lip and up to the lobe of the ear on both sides. The design consists of long lines running parallel to each other and short vertical lines which cut through them. Only the lips are left free. The resulting pattern thus emphasizes the whiteness of the teeth and the healthy red color of the gums and lips. It is distinctly attractive, but gives a strange effect until one becomes accustomed to it; it is somewhat similar to the design of the Ainu women on Yesso, which gives the appearance of a blue moustache.

I was told that the women of central Formosa also tattoo their hands.

11: Haguenauer--30-31 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 871, 887, 177.65 Japanese
636.65

In spite of what other people may have said, the Japanese are treating the savages in a very kind fashion today. The civilizing work is proceeding methodically and patiently. Most of the savages who are over fifteen have not as yet understood the usefulness of the teaching, however, and only the little ones are beginning to become Japanese. The elders get bored, live an idle existence, and die of illness or alcohol. Their only delight is to borrow a gun from the police station occasionally, and to shoot three or four bullets at the wild boars or the deer. The bow and arrow are enough to kill birds. However, there are fortunately some exceptions, and the teachers have obtained some very brilliant results. I talked Japanese to some savages who had become thoroughly Japanese; they had diplomas from a normal school, and were working as assistants to directors of the posts or teachers. I repeat that the [31] Japanese are treating the natives in a very humanitarian manner. And this should be more successful than in other places, for here in these poor regions there is nothing to attract the large commercial companies, which are all too often the curse of colonies. The gentleness of the system may succeed in saving a part of the native population, possibly the Amis. The savages who will not be able to adapt themselves will probably disappear in the near future.

21: Asai--6 [5] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 872, 882, 177.87 Japan
636.87

"After the Japanese came in, the children were sent to school for four years and learned Japanese. The Japanese put the Formosans on reservations and restricted the number of visitors and also restricted the movements of the Formosans. At present young men's clubs are strongest among the Tsou."

7: Joest-- 58 [4] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 721, 881 Chin-hoan

Both Chinwan men and women are tattooed, the women more frequently than the men. They are tattooed when they reach puberty. Tattooing is done with a thorn; after the process is completed they rub soot in the wounds.

The men tattoo their entire forehead, from the hairline to the bridge of the nose, with 20 to 25 horizontal lines, each one centimeter long. After a man has been thus tattooed, he is expected to begin headhunting.

16: Müller--231 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 881, 882, 721

A solemn ceremony is held when the child comes of age. Among the Ataiyal tribes this may take place only after he has undertaken his first successful headhunting expedition. Among the Pyuma and Amis tribes boys and young men must first pass through a period of preparation; they are separated from their parents and live in a special hut under strict supervision. Women may not approach the house of these bachelors. Before the boys are considered of age they partake in a ceremony which may be likened to the practice of knighting. The chieftain gently hits the seat of the boy with a bamboo pole.

16: Müller--233 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 721, 554, 881

"Among the Ataiyal, Tsarisen, Paiwan, and Pyuma aborigines tattooing is a universal custom. Among the men the design consists of one or several vertical lines on the chin and forehead. The first line is usually made after their first successful headhunting expedition, but the children of prominent men sometimes receive theirs before that. The design for the women consists of a network of lines around the mouth extending as far as the ears. Among the Tsarisen tribes, the head of the family is tattooed on the back and on both elbows; the design consists of straight and curved lines. Among some of the Paiwan and Pyuma tribes the women tattoo the back of their hands.

Among the Ataiyal, Vonum, and Tso'o aborigines it is customary to remove the left and right canines of the upper jaw.

16: Müller--240-241 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 554, 721, 881, 582

Among the natives of Formosa, as on all the Malayan Islands, the practice of headhunting is widespread and forms one of the most important traditions. The Ataiyal aborigines practice it to a greater extent than any other group. Those of the Paiwan and Vonum group also practice it a great deal. In former times, according to the Chinese sources, headhunting was practiced throughout Formosa. There are various reasons for this custom. It is considered, first of all, a test of courage. This may be seen from the fact that the tribe which has the largest number of heads in its possession is considered the most courageous. Where there are many skulls there is also great power, according to the text of one song. Every young man [241] who wants to be considered an adult must pass this test. If two men are rival suitors, the girl chooses the one who is the first to return home with a head.

22: Wiedfeldt-- 13[2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 582, 881, 721 Atayal

The young man who brings home a skull that he has captured is permitted to have himself tattooed, and is thus declared capable of marrying, as well as of being admitted to the councils of the tribe. A young girl receives this sign when she has reached sexual maturity and has woven a piece of fabric. In many tribes, a new stripe of tattooing is added for every skull that is captured, just as in modern states diamonds are added to a decoration for special reasons. Among the Atayals this mark differs according to tribe and clan, so that an Atayal Elsa would not have to ask the fatal question, but could distinguish from the place and the density of the strip of tattooing what the family and the nature of her rescuer was.

22: Wiedfeldt--29-30 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 721, 114, 881, 695 Atayal

Although Bullock and many others after him write that "the wild savages of Formosa seem to carry on the practice of man hunting out of mere devilry," a somewhat more thorough investigation shows that the hunting of skulls has a very definite legal significance, and hence springs from other grounds than mere devilry. [30] Successful skull hunting is taken as a sign that one has come of age, and is accepted as evidence in penal and civil law.

31: Hofmann--622-623 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 304, 881 Tsou

The men remove their eye teeth. I was not able to learn the reason for this, but since it is done when the boys are 13 years old, it is likely that this is connected with puberty rites. They also tear out their beards, so that all men have a clean-shaven face. The natives as well as the Chinese and Japanese have only a very slight beard. The custom of tying up the prepuce of boys is sometimes practiced...[623] Since this is not done in every case it is probably done only for protection on the paths through the woods which are overgrown with liana and thorny shrubs. The men wear a tight bellyband made of fiber. This is probably also done to protect the groin, or perhaps to help them bear their hunger more easily if there is no food; it may also have the purpose of helping them to keep their bodies slender and flexible.

37: Steere--307-308 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 302, 304, 881 Chin-hoan

"Both sexes wear the hair long, the men doing it up in a knot behind, while the women take more pains in braiding and decorating it. They have a practice of knocking out the eye teeth of the boys when they are about reaching man's estate. Both [308] men and women tattoo, the men generally being content with a perpendicular bar upon the forehead and another upon the chin, while the women tattoo several horizontal bars upon the forehead, and a complex system of lines upon the lower part of the face, that gives it a decidedly blue look. They also tattoo several horizontal bars upon the forepart of the leg below the knee. The tattooing is done near the age of puberty, and the first part tattooed is the bands upon the forehead, the complicated work upon the lower face being left until later."

7: Joest--61 [5] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 344, 882 Chin-hoan

All the unmarried Chinwan men and boys sleep in a community building. This is erected on poles several feet above the ground. Here they hang the heads of their enemies and hold festivals.

14: Tamai--96 [23] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 882 Chin-hoan

Boys live in the parent's house until they are 16; at that time they are considered to be of age and from that time until their marriage are called Mota. As Mota they must live together in a special house for bachelors; every village has one of these.

16: Müller--231 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 881, 882, 721

A solemn ceremony is held when the child comes of age. Among the Ataiyal tribes this may take place only after he has undertaken his first successful headhunting expedition. Among the Pyuma and Amis tribes boys and young men must first pass through a period of preparation; they are separated from their parents and live in a special hut under strict supervision. Women may not approach the house of these bachelors. Before the boys are considered of age they partake in a ceremony which may be likened to the practice of knighting. The chieftain gently hits the seat of the boy with a bamboo pole.

21: Asai--6 [4] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 868, 869, 882

"In the southern tribes, the Tsou and Paiwan, every village has a young man's house. The boys upon reaching a certain age must live and sleep there and adults are put in charge of their education. The boys are taught hunting, observance of ceremonies, law and religion."

21: Asai--6 [5] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 872, 882, 177.87 Japan
636.87

"After the Japanese came in, the children were sent to school for four years and learned Japanese. The Japanese put the Formosans on reservations and restricted the number of visitors and also restricted the movements of the Formosans. At present young men's clubs are strongest among the Tsou."

22: Wiedfeldt--21 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
882, 597 Atayal

Older children, who are always in great demand and can be sold at any time for adoption, never stay with the party who wishes to dissolve the marriage, but with the other party.

34: Del Re--30 [1] U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116. 855. 882 Yami

"The children born from various unions spend their earliest years with their mother whom they must obey unconditionally. As soon as they reach maturity boys as well as girls are allowed to choose whom they will live with, contributing their quota of work in exchange for food; or they may sleep away from home in the houses of their friends or relations. Each village has furthermore a house reserved for men alone."

11: Haguenauer--36 [2] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 883 Atayal

When Tayal boys are fifteen, they follow their fathers on hunting and fishing expeditions. They learn to use the bow and arrow, to set traps, to fish with the fish-gig, to handle the cutlass and sabre and to fight. Little girls follow the women to the fields, help in the housework and learn to weave.

26: Honda--471[2]
116, 342, 411, 883

N-3

(1896) 1897

Formosan Aborigines
Bunun

In the village of Namaka I observed one extraordinarily large house occupying an area of about 140 square meters. It was the community sleeping-house for all unmarried men. The interior has a floor of bamboos. A fireplace is found in the center. There are no partition walls to mark off rooms. The house is open on two sides and on the remaining two the roof slopes down quite low and provides some protection against bad weather. As many as 85 skulls, all of the Chinese, were suspended from the ceiling. All of the men of the village were armed with daggers approximately 40 centimeters long.

20: Alvarez--257 [4] (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 181, 884, 583, 721

"All the savages are extremely warlike, bold and fanatic of unbounded freedom. They were always disposed to take up arms in defence of their liberty. The bride price is a head of an enemy (head hunters), which at the same time is a proof that the youth has become man. When he has brought home the head of his first slain enemy, the young man thereafter is regarded as adult."

25: Plaut--60 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 885

...Among all the tribes on Formosa we find that there is a distinction between the youth and the adult, at least among the men. As savages usually do not reckon their age, we cannot say that a man reaches the majority in a certain year, but it is usually when he is between sixteen and twenty. All the tribes have some external mark to denote that he is now one of the "men", but the Atayal make it depend upon the capture of a Chinese head in addition. Distinguishing marks of adults are:

among the Atayal: tattooing of the face and a gap in the row of incisors;
among the Vonum and Tsoo: a gap in the row of the incisors;
among the Tsarisen: tying up the hair of the head (children let it hang) and tattooing of the lower leg;
among the Spayowan: tattooing the upper part of the body (as one wishes);
among the Puyuma: tattooing the breast and the lower leg (as one wishes).

When a man is classed as an adult, he has certain rights:

1. the right to take part in the tribal councils;
2. the right to marry;
3. among the Tsarisen, Spayowan, Puyuma and Amis he also has the right to chew betel.

22: Wiedfeldt--36 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 464, 567, 597, 886 Atayal

Since the most common of all the contracts of our day, the labor contract, is not known of, either as a contract for service or for labor, the only possibility which ageing people have of getting the necessary labor to enable them to live is purchase. The expression "purchase" gives the wrong impression, and is merely used for the sake of brevity. Just as the price paid for a bride is compensation paid to the family for the loss of labor, so the purchase of children is more a question of adoption by compromise with the physical parents. Children thus acquired are considered real members of the family, and are in no way treated as slaves. For example, it never happens that a girl is bought for sexual purposes. The children are said never to run away. If they did, their family would have to pay back the money which they received for them.

11: Haguenauer--30-31 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 871, 887, 177.65 Japanese
636.65

In spite of what other people may have said, the Japanese are treating the savages in a very kind fashion today. The civilizing work is proceeding methodically and patiently. Most of the savages who are over fifteen have not as yet understood the usefulness of the teaching, however, and only the little ones are beginning to become Japanese. The elders get bored, live an idle existence, and die of illness or alcohol. Their only delight is to borrow a gun from the police station occasionally, and to shoot three or four bullets at the wild boars or the deer. The bow and arrow are enough to kill birds. However, there are fortunately some exceptions, and the teachers have obtained some very brilliant results. I talked Japanese to some savages who had become thoroughly Japanese; they had diplomas from a normal school, and were working as assistants to directors of the posts or teachers. I repeat that the [31] Japanese are treating the natives in a very humanitarian manner. And this should be more successful than in other places, for here in these poor regions there is nothing to attract the large commercial companies, which are all too often the curse of colonies. The gentleness of the system may succeed in saving a part of the native population, possibly the Amis. The savages who will not be able to adapt themselves will probably disappear in the near future.

22: Wiedfeldt--23-24 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 755, 887 Atayal

They do not lack medical aid entirely. [24] Old women, called hamangoppu, of whom there are about 30 among the Schimptonoff, or one to every two clans, do not limit their activities to tattooing and prophesying with the aid of a bamboo wand whether the patient will die, or whether the young woman will have a child, etc., but they also dispense medicines compounded from herbs which they have gathered themselves. In return for them, they receive gifts valued at from one to two binto-an. [MC: ornamented clothing used as money]

7: Joest--62 [6] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 437, 562, 791, 888 Chin-hoan

There are no priests among the Chinwans, but some women hold the office of sooth-sayer. Old women seem to have a great deal of influence. I often saw them giving orders even to experienced warriors or swearing at them if they did not demand enough red flannel as payment for an object. During my entire stay with the Chinwans, however, they never stole anything from me, although I had to pay a high price for everything I bought from them.

18: Kakyo--70 [3] E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 888, 858

Age is respected and the young are loved, particularly among the Amis tribe, where disrespect towards the old is looked on as a crime.

22: Wiedfeldt--36 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
888 Atayal

If elderly parents have no more unmarried children to help out in their household, they buy young people as laborers. If they have no means, the clan helps to make up the price.

24: Anonymous--92 [4] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 888

Among the members of one tribe it is the custom to hang the father from a tree when he has become very old, and the other members of the tribe may do anything they want with him. They kill him and carry him away and hang up a pig in his place.

34: Del Re--16-19 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 554, 561, 888 Yami

"The respect paid to and the great prestige enjoyed by senior members of the community is not based merely [pages 17 and 18 contain illustrations] [19] on seniority but on the personal qualities and skills of the individual as evidenced by his actions. Thus when, for whatever reason, they are considered to have outgrown their usefulness to the tribe, they automatically lose their position."